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A

HISTORY

OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

Earl of Chatham:

35163

CONTAINING

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT;

A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE, WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE,

UPON FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND PERSONS OF HIS TIME,

CONNECTED WITH

HIS LIFE, SENTIMENTS, AND ADMINISTRATIONS.

BY THE

REV. FRANCIS THACKERAY, A.M.

Patriæ caritate, servitii odio, libertatis æstu instinctus, certaque immortalitatis spe, quam jam præsentiscebat, animatus, nihil valebat nisi excelsum, nisi sublime, sine ullo privatæ utilitatis, ob patriam tantum et publicam rem cogitare, nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat.—*C. C. Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus.*

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT,

EARL OF CHATHAM.

CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH.

1761.

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Mr. Pitt was succeeded by the Earl of Egremont as Secretary of State for the southern department, and the Duke of Bedford received the privy seal which Lord Temple had resigned. On the 12th of October Mr. James Grenville resigned the office of Cofferer to his Majesty. These were the only changes which attended the retirement of one of the greatest ministers that ever lived.

Lord Bute was now regarded as the head of the administration, and as such received profuse expressions of attachment from every aspirant to court favor and employment. None were more obsequious than Lord Melcombe. The letters which passed between these noble-

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men immediately after the resignation of Mr. Pitt, whilst they shew the adulation of Lord Melcombe, prove also that the situation of Lord Bute was by no means free from uneasiness [a].

On the 6th of November the new Parliament met. The House of Commons unanimously elected Sir John Cust as their speaker.

On the 11th of December, 1761, a motion was made in the House of Commons, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House copies of all the memorials delivered by Count Fuentes to his Majesty's ministers, relating to the demand of liberty to the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and also copies of all memorials delivered by the said Ambassador of Spain to his Majesty's ministers relating to the destruction and evacuation of any establishments made by British subjects on the coast of Honduras, and relating to the right of cutting logwood there; and also copies of all memorials delivered by the said Ambassador to his Majesty's ministers, demanding restitution of the prizes taken during this war on the subjects of Spain, together with copies of the answers given by the court of Great Britain to the court of Spain on the three above demands [b]."

Mr. Pitt supported this motion. He did not wish, he said, that any part of his conduct should be covered or concealed from the public; on the contrary, he declared it to be his wish and his ardent desire to see laid open and revealed both the motives and actions of every part of his administration. He therefore pressed with zeal the laying before the House every paper relative to the six years' negociation with Spain, that the justice and candour of the crown of England on the one hand, and the chicanery, insolence, and perfidy of Spain on the other, might be made apparent to the whole House.

[a] These letters are published in Seward's Anecdotes, article Lord Chatham.

[b] Until the reign of his late Majesty the state papers which passed through the office of the Secretary of State were considered as the private property of that minister; and, as such, were liable to removal. In the volumes containing the Spanish correspondence at the State Paper Office, several of Mr. Pitt's letters to Lord Bristol appear to be wanting.—*See Knox's Extra-Official State Papers.*

Much stress, he added, had been laid without doors on his refusing to receive the memorial offered by M. de Bussy relative to the concerns of Spain. In refusing that memorial, he said, he had followed the precedent of the court of Spain, which had returned as inadmissible a memorial of the King of Great Britain. He thought it was of consequence to the House to know both the *matter* and the *expression* of that memorial as it related to one of the points in negociation.

A negative was put upon the motion.

After the debate Mr. Fox stood up and said, that if any particular paper necessary to the vindication of certain persons was specifically moved for it would be given.

Mr. Pitt treated this as a captious offer; he saw through its fallacy and refused to accept it. What he earnestly wished for, he said, was all the papers relative to the six years' negociation, which having been refused, he said, the gentleman who made the offer very well knew that he, (Mr. Pitt,) *could not mark out*, nor call in a Parliamentary way for, *a specific paper* with the contents of which he had been entrusted before by the King *under the seal of secrecy*.

There are some arguments which derive very little weight from certain consequent events; there are others whose propriety is wholly established by them. Of the latter description was the policy of Mr. Pitt's strenuous advice in October, in reference to the subsequent conduct of Spain. Every thing happened in the negociation at Madrid as Mr. Pitt had foreseen and foretold. At first, indeed, Lord Bristol was deluded into a belief of the amicable dispositions of Spain. But as France positively and generally affirmed that the purport of the late treaty concluded at Paris was hostile to Great Britain, and that Charles III. was about to participate in the war, it became indispensably necessary to ascertain the truth of this assertion. Instructions were therefore despatched from London to our Ambassador at Madrid, to demand a categorical answer respecting the conclusion of the family compact. But before those instructions arrived, General Wall had altered his tone. From conciliation he passed to menace and invective. The Spanish flota, with a very rich cargo, had reached

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the mother country in safety: the French had made considerable progress in the Hanoverian Electorate: the Imperial arms had been crowned with success. These events were all assurances to Spain that she now might venture to throw off the mask of friendship towards England, and expose the open front of resistance.

When the Earl of Bristol proceeded to execute his instructions, the Spaniard declared that they were equally haughty and inconsiderate. He said that he considered these instructions tantamount to a declaration of war, and that the Ambassador might retire when and in what manner he pleased. The two courts had now come to extremities. The respective ambassadors of each, accordingly, quitted London and Madrid. Before the departure of the Count de Fuentes, he delivered a paper at the court of St. James's, which may be styled his Catholic Majesty's declaration of war against the person of William Pitt. Nothing could be more honorable to that great man than the dread which his enemies evinced of his abilities, by selecting him now for the peculiar object of their hate, and by attempting to undermine his popularity with his countrymen.

Mr. Stanley, in one of his letters to Mr. Pitt, during the negociation for peace, had suggested the probability, (in the event of a union between France and Spain,) that an attack would be made upon Portugal[c]. His suggestion was now verified. Portugal, in point of situation, extent, and national feeling, was in some respects to Spain what Scotland once was to England. The present seemed a favorable opportunity to Charles III. to invade a country so lately wasted by the convulsions of nature and of civil government. Nothing could be more ungenerous and unjust than such a design. But all other feelings were disregarded but those of advantage. Portugal was immediately invaded by the united forces of France and Spain. As it was necessary that England should succour her ally, the sum of one million was voted by Parliament for the purpose. Mr. Pitt supported the resolution of the committee of supply.

[c] Mr. Stanley's words are, "when Spain declares war, I suspect an attack on Portugal."

[d] "He began with pointing out the necessity of continuing the war in Germany, and of supporting the King of Portugal. He observed that, in times of war, connexions with the continent had always been found political except in the four unhappy reigns of the Stuarts. Then turning about to several persons, he very jocularly said, you who are for continental measures, I am with you; and you who are for assisting the King of Portugal, I am with you; and you who are for putting an end to the war, I am with you also, in short I am the only man to be found that am with you all. He then enumerated the successes that attended the British arms in all parts of the world, and the immense advantages gained in our trade, which, he said, would more than compensate the great expence we had been at; and which, he observed, was a consideration that had been overlooked by those who were complaining of the burden of the war. And in regard to contracting the expences, he entirely agreed with those who were for it; and urged, that whoever should effect this salutary work, would deserve the highest encomiums; but he hoped a distinction would be made between contracting the expences and contracting the operations of the war, and desired any one present to shew how the latter could have been, or might still be done with safety. He then remarked, that he did not find any less expence attended the nation now, than when he unworthily held the seals, or that more was done. And turning to the Marquis of Granby, he observed, that he knew his zeal for the service of his country was such, that if he had received his orders he was sure he would not then be where he was. And as to what the noble Lord [e] had said, no one doubted his capacity, if his heart was but as good; that as for his own part he could not tell the reason of the continental expences being greater now than in Queen Anne's time, unless it was because provender and every thing else in Germany was dearer now than then; and wished the noble Lord had explained that part of his speech, for he did not properly know what

[d] This Speech is taken from Debrett's Collection of Debates.

[e] Lord George Sackville, to whose speech this was in answer.

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to make of it; it carried a something, a suspicion he did not understand! But if he meant that there had not been fair play with the money, he knew nothing of it: then stretching out his hand, and moving his fingers, he said they were clean, there was none of it stuck to them, and that he would second any person who should move for an enquiry into the money matters; he was anxious to know how it was appropriated, that the whole truth might come out. He observed, that the noble Lord had said, he bled for his country, and he did not wonder at it; that it was his opinion he ought to throw his body at his Majesty's feet, and there bleed at every pore. He then represented, that in consequence of our withdrawing our troops from Germany, Portugal and the Low Countries might become a prey to the French and Spaniards; that in point of policy we ought not to suffer it; but that he did not mean to bear Portugal on our shoulders, but only to set him on his legs, and put a sword in his hand. He affirmed that France was almost a ruined nation, having expended in the last year upwards of eight millions, and had been still losing; that he knew the finances of France as well as any man in England, and that we by our successes were repaid for our expence; that it was wrong and unjust to represent Great Britain in so deplorable a state as unable to carry on the war, for there were always strangers in the gallery, who wrote to their friends in Holland an account of what passed in that place, (and the Dutch forwarded it to the French;) that it was well known England never was better able to support a war than at present; that the money for this year was raised, and he would answer for it, if we wanted fifteen or twenty millions for next year we might have them. He, therefore, strongly recommended the million as desired; that he knew the cry which had been propagated for these three years, 'You won't be able to raise money to continue the war another year;' and yet we all saw the contrary. He affirmed that one campaign might have finished the war, (alluding to his own proposal of declaring war against Spain;) and in answer to the gentleman[f]

[f] Mr. Glover.

who had said that the complaints of the Portuguese merchants had not been attended to, he insisted, that, so far from it, he had spent many nights in considering them, and referred that gentleman to what had passed between him and the ambassador of the court of Portugal; but those complaints, and the interests of the merchants, he said, had been abandoned ever since the period that he had been compelled to abandon his official situation. He then recommended union and harmony to the ministry, and declared against altercation, which was no way to carry on the public business; and urged the necessity of prosecuting the war with vigour, as the only way to obtain an honorable, solid, and lasting peace; and proved, from the readiness with which supplies had been granted, there would be little danger of a stop on that account, so long as the money was properly applied, and attended with success. He said, he wished to save Portugal, *not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by a most efficacious and adequate assistance.*"

It is clear from this speech in particular, as well as from the general tenor of Mr. Pitt's parliamentary conduct, that he was the firm advocate of those measures which he thought conducive to the public welfare, and that he regarded neither the man nor the party by whom they were brought forward. We here find him supporting the very ministers whose recent opposition to his advice had occasioned his removal.

But however just and expedient was the support which England now afforded to Portugal, the ministry lessened the obligation by the manner in which they conferred it. Whilst they neglected to make some necessary stipulations in behalf of the English merchants, which might have been done with propriety and effect, they sent as ambassador one who had before made himself particularly offensive at Lisbon. This was Lord Tyrawley. At any other time the Portuguese would have remonstrated against his appointment, but their situation was now most dangerous, the succour of England was indispensable, and they were compelled to submit, in silence, to any minister whom that country thought proper to send.

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The retirement of Mr. Pitt had by no means produced unanimity in the English cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Bute had never coalesced but from self-interested motives; they were now estranged by mutual feelings of jealousy and disgust. A crisis in their differences at length arrived. The Duke of Newcastle insisted that two millions of the public money should be applied to the prosecution of the German war, and to the payment of the Prussian subsidy. Both of these propositions being negatived by Lord Bute, the Duke of Newcastle immediately resigned. Lord Bute replaced his Grace at the Treasury, Mr. George Grenville was appointed Secretary of State, and Sir Francis Dashwood Chancellor of the Exchequer.

At the conclusion of the year 1761, it had been intimated to the King of Prussia, from the court of St. James's, that, as it would be inconvenient to Great Britain to renew his subsidy, it would be prudent in him to negociate a peace with the Empress Queen. This intimation, although not amounting to a direct refusal of assistance, was most distressing to Frederick, at a time when he was environed by difficulties and dangers. But at the moment when his destruction appeared inevitable, one of his bitterest and most powerful enemies was removed by death. Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, expired on
1762. the 2nd January, 1762. Her successor, the Emperor Peter III., was a passionate admirer of Frederick's character, and not only withdrew his forces from the confederacy against him, but added them to the Prussian side. The imputation which has been cast upon the conduct of the British ministers, relative to the King of Prussia, in their intercourse with the court of Petersburg, is foreign to the history of Mr. Pitt; I shall, therefore, merely remark, that their intentions were considered by Frederick as extremely prejudicial to his own interests, and dishonorable to themselves, and that he never forgot or forgave them.

The campaign of 1762 was extremely glorious to Great Britain. It was inferior only to that of 1759. The spirit which Mr. Pitt had infused into the councils and armies of the country still operated. The instrument he used still vibrated, though touched by a different hand. The general outline of the campaign, indeed, was his own,

and several of the particular plans would have been earlier accomplished, had he continued in power[s]. It would, however, be unfair to deny any merit to his successors. Under their administration we took Martinique, and several of the French islands in the West Indies. After a very severe resistance by the Spaniards, we made ourselves masters of the Havannah. In the East we conquered the island of Manilla. In Germany, the commander, who considered himself neglected by the English court, seemed only animated by that reflection to greater exertions, and closed the campaign with glory.

But although the war was prosecuted with spirit, the most ardent wishes of the ministry were fixed on peace. The dispositions of France and Spain, towards the attainment of the same object, were equally sincere. Their boasted compact had proved ineffectual, and the accumulated losses they had each experienced, speedily taught them, that England was neither to be intimidated by their threats, nor injured by their alliance. The first overtures of peace between France and England were made by the mediation of the King of Sardinia. After the terms of an accommodation had been proposed, it was agreed, that the present treaty should not, like the former, be negociated by subordinate persons, but that the two courts should reciprocally send to London and Versailles a plenipotentiary of the first rank and distinction. The Duke of Bedford was, accordingly, sent to support the interests of his country, and the Duc de Nivernois received the same commission from France. Thus far all was conducted, on the side of Great Britain, with a dignity proportioned to her situation. But the subsequent proceedings evinced too eager a desire for peace, in consequence of which France assumed a superiority in the transaction, to the adoption of which, on our part, she ought to have been taught to bend. But this was not all, the same anxiety for peace occasioned the abandonment of many advantages which England had obtained at an immense expense of treasure and of blood.

[s] See Appendix No. IV. papers 16, 17, 18.

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Invested with the full powers of a plenipotentiary, the Duke of Bedford departed for Paris on the 5th September, 1762. On the 12th of that month the Duc de Nivernois arrived in England. A few hours after the Duke of Bedford reached Calais, he received despatches from his government, containing some limitations in his powers. The Duke immediately redespatched the messenger with a letter, insisting upon the full authority with which he had been originally invested, and declaring, in the event of a refusal, that he would return to England. But although the cabinet thought proper to accede to his demand, the most essential articles of the treaty were arranged by the Duc de Choiseul and the Sardinian minister at Paris, and the Earl of Bute and the Sardinian minister in London. The Duke of Bedford was required to take no other share in the transaction than that of giving his formal assent. By appointing the King of Sardinia an umpire in the negociation, the power of decision was given to his ambassadors. The Duke of Bedford had scarcely an opportunity of exercising his powers, until a circumstance occurred which caused a division in the cabinet of Great Britain. This was the capture of the Havannah. Intelligence of that event reached England on the 29th September. The negociation was, at this time, nearly concluded, and within a few days the preliminaries would have been signed.

Lord Bute expressed his fears that if the negociation, which was on the point of completion, should again be opened, upon consideration of the Havannah, the arrangements would be much embarrassed and delayed. He therefore declared his wish to conclude the peace in the same manner, and upon the same terms, as if this last conquest had never been made; and advised that its name should only be mentioned as one of the places to be restored.

Mr. Grenville was of a different opinion [b]. He justly thought that the Havannah ought not to be restored without an equivalent. In the deliberations which ensued upon this subject, he insisted that

[b] See Knox's Extra-Official State-Papers, vol. ii.

in the event of the restoration of the Havannah, either the entire possession of Yacatan and Florida, or that of the islands of St. Lucia and Porto Rico should be ceded to Great Britain. His adherence to this opinion in opposition to Lord Bute was the cause of Mr. Grenville's resignation, which took place on the 12th of October. But although he quitted the cabinet he did not relinquish office, being appointed first Lord of the Admiralty in the place of Lord Halifax who succeeded him as Secretary of State. Mr. Grenville was not the only minister who upon this occasion opposed Lord Bute. The Earl of Egremont represented, in the strongest terms, the necessity of demanding an equivalent for the Havannah.

Lord Bute was now obliged to concede so far as to cause instructions to be sent to the Duke of Bedford to demand Florida from the Spaniards in return for the Havannah. The Duke had been informed of the whole dispute in the English cabinet by Mr. Grenville, and, being altogether of that gentleman's opinion, added Porto Rico to his demand.

Some delay now arose, but the Sardinian minister having made arrangements in London for Florida alone, Lord Bute, with an indifference to a possession which there is little doubt might have been obtained if firmly insisted upon, gave positive orders to the Duke of Bedford to sign the preliminaries of peace without the mention of Porto Rico. This was accordingly done.

By this celebrated treaty of peace, France assigned to the English, in Europe, the island of Minorca; in Africa, Senegal; in America, the islands of Cape Breton, St. John, the Grenades and Grenadines, with the neutral islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. France consented also to evacuate the conquests she had made in the Prussian territory, and to place Dunkirk in the defenceless state agreed upon by former treaties. England, on the other hand, restored to the French in Europe, the island of Belle Isle; in Asia, all the conquests we had made; in Africa, the island of Goree; in America, the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante and the neutral island of St. Lucia. The French were permitted, under cer-

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tain restrictions[1], to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to them for the purpose of curing their fish, and for the conduct of their fishery.

With regard to Spain, she stipulated to restore to Portugal any places she might have taken in that country; to cede to the English the province of Florida, and although we were to demolish the fortifications already erected, and to raise no more, we were permitted to cut logwood and build houses in Honduras. Spain also consented to relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. On the part of Great Britain, the Havannah and its dependencies were restored to Spain.

No mention was made in the treaty of the family compact.

In deciding upon the wisdom of measures which took place more than sixty years ago, it would be unfair to be guided solely by events which have occurred long subsequent to the period. We must place ourselves in the predicament of contemporaries. Under this view, few arguments are necessary to prove the shameful inadequacy of this peace to the rights of a victorious people. For what had the enormous expenses, I will not say of Mr. Pitt's war, but of that continued after his resignation, been incurred, if all the possessions we obtained were to be restored without an equivalent? It is preposterous to say that by retaining more we should have perpetuated the jealousy and ill-will of France, and rendered the peace, on her part, a sullen and precarious truce. Under that view, the latter conquests should never have been attempted. Under that view, the millions which were expended, and the lives which were lost were sacrificed without the smallest use, without the least apparent necessity. The terms upon which Mr. Pitt would have terminated the war, were consistent with

[1] Lord Chesterfield says upon this subject, "As for the restrictions upon the French fishery in Newfoundland, they are very well *per la predica*, and for the commissary whom we shall employ; for he will have a good salary from hence, to see that those restrictions are complied with; and the French will double that salary, that he may allow them all to be broken through. It is plain to me that the French fishery will be exactly what it was before the war."—328*th Letter to his Son.*

the manner in which he had waged it. He wished the peace to be as advantageous as the war had been glorious to the people. He now saw persons, who were never concerned or consulted in any negociation before[k], with a single stroke of the pen assigning to the enemy conquests which had cost himself the deepest consideration to plan, and his countrymen the severest labour to achieve. We cannot wonder at his indignation.

A short time before the arrangement of the peace, Mr. Fox was called in to afford a more positive assistance to the administration than that which he was able to yield in his simple capacity of paymaster. Although he retained the latter office, he was also appointed to the management of the House of Commons, and his great experience and parliamentary abilities were very serviceable to Lord Bute. The first object of Lord Bute was to obtain the approbation of Parliament to the preliminaries of the peace. The greatest efforts were made by himself and Mr. Fox to secure a majority upon the question. Had the loftiness of Mr. Pitt's nature allowed him to unite with the Duke of Newcastle, the opposition would have been much more numerous than it actually proved. But Mr. Pitt was in himself a host[l]. Parliament met on the 25th November, 1762. On the 29th, the preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were laid before both Houses. On the 9th December they were taken into consideration, and a motion was made, "To return his Majesty thanks for his gracious condescension in ordering the preliminary articles of peace concluded between his Majesty and their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, to be laid before them; to assure his Majesty his faithful Commons were impatient to express to his Majesty their approbation of the advantageous terms upon which his Majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace;

[k] See Lord Chesterfield's 328th Letter to his Son.

[l] "When Mr. Pitt can have such a mouthful as Lord Bute, Mr. Fox, and the peace, I do not think 3000*l.* a-year will stop it."—*Letter from Horace Walpole to G. Montagu.*

"The Dukes of Cumberland, Newcastle, and Devonshire have no better troops to attack with than the militia, but Pitt alone is *ipse agmen.*"—*Lord Chesterfield's 328th Letter to his Son.*

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and to lay before his Majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate, and thankful people," &c. &c.

Although Mr. Pitt had been for some time confined to his bed by a severe fit of the gout, he came down to the House of Commons and spoke for nearly three hours in the debate. His speech was in answer to Mr. Fox who made the motion.

[m] "Mr. Pitt began with lamenting his ill state of health, which had confined him to his chamber; but although he was at this instant suffering under the most excruciating torture, yet he determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend this day, to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty that obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by an abandonment of our allies. He owned that the terms upon which he had consented to conclude a peace had not been satisfactory to all persons; it was impossible to reconcile every interest; but he had not, he said, for the mere attainment of peace, made a sacrifice of any conquest; he had neither broken the national faith, nor betrayed the allies of the crown. He was ready to enter into a discussion of the merits of the peace he had offered, comparatively with the present preliminaries. He called for the most able casuist amongst the minister's friends, who he saw were all mustered and marshalled for duty, to refute him; they had a most gallant appearance, and there was no doubt of the victory on the main question. If the Right Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Fox,) who took the lead in this debate, would risk the argument of comparison, he would join issue with him, even under all the disadvantages of his present situation. His motive was to stop the torrent of misrepresentation, which was poisoning the virtue of the country.

(No answer being made, Mr. Pitt proceeded:)

"He perceived that the Right Hon. Gentleman and his friends

[m] This Speech is taken from the "Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham," in which it is marked MS. It has been introduced into every regular collection of Parliamentary debates; and may be considered authentic.

were prepared for only the present question. He would therefore take a view of the articles as they appeared upon the paper on the table.

"The first important article was the fishery. The terms in which this article was written, appeared to him to give to France a grant of the whole fishery. There was an absolute unconditional surrender of the island of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France continued to be as attentive to her own interest as we have hitherto found her, would enable her to recover her marine. He considered this to be a most dangerous article to the maritime strength and future power of Great Britain. In the negociation he had with M. de Bussy, he had acquiesced in the cession of St. Pierre only; after having, he said, several times in vain contended for the whole exclusive fishery; but he was over-ruled; he repeated he was over-ruled, not by the foreign enemy, but by another enemy. After many struggles he obtained *four limitations* to the island of St. Pierre; they were indispensable conditions, but they were omitted in the present treaty. If they were necessary in the surrender of one island, they were doubly necessary in the surrender of two. In the volumes of abuse which had been so plentifully bestowed upon him, by the writers who were paid and patronized by those who held great employments in the state, the cession of Pierre only had been condemned in terms of acrimony. He had been reminded that the Earl of Oxford was impeached for allowing the French liberty to fish and dry fish on Newfoundland. He admitted the fact. But that impeachment was a scandalous measure, was disapproved by every impartial person. In one article, (the seventeenth,) the minister is accused of having advised the destructive expedition against Canada. Why was that expedition called destructive? Because it was not successful. Thus have events been considered by Parliament as standards of political judgment. Had the expedition to Canada, under General Wolfe, been unsuccessful, there is no doubt it would also have been called destructive, and some of the gentlemen now in office would this day have been calling for vengeance upon the minister's head.

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"Of Dunkirk he said but little. The French were more favored in this article of the present preliminaries than they had been by any former treaty. He had made the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle his guide on this point; but in the present treaty even that requisition was disregarded.

"Of the dereliction of North America by the French he entirely approved. But the negociators had no trouble in obtaining this acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in his own negociation, to which the French had readily consented. But Florida, he said, was no compensation for the Havannah; the Havannah was an important conquest. He had designed to make it, and would have done it some months earlier, had he been permitted to execute his own plans. From the moment the Havannah was taken all the Spanish treasures and riches in America lay at our mercy. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent. There had been a bargain, but the terms were inadequate. They were inadequate in every point where the principle of reciprocity was affected to be introduced.

"He had been blamed for consenting to give up Guadaloupe. That cession had been a question in another place. He wished to have kept the island; he had been over-ruled in that point also—he could not help it; he had been over-ruled many times—on many occasions; he had acquiesced—he had submitted; but at length he saw all his measures—all his sentiments were inimical to the new system—to those persons to whom his Majesty had given his confidence. But to Guadaloupe these persons had added the cession of Martinique. Why did they permit the forces to conquer Martinique if they were resolved to restore it? Was it because the preparations for that conquest were so far advanced, they were afraid to countermand them? And to the cession of the islands of Cuba, Guadaloupe, and Martinique, there is added the island of St. Lucia, the only valuable one of the neutral islands. It is impossible, said he, to form any judgment of the motives which can have influenced his Majesty's servants to make these important sacrifices. They seem to have lost

sight of the great fundamental principle, that France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power; and, therefore, by restoring to her all the valuable West India islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, we had given to her the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea. The fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen, and the West India trade employed them when they were trained. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, France gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce she enriched her merchants and augmented her finances. The state of the existing trade in the conquests in North America is extremely low; the speculations as to the future trade are precarious, and the prospect, at the very best, is remote. We stand in need of supplies which will have an effect certain, speedy, and considerable. The retaining both, or even one of the considerable French islands, Martinique or Guadaloupe, will, and nothing else can, effectually answer this triple purpose. The advantage is immediate. It is a matter not of conjecture, but of account. The trade with these conquests is of the most lucrative nature, and of the most considerable extent; the number of ships employed by it are a great resource to our maritime power; and, what is of equal weight, all that we gain on this system is made fourfold to us by the loss which ensues to France. But our conquests in North America are of very little detriment to the commerce of France. On the West Indian scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss go hand in hand. He insisted upon the obvious connection of this trade with that of the colonies in North America, and with our commerce to the coast of Africa. The African trade would be augmented, which, with that of North America, would all centre in Great Britain. But if the islands are all restored, a great part of the benefit of the colony trade must redound to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals. Though we

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had retained either Martinique or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such that there was still abundant matter left to display our moderation.

"Goree, he said, is also surrendered, without the least apparent necessity, notwithstanding it had been agreed, in the negociation with M. de Bussy, that it should remain with the British crown, because it was essential to the security of Senegal.

"In the East Indies there was an engagement for mutual restitution of conquests.—He asked, what were the conquests which France had to restore? He declared that she had none. All the conquests which France had made had been retaken, and were in our own possession; as were likewise all the French settlements and factories. Therefore the restitution was all from one side. We retained nothing, although we had conquered every thing.

"Of the restitution of Minorca he approved; and that, he said, was the only conquest which France had to restore; and for this island we had given the East Indies, the West Indies, and Africa. The purchase was made at a price that was fifty times more than it was worth. Belle Isle alone, he affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent for Minorca.

"As to Germany, he said, it was a wide field, a tedious and lengthened consideration, including the interests of many hostile powers, some of them immediately, and others eventually, connected with Great Britain. There might sometimes be policy in the construction of our measures, to consult our insular situation only. But while we had France for our enemy, it was a scene to employ and to baffle her arms. Had the armies of France not been employed in Germany, they would have been transported to America, where we should have found it more difficult to have conquered them. And if we had succeeded, the expense would have been greater. Let any one, he said, make a fair estimate of the expense of transports and provisions to that distant climate, and he will find, in the article of expense, the war in Germany to be infinitely less than in the wilds of America. Upon this principle he affirmed that the conquests made

in America had been owing to the employment of the French army in Germany. He said, with an emphasis, that America had been conquered in Germany.

"He owned that several objections had been made to the German war. He thought them frivolous and puerile, factious and malicious. It had been said, that during twelve months after the Marathon of Minden, not a squadron of ships had been sent to make any British conquests. If this be true, will any man say that France would, the day before the battle of Minden, have made those humiliating concessions she afterwards did make? To what but her ill success in the German war was it owing, that she submitted to the most mortifying terms in the late negociation with M. de Bussy? These facts speak for themselves; and from them it appears, that the cessions offered by France, during the late negociation, which will always be remembered with glory to Great Britain, were owing to our perseverance in the German war, and to our observing good faith towards our Protestant allies on the continent.

"Other objections had been made, and while he was upon the subject he would take notice of them. It had been said, that the French subsidies do not amount to half what we pay. The subsidies which the French actually pay may not, but what they promise amount to double. They subsidise Sweden, Russia, and the Swisses, several Italian states, and, if we are to believe their own writers, even the Danes; those subsidies are most, or all of them, for negative services. They have got nothing by the Swedes; they have got nothing by the Empress of Russia, though she has got a great deal for herself; they have got far less by the Empress Queen, if we except the honor of having buried above 150,000 of their best troops in Germany. The Wertemburghers, it is well known, have refused to serve them; the Swiss and Italian states cannot serve them, and the Danes give them—a neutrality.

"The subsidy to Hesse had been arraigned, and falsehood had been added to malignity. But it ought to be remembered, that the treaty with Hesse was made before he came into office. An imputa-

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tion of crime to him, for not breaking that alliance, came with a very ill grace from them who made it. They blamed him for consenting to pay the Prince of Hesse a sum of money for the damage done by the French in his dominions. He was astonished that any set of men, who arrogated to themselves the distinction of friends to his present Majesty, should represent this circumstance as a crime. Can a people, he asked, who impeached the Tory ministry of Queen Anne, for not supporting the Catalans at an expense that would have cost some millions, against their King, merely because they were our allies—can a people, who unanimously gave 100,000*l.* as a relief to the Portuguese, when under the inflicting hand of heaven, merely because they were our allies—can a people, who indemnify their American subjects, whom at the same time they protect in their possessions, and even give damages to their own publicans when they suffer, though in pursuance of our own Acts of Parliament—can such a people cry aloud against the moderate relief to a Prince, the ally and son-in-law of Great Britain, who is embarked in the same cause with Great Britain, who is suffering for her, who for her sake is driven from his dominions, where he is unable to raise one shilling of his revenue, and with his wife, the daughter of our late venerable monarch, is reduced to a state of exile and indigence? Surely they cannot. Let our munificence, therefore, to such a Prince be never again brought forward.

"It had been exultingly said, that the present German war had overturned that balance of power which he had sought for in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. This assertion was so far from having the smallest foundation in truth, that he believed the most superficial observers of public affairs scarcely stood in need of being told, that that balance was overturned long before this war had existence. It was overturned by the Dutch before the end of the late war. When the French saw that they had nothing to apprehend from the Dutch, they blew up that barrier for which our Nassaus and Marlboroughs had fought. The Louvestein faction again got the ascendancy in Holland; the French monarchy again took the Dutch

republic under its wings, and the brood it has hatched has—but let us forbear serpentine expressions. Since the time that the grand confederacy against France took place, the military power of the Dutch by sea and land has been in a manner extinguished, while another power then scarcely thought of in Europe, has started up—that of Russia, and moves in its own orbit extrinsically of all other systems; but gravitating to each according to the mass of attracting interests it contains.—Another power, against all human expectation, was raised in Europe in the House of Brandenburgh, and the rapid successes of his Prussian Majesty prove him to be born to be the natural asserter of Germanic liberties against the House of Austria. We have been accustomed to look up with reverence to that House, and the phenomenon of another great power in Germany was so very new to us, that for some time he was obliged to attach himself to France. France and Austria united, and Great Britain and Prussia coalesced. Such are the great events by which the balance of power in Europe has been entirely altered since the time of the grand alliance against France.

"His late Majesty so passionately endeavoured to maintain or revive the ancient balance, that he encountered at home, on that account, opposition to his government, and, abroad, danger to his person, but he could not reanimate the Dutch with the love of liberty, nor inspire the Empress Queen with sentiments of moderation. They talk at random, therefore, who impute the present situation of Germany to the conduct of Great Britain. Great Britain was out of the question; nor could she have interposed in it without taking a much greater share than she did. To represent France as an object of terror, not only to Great Britain but Europe, and that we had mistaken our interest in not reviving the grand alliance against her, was mere declamation. Her ruined armies now returning from Germany, without being able, through the opposition of a handful of British troops, to effect any material object, is the strongest proof of the expediency of the German war.

"The German war prevented the French from succouring their

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colonies and islands in America, in Asia, and in Africa. Our successes were uniform, because our measures were vigorous.

"He had been blamed for continuing the expense of a great marine, after the defeat of M. Conflans. This was a charge that did not surprise him, after the many others which had been made, and which were equally unfounded and malignant. It was said, that the French marine after that defeat was in so ruinous a condition, that there was not the least occasion for our keeping so formidable a force to watch its motions. It was true, he said, that the French marine was ruined, no man doubted it—they had not ten ships of the line fit for service, but could we imagine that Spain, who in a very short time gave him but too much reason to be convinced that his suspicions were well founded, was not in a common interest with France; and that the Swedes, the Genoese, and even the Dutch, would not have lent their ships for hire?

"He begged pardon of the House for detaining them so long, he would detain them but a few minutes longer.

"The desertion of the King of Prussia, whom he styled the most magnanimous ally this country ever had, in the preliminary articles on the table, he reprobated in the strongest terms. He called it insidious, tricking, base, and treacherous. After amusing that great and wonderful Prince during four months, with promises of the subsidy, he had been deceived and disappointed. But to mark the inveteracy and treachery of the cabinet still stronger, he is selected from our other allies, by a malicious and scandalous distinction in the present articles. In behalf of the other allies of Great Britain, we had stipulated, that all the places belonging to them which had been conquered should be evacuated and restored. But with respect to the places which the French had conquered belonging to the King of Prussia, there was stipulated evacuation only. Thus the French might keep those places until the Austrian troops were ready to take possession of them. All the places which the French possessed belonging to the Elector of Hanover, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. did not amount to more than ten villages, or

about an hundred acres of land; but the places belonging to the King of Prussia they were in possession of were Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c. CHAP. XIX. 1762.

"Upon the whole, the terms of the proposed treaty met with his most hearty disapprobation. He saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness. The peace was inadequate, because the places gained were no equivalent for the places surrendered."

Mr. Pitt did not wait for the division, but left the House, after speaking, in an agony of pain. The motion was carried by a very large majority[n].

The same exertions which were made by the minister and his friends to obtain the approbation of Parliament to the preliminaries of the peace, were also used with success to procure addresses to his Majesty, upon the same subject, from the people. The following address from the corporation of Bath was presented by Sir J. Sebright, one of the members of that city; Mr. Pitt who was his colleague, declining, in any way, to be concerned in it.

"We the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the ancient 1763.
and loyal city of Bath, do beg leave to congratulate, and most humbly to thank your Majesty for an adequate and advantageous peace which you have graciously procured for your people, after a long and very expensive though necessary and glorious war, which your Majesty, upon your accession to the throne, found your kingdom engaged in.

"And we take the liberty to assure your Majesty, that upon all occasions we shall be ready to give the most evident proofs of the truest zeal and duty which the most dutiful subjects can testify to the most gracious and best of Princes."

Mr. Pitt in the commencement of his administration had been chosen member for Bath. The principle upon which he was then

[n] 319 against 65.

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carrying on the war was so opposite to the one upon which the present peace was concluded, that Mr. Pitt could not reconcile himself to the idea of continuing to represent men from whom, upon such vital questions, he now differed so widely. He accordingly addressed the following letter to his friend Mr. Allen, whose influence with the Bath corporation was most considerable.

"*Hayes, June* 2, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having declined accompanying Sir John Sebright in presenting the address from Bath, transmitted to us jointly by the town-clerk, I think it on all accounts indispensably necessary, that I should inform you of the reason of my conduct. The epithet of *adequate* given to the peace contains a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in Parliament; that it was as impossible for me to obey the corporation's commands in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive such a commission. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only say, that I formed it with sincerity according to such lights as my little experience and small portion of understanding could afford me. This conviction must remain to myself the constant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear, good Sir, to desire to convey, through you, to Mr. Mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, these my free sentiments: and with the justest sense of their past goodness towards me plainly to confess that I perceive I am but ill qualified to form pretensions to the future favor of gentlemen who are come to think so differently from me on matters of the highest importance to the national welfare. I am ever, with respectful and affectionate esteem, my dear Sir, your faithful friend and obliged humble servant,

"W. PITT.

"Lady Chatham joins with me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park."

To this communication Mr. Allen thus instantly replied:

"*Prior Park, June* 4.

"MY DEAREST SIR,

"It is extremely painful to me to find, by the letter which you was pleased to send me the 2d of this month, that the word *adequate*, in the Bath address, has been so very offensive to you, as to hinder the sincerest and most zealous of your friends in the corporation from testifying, for the future, their great attachment to you.

"Upon this occasion, in justice to them, it is incumbent upon me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not rest with them, but myself, who suddenly drew up that address to prevent their sending of another, which the Mayor brought to me, in terms that I could not concur in. Copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to send you in the enclosed paper for your private perusal, and Sir John Sebright having, in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck, only acquainted him that in your absence in the country he delivered the address, I shall decline executing your commands to the Corporation on this delicate point, unless you renew them upon your perusal of this letter, which, for safety, I have sent by a messenger, and beg your answer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

"Permit me to say that I have not the least objection to, but the highest regard, and even veneration for your whole conduct, neither have I any apology to make for the expression in which I am so unfortunate as to differ from you. And with the utmost respect affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be, my dearest Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

"R. ALLEN.

"The best wishes of this family always attend Lady Chatham."

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Mr. Allen's messenger returned with the following letter from Mr. Pitt:

"*Hayes, June 5,* 1763.

"My dear Sir,

"I am sorry that my letter of the 2d instant should give you uneasiness, and occasion you the trouble of sending a messenger to Hayes. I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern than to find that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of the man whose goodness of heart and private virtues I shall ever respect and love. I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts; but, knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons which prevented my obeying their commands, in presenting an address containing a disavowal of my opinion delivered in Parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion; and, as a man not forgetful of the distinguished honor of having been invited to represent them, I owe it in gratitude to them not to think of embarrassing and encumbering for the future friends to whom I have such obligations, and who now view, with approbation, measures of an administration founded on the subversion of that system which once procured me the countenance and favor of the City of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable good friend will be so good as to convey to Mr. Mayor and the gentlemen of the Corporation my sentiments as contained in my letter of the 2d instant.

"I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect and affection, my dear Sir, most faithfully your's,

"W. Pitt."

Mr. Pitt's resolution no longer to represent the City of Bath remaining thus unchanged, Mr. Allen executed his commission, and in another letter to Mr. Pitt thus expresses himself upon the subject:

"*Prior Park, June* 9.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"With the greatest anxiety and concern I have, in obedience to your positive and repeated commands, executed the most painful commission that I ever received.

"Upon this disagreeable occasion give me leave just to say, that however different our abilities may be, it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made the strictest enquiry, to act pursuant to the light which the Supreme Being has been pleased to dispense to him; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty now only to add, that it is impossible for any person to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious administration than I do, nor can be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection, and respect than I have been, still am, and always shall be, my dearest Sir, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

"R. ALLEN.

"The best wishes of this family wait upon Lady Chatham."

CHAPTER XX.

1763.

Lord Bute's want of popularity—Mr. Pitt speaks against the Tax upon Perry and Cider—Resignation of Lord Bute—Character of Mr. George Grenville—Lord Sandwich—Charges respecting Lord Bute's clandestine administration considered—The North Briton and Mr. Wilkes—Death of the Earl of Egremont—Lord Hardwicke's letter relating the two interviews of Mr. Pitt with his Majesty—Mr. Pitt's Speeches respecting the privilege of Parliament—Weakness of the opposition—Sir W. Pynsent bequeathes his estate to Mr. Pitt—Curious Anecdote respecting Sir W. Pynsent—Change of Administration—Character of Mr. Burke—Retrospect of American affairs—Claim of the British Parliament to tax America considered—The Stamp Act, and its consequences—Opinions of different parties upon this subject—Mr. Pitt's celebrated Speech.

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NOTHING could exceed Lord Bute's want of popularity as minister, but his want of capacity for that arduous station. Although not devoid of shrewdness and penetration, he possessed neither judgment nor experience. His manners were reserved and unconciliating, and consequently he added few friends to the small number attached to him by family connexion*. Notwithstanding the excellent sense of

* The following lines upon the occasion of Lord Bute's maintaining his ground against Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, and their respective parties, and upon the cession of Florida at the peace, appeared about this time in some of the public journals.

"NEWCASTLE COAL.
PITT COAL.
SCOTCH COAL.

"Quoth *Jack* to his friend, as his fingers he blew,
'Tis prodigiously cold: prithee what must we do?

his secretary, Mr. Jenkinson, whom he generally consulted, notwithstanding the great abilities of his adviser, Mr. Fox, Lord Bute frequently committed the grossest political errors. Of this description was the act which he now brought forward to impose a tax upon articles which, in many parts of England, are considered almost as necessaries of life—a tax upon perry and cider. The first suggestion of the minister was to lay a duty of 10*s.* per hogshead upon the liquor sold by retail, confining the tax to the victualler. The next proposal was to lay the same assessment upon the first buyer. The country gentlemen approving of neither of these modes of taxation, a bill was brought in to lay 4*s.* per hogshead upon the grower. The duty was thus lowered, but the excise laws were extended to private houses. The clamour against this bill was almost as great as that which arose against a similar one brought forward by Sir Robert Walpole in 1733, and which nearly drove that able minister from the helm.

Mr. Pitt spoke against the measure, particularly against the dangerous precedent of admitting the officers of excise into private houses. Every man's house was, he said, his castle. If this tax is endured, he said, it would necessarily lead to the introduction of the laws of excise, into the domestic concerns of every private family, and into every species of the produce of land. The laws of excise were odious and grievous to the dealer, but intolerable to the private person. The precedent, he contended, was particularly dangerous, when men by their birth, education, and profession very distinct from the trader became subjected to these laws.

This debate gave rise to a humorous incident, which fixed a ridiculous epithet upon one of the chief promoters of the bill. At this time a song of Dr. Howard's which began with the words, "Gentle

> Our fire's all extinguished, nor have we a bit
> Of that fuel we us'd from *Newcastle* or *Pitt*.
>
> "Oot, oot, mon, quoth *Sawney*, we've fuel in planty
> Raal *Scotch*, by my saul, and it weel may contant ye.
> And, honey, quoth *Teague*, when the summer begins
> We'll have *Florida Turf*, that shall burn all your shins."

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shepherd, tell me where," and in which each stanza ended with that line, was in the mouths of all. Mr. Grenville, in answer to Mr. Pitt, contended that the present tax was unavoidable, because the government did not know *where* else they could lay a tax of equal efficiency. "Let the Honorable Gentleman," said he, "*tell me where* you can lay another tax, let the Honorable Gentleman, I say, *tell me where.*" He then sat down. Mr. Pitt paced slowly out of the House, humming the line, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where." The effect was irresistible, and settled upon Mr. Grenville the appellation of "the gentle shepherd [b]."

The bill passed by a great majority. But notwithstanding his success upon this occasion, Lord Bute's situation was by no means void of uneasiness and apprehension. The opposition had recently assumed a more united and formidable appearance [c], and Lord Bute had neither individual energy nor sufficient support from his friends to enable him to despise it. The gratification of his ambitious views had been heavily balanced. His utter want of popularity, and the little cordial support he received from many of the members of the cabinet, disgusted and alarmed him. The public, however, were unacquainted with his feelings; they supposed him at this time, firmly and permanently seated in the administration, and it was with astonishment that
April 8. they now saw him resign. But, although Lord Bute withdrew from office, the system of administration remained unchanged. A few days after his resignation, Mr. George Grenville was appointed first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was the first time since the death of Mr. Pelham, that those two great offices had been held by the same individual.

George Grenville, one of the most indefatigable and upright

[b] Butler's Reminiscences. Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham. Debrett's Debates.

[c] The union of the opposition may be dated from the first public dinner given by the Duke of Newcastle, about the middle of March, 1763. At this were present the Dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland, Marquis of Rockingham, Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburnam, Hardwicke, Besborough, Lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers, Mr. Pitt, Mr. J. Grenville, and Sir G. Saville.—*History of the late Minority*, p. 91.

statesmen whom this country has produced, was born on the 14th of October, 1712. At an early age he adopted the profession of law, in the learning of which he became competently versed.

Obtaining by the interest of his family a seat in the House of Commons, he devoted himself to the business of Parliament with the most unwearied zeal. He soon became a conspicuous member of the House of Commons, and was successively appointed Lord of the Treasury and Admiralty, and Treasurer of the Navy. Although descended from ancient and powerful ancestors, his elevation was more owing to his own abilities and exertions than to his family connections.

It is well said of him by Mr. Burke, that "He took public business not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy, and seemed to have no delight out of the House except in such things as some way related to the business in it[d]."

His exertions were productive of many general and particular advantages to the country. In the year 1757, he brought forward his celebrated bill for the relief of seamen. As Mr. Pitt had been called the *soldier's*, so might Mr. Grenville be emphatically called the *sailor's* friend. The accumulated experience of succeeding years may have discovered some defects in this bill, but the humanity which prompted it is conspicuous, and the benefits which resulted from it were great and immediate.

Upon the accession of George III. Mr. G. Grenville was justly regarded as one of the ablest men in Great Britain. From his known abilities, experience, and integrity, scarcely any one appeared more proper to be entrusted with power. It was now that a difference in political sentiment unhappily estranged Mr. Grenville from Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. It is known that he subsequently became reconciled to the former, but it has been asserted that his estrangement from the latter remained till death. I am happy to say that the fact was otherwise. It is always unpleasant to reflect upon the alter-

[d] See Mr. Burke's renowned speech in April, 1774.

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cations of near relations. When they are men illustrious by their actions, and remarkable for their honor and integrity, their enmity is more particularly distressing. I have, therefore, great satisfaction in affirming, upon undeniable authority, that the grave did not close upon Mr. G. Grenville until long after the sincerest reconciliation had taken place between himself and Lord Chatham. In the ministerial arrangements which were made in the year 1762, Mr. Grenville, for a short time, held the seals of Secretary of State. In the summer of the same year we find him resigning this appointment for the chief seat at the Board of Admiralty. He is allowed by all parties to have acquitted himself in this arduous and responsible situation with high honor to himself, and to the great advantage of the country. At this maturity of his reputation, the sudden resignation of Lord Bute called Mr. Grenville to the first ministerial appointment. The leading events of his administration were certainly unfortunate for his own fame, and for the dignity and interests of his country. I allude to the degrading contest with Wilkes, and to the fatal one with America. With regard, however, to both these events there is much to be said in vindication of Mr. Grenville. The warrant which he signed for the apprehension of Wilkes has been, undoubtedly, proved to be illegal; but, for the space of a hundred years it had been the practice of his office to issue such warrants, and he was able to adduce numerous precedents to sanction the procedure. As to the other, and far more important event, be it remembered that when Mr. Grenville, in the House of Commons, first proposed to tax America, there was but one member who had the sense and manliness to oppose him[e]. If, therefore, it be said that his proposition to tax America was productive of the greatest calamities to the country, the House of Commons, almost without an exception, is implicated in the charge. Another consideration arises as to the part taken by Mr. Grenville in our lamentable struggle with America. No one has accused him of insincerity. He believed that Great Britain had the *right*, he believed, also, that she had the

[e] General Conway.

power to tax America. In maintaining the latter position, perhaps he was not, in the first instance, mistaken. Had no opposition to the tax, within our own houses of parliament arisen, it is probable that it would not have been resisted, for some years at least, by America. Unfortunately for Mr. Grenville it was opposed by one who never allowed any temporising consideration to deter him from asserting what he considered the great cause of independence. Mr. Pitt, in language that would have excited the coldest breast, declared that we had no right whatever to tax the colonies. Other senators echoed his opinions. Can it be wondered at that the flame, already kindled in America, should be fanned by a breath like this into a fire unquenchable! Mr. Grenville was not answerable for this[f].

The Earl of Sandwich was now made first Lord of the Admiralty. This nobleman was born November 3, 1718. He succeeded his grandfather in the earldom during his minority, and subsequently became an able and intelligent speaker in the House of Peers. Constituted minister plenipotentiary to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, he assisted in arranging those preliminaries of peace which were ratified in October, 1748. He was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty in 1754, and discharged his official duties with sufficient ability; but his private life was irregular and immoral, and he was far from possessing the esteem of the public[g]. Several other changes in the Boards of the Treasury and the Admiralty at this time took place.

The assertions respecting the clandestine administration of Lord Bute, for many years posterior to his ostensible resignation, have been so repeatedly advanced that they have generally been regarded as irrefragably true. But allowing them to be in some respects correct, they must, upon the whole, be considered as gross exaggerations. That Lord Bute possessed considerable influence with the ministry which

[f] See a very high character of Mr. Grenville in Knox's Extra-Official State-Papers.

[g] In September, 1763, Lord Sandwich became Secretary of State, and in 1771, he was again appointed first Lord of the Admiralty. He died in 1792.

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succeeded him, and that many of the subsequent negociations respecting the great offices of government were conducted by him, appears to be certain: but that men of talent, integrity, and high birth were the passive instruments of his will, is a charge as improbable as it is degrading, and which certainly has never been proved. In retiring from office, Lord Bute probably desired to retain a certain degree of power which he himself was not able precisely to define. His favor with the sovereign naturally rendered his influence of importance; but his dissatisfaction with succeeding administrations clearly shews that they frequently asserted their own independence.

At this time the public attention, which before had been frequently turned towards a periodical paper and its author, was now wholly engrossed by them. The North Briton, whose attacks it was supposed had partly occasioned the resignation of Lord Bute, was now directed against his successors. On the 23rd April the forty-fifth number of that paper appeared. It is not my intention to enter largely upon a subject which has been so repeatedly discussed. Mr. Wilkes was a political adventurer, possessing insolence and intrepidity in their utmost degree, restrained by no sense of decency or propriety, but solely bent upon retrieving his desperate fortunes.

The apprehension of Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant from the Secretary of State's office, his committal to the Tower, and his subsequent enlargement, upon the decision of Chief Justice Pratt, are facts upon which it is unnecessary to dwell. Lord Temple, conceiving the proceedings of the government, in this instance, oppressive and illegal, espoused the cause of Mr. Wilkes. Being directed, as Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, to signify to Mr. Wilkes, who was colonel of the militia of that county, that he was deprived of his commission, he conveyed the intimation in terms of compliment towards Mr. Wilkes, and of regret on his own part for the duty which he was commanded to perform. This was resented by the government. Lord Temple was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenantcy of Buckinghamshire, and his name erased from the list of his Majesty's Privy Counsellors. Although Mr. Pitt's opinion against the illegality of general warrants

was early formed, it led not to the slightest association with Mr. Wilkes. He disliked and despised the individual whilst he condemned the measures which were adopted against him.

The ministry were thrown into much perplexity by the sudden death of the Earl of Egremont[h] on the 20th August, 1763. There were various conjectures as to his successor. Lord Sandwich's appointment was by many considered probable, and that Charles Townshend would succeed to the Admiralty. Others were of opinion that the Duke of Bedford would be made Secretary of State. Lord Bute was himself anxious to form an administration under the auspices of Mr. Pitt. For this purpose he commissioned Sir Harry Erskine to obtain for him an interview with Mr. Pitt through the interest of Alderman Beckford.

The subsequent very important and extraordinary proceedings are thus related by Lord Hardwicke, in a letter to his son.

"*Wimpole, September* 4, 1763.

"I have heard the whole from the Duke of Newcastle, and on Friday morning *de source* from Mr. Pitt. It is as strange as it is long, for I believe it is the most extraordinary transaction that ever happened in any court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the present.

"It began, as to the substance, by a message from my Lord B—e to Mr. Pitt, at Hayes, through my Lord Mayor, to give him the meeting privately at some third place. This his Lordship, (Lord B.) afterwards altered by a note from himself, saying, that as he loved to do things openly, he would come to Mr. Pitt's house in Jermyn Street in broad day-light. They met, accordingly, and Lord B—e, after the first compliments, frankly acknowledged that his ministry could not go on, and that the * * * * was convinced of it, and therefore he (Lord B.) desired that Mr. Pitt would open himself

[h] Charles Wyndham, first Earl of Egremont of that name, son of the celebrated Sir William Wyndham.

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frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and persons with the utmost freedom. After much excuse and hanging back, Mr. Pitt did so, with the utmost freedom indeed, though with civility. Lord B—e heard with great attention and patience, entered into no defence, but at last said, 'If these are your opinions, why should you not tell them to the * * * * himself, who will not be unwilling to hear you?' 'How can I, my Lord, presume to go to the * * * *, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience? The presumption would be too great.' 'But suppose his M——y should order you to attend him, I presume, Sir, you would not refuse it.' 'The * * * *'s command would make it my duty, and I should certainly obey it.'

"This was on last Thursday se'nnight[k]. On the next day (Friday) Mr. Pitt received from the * * * * an open note, unsealed, requiring him to attend his M——y on Saturday noon, at the Q——'s palace, in the park. In obedience hereto, Mr. Pitt went on Saturday, at noon-day, through the Mall in his gouty chair, the boot of which, (as he said himself,) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Q——'s palace. He was immediately carried into the closet, received very graciously, and his M——y began in like manner, as his quondam favorite had done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and persons at large, and with the utmost freedom; and, I think, did, in substance, make the like confession, that he thought his present ministers could not go on. The audience lasted three hours, and Mr. Pitt went through the whole, upon both heads, more fully than he had done to Lord B—e, but with great complaisance and *douceur* to the * * * *; and his M——y gave him a very gracious *accueil*, and heard with great patience and attention. And Mr. Pitt affirms that, in general, and upon the most material points, he appeared by his manner, and many of his expressions, to be convinced. Mr. Pitt went through the infirmities of the peace, the things necessary, and hitherto neglected, to improve and

[k] August 25.

preserve it; the present state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; the great Whig families and persons who had been driven from his Majesty's council and service, which it would be for his interest to restore. In doing this he repeated many names, upon which his M——y told him there was pen, ink, and paper, and he wished he would write them down. Mr. Pitt humbly excused himself, saying, that would be too much for him to take upon him, and he might, upon his memory, omit some material persons, which might be subject to imputation. The * * * * still said he liked to hear him, and bid him go on, but said, now and then, that his honor must be consulted; to which Mr. Pitt answered in a very courtly manner. His M——y ordered him to come again on Monday, which he did, to the same place, and in the same public manner.

"Here comes in a parenthesis, that on Sunday Mr. Pitt went to Claremont, and acquainted the Duke of Newcastle with the whole, fully persuaded, from the * * * *'s manner and behaviour, that the thing would do, and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be settled. This produced the messages to those Lords who were sent for. Mr. Pitt undertook to write to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Newcastle to myself.

"But behold the catastrophe of Monday[1]. The * * * * received him equally graciously; and that audience lasted near two hours. The * * * * began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honor. His M——y then mentioned Lord Northumberland for the treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. Pitt hesitated an objection—that certainly Lord Northumberland might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the treasury. His M——y then mentioned Lord Halifax for the treasury.—Mr. Pitt said, 'Suppose your M——y should think fit to give his Lordship the paymaster's place.' The * * * * replied, 'But, Mr. Pitt, I had

[1] August 29.

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designed that for poor G. Grenville. He is your near relation, and you once loved him.' To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait.—'Why,' says his M——y, 'should not Lord Temple have the treasury? You could go on then very well.' 'Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honor with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a treasury connected with him; but that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have supported the revolution government, and other great persons, of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your M——y if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your M——y make a solid administration on any other foot.' 'Well, Mr. Pitt, I see, (or I fear,) this won't do. My honor is concerned, and I must support it.'—*Et sic finita est fabula. Vos valete,* but I cannot, with a safe conscience, add *plaudite.* I have made my skeleton larger than I intended at first, and I hope you will understand it. Mr. Pitt professes himself firmly persuaded that my Lord B—e was sincere at first, and that the * * * * was in earnest the first day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, some strong effort was made, which produced the alteration.

"Mr. Pitt likewise affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negociation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole.

"It will certainly be given out, that the reason was the unreasonable extent of Mr. Pitt's plan—a general rout; and the minority, after having complained of proscriptions, have endeavoured to proscribe the majority. I asked Mr. Pitt the direct question, and he assured me that, although he thought himself obliged to name a great many persons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or six for particular places. I must tell you that one of these was your humble servant, for the president's place. This was entirely without my authority or privity. But the * * * *'s answer was,

'Why, Mr. Pitt, it is vacant and ready for him, and he knows he may have it to-morrow if he thinks fit.'

"I conjectured that this was said with regard to what had passed with poor Lord Egremont, which made me think it necessary to tell Mr. Pitt in general what had passed with that Lord, (not owning that his Lordship had offered it directly in the * * * *'s name,) and what I had answered, which he, in his way, much commended.

"This obliges me to desire that you will send by the bearer my letter to you, which you were to communicate to my Lord Lyttleton, that I may see how I have stated it there, for I have no copy.

"I shall now make you laugh, though some parts of what goes before make me melancholy, to see the * * * * so committed, and his M——y submitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh is, that the ministers are so stung with this admission, that they cannot go on, (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on,) and with my Lord B—'s having thus carried them to market in his pocket; that they say Lord B—e has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity; that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord Halifax and George Grenville have declared, that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain cardinal was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as absolutely whilst he was absent as when he was present."

The condescension of George the Third in thus discussing with a subject the interests of his kingdom, and his desire to reconcile differences and form an administration upon a popular basis, are most honorable to his character as a man and as a sovereign. It is only to be regretted that his Majesty did not previously weigh the probable issue of these conferences, and that at the end of his first interview with Mr. Pitt, he did not give his commands in a manner so decided as to preclude the doubt and disappointment which subsequently ensued. It is evident from Lord Hardwicke's statement that the first

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conference closed with a feeling upon both sides, that the negociation would end in the satisfactory arrangement of an administration. What then, were the causes which intervened to produce so different a result? In the absence of certainty upon this subject, the opinions of contemporaries, especially of the able and disinterested, would appear to be most deserving of attention. Lord Chesterfield, however, frankly acknowledges that he knew not those causes, but "probably," says he, "one party asked too much, and the other would grant too little [m]." By consulting Lord Hardwicke's letter, it appears that, although the King expressed a wish that the Earl of Northumberland should be appointed to the Treasury, and George Grenville to the Paymastership, he was willing to depart from this arrangement provided it would secure unanimity; and that himself proposed Lord Temple for the Treasury. Nothing, indeed, denied by his Majesty or demanded by Mr. Pitt, indicated the failure of any point upon which the negociation hinged. It has been asserted, that upon the day which intervened between the King's two conferences with Mr. Pitt, it was signified to Lord Bute that if he turned out the ministry, his own impeachment would be the consequence; and that, alarmed by this threat, he compounded for his own safety by allowing them to retain their places [n]. But this is a wild conjecture. Supposing that Lord Bute's conduct in the negociation of the peace, (and no other criminal charge has ever been alleged against him,) really subjected him to impeachment, with what decency could it have been brought forward by those who for a whole year had acted in concert with, and often in subordination to the delinquent?

The opinion of a living writer, I think approaches nearest to the truth. "It is more probable," says Mr. Adolphus, alluding to another conjecture as to the King's change of sentiment, "that at the first interview, the King, transported with Mr. Pitt's rapid and commanding eloquence, overlooked the inevitable tendency of his arrangement, that of subjecting the throne to the domination of certain

[m] Lord Chesterfield's 336th letter to his son.

[n] Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham.

powerful families; but in the intermediate day, he had reflected on the subject, and when the second conference took place, although he was willing to assure to Mr. Pitt and his friends a complete ascendancy in the cabinet, by making Lord Temple first Lord of the Treasury, Lord Hardwicke President of the Council, and Mr. Pitt Secretary of State, yet he would not submit to the exclusive spirit, which induced Mr. Pitt to attempt filling the whole council board with one strong, compact, weighty influence[o]."

After the death of Lord Granville, the president's chair had remained for some time vacant: it was the wish of Lord Egremont and of Mr. Grenville that the Duke of Leeds should succeed to the presidency; but Lord Bute interposed, and the Duke of Bedford was appointed[p]. The great strength which he imparted to the ministry, characterized it as the Duke of Bedford's administration.

On the Wednesday subsequent to the last conference with which his Majesty honored Mr. Pitt, that gentleman and Lord Temple went to St. James's to pay their duty to the King; they were both most graciously received, and his Majesty said in the kindest manner to Mr. Pitt, "I hope, Sir, you have not suffered by standing so long on Monday." It was with reference to this, that Mr. Pitt said to his friends, "His Majesty is the greatest courtier in his court."

Parliament assembled on the 15th of November[q]. The instant the Commons had returned to their own house from the Lords, Mr. Grenville stated that he was commanded by the King to inform them that his Majesty, having received information that John Wilkes, Esq. a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel published since the last session of Parliament, had caused him to be apprehended and secured, in order that he might be tried

[o] Adolphus's History of England, Vol. i. page 120.

[p] History of the late Minority.

[q] The speeches of this day in the House of Commons are very imperfectly reported in Debrett. Horace Walpole gives a humorous account of them in a letter to the Earl of Hertford. He says, "Mr. Pitt, like Almanzor, fought almost singly, and spoke forty times; the first time in the day with much wit, afterwards with little energy."

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for the same by due course of law; but that Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the Court of Common Pleas, upon account of his privilege as a member of the house, and having, when called upon by the legal process of the Court of King's Bench, declined to appear, and answer to an information exhibited against him by the Attorney-general, his Majesty, desirous of shewing all possible attention to the privileges of the House, and, at the same time, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had directed the said libel, with copies of the examinations upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before the House for their consideration. The House accordingly proceeded in this course, and resolved, (upon a division of 273 against 111,) "that the forty-fifth number of the North Briton was a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his Majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both Houses of Parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature," &c. It was next resolved that the said paper should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Pitt, although he did not in other respects concur with Mr. Grenville, acquiesced in condemning the libel.

Mr. Wilkes, who had presented himself several times to the House, was now admitted to speak. He stated, in strong language, the proceedings which had been adopted against him by the government, and concluded by saying, "I now stand in the judgment of the House, submitting with the utmost deference the whole case to their justice and wisdom, and I beg leave to add, that if after this important business has, in its full extent, been maturely weighed, you shall be of opinion that I am entitled to privilege, I shall then be not only ready, but eagerly desirous, to waive that privilege, and to put myself upon a jury of my country."

This address evinced much artifice. The expressed reliance upon the wisdom and justice of Parliament, was calculated to soften the members of the House of Commons; whilst the appeal

to the verdict of a jury seems intended to secure the favour of the people[r].

The farther consideration of the question, which the King's message and Mr. Wilkes's complaint involved, was adjourned to the 23rd of November. A motion was then made, "That the privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought it to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." The debate which arose upon this was adjourned to the following day.

Mr. Pitt, although severely afflicted with the gout, attended upon this occasion.

"He spoke[s] strongly against this surrender of the privileges of Parliament, as highly dangerous to the freedom of Parliament, and an infringement on the rights of the people. No man, he said, could condemn the paper or libel more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly, not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of privilege was putting every member of Parliament, who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of Parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honor of Parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the House could give him up. This privilege had never been abused; it had been reposed in Parliament for ages. But take away this privilege, and the whole Parliament is laid at the mercy of the

[r] Of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 16th November, Horace Walpole says, "We sat till eight, on the Address, which yet passed without a negative. We had two very long speeches from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville; many fine parts in each. Mr. Pitt has given the latter some strong words, yet not so many as were expected."—*H. Walpole's Letters to the Earl of Hertford*, p. 11.

[s] This speech is taken from Debrett.

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crown.—This privilege having never been abused, why then is it to be voted away? Parliament, he said, had no right to vote away its privileges. They were the inherent rights of the succeeding members of that House, as well as of the present; and he doubted whether the sacrifice made by that House was valid and conclusive against the claim of a future Parliament. With respect to the paper itself, or the libel which had given pretence for this request to surrender the privileges of Parliament, the House had already voted it a libel—he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of North Britons; he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all national reflections. The King's subjects were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His Majesty's complaint was well-founded, it was just, it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species—he was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King[t]. He had no connexion with him. He had no connexion with any such writer. He neither associated nor communicated with any such. It was true that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations, could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed that he alluded to his noble relation (Lord Temple)[u]. He was proud to call him his relation; he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together; they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connexion with the writer of the libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it. The dignity, the honor of Parliament had been called upon to support and protect

[t] According to Mr. Wilkes, the conduct of Mr. Pitt in making these strong declarations was hypocritical towards the public, and deceitful towards himself. Mr. Pitt, according to Wilkes, had seen and approved the Essay on Woman. This is a heavy accusation, but who will believe it? It rests upon the single assertion of a libeller by profession. The manliness and dignity of Mr. Pitt's general character amply refute the imputation of conduct which would have been as imprudent as base.

[u] Lord Temple supported Wilkes in the warmest manner, not only by his countenance, but with his purse.

the purity of his Majesty's character; and this they had done, by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel, which his Majesty had submitted to the consideration of the House. But having done this, it was neither consistent with the honor and safety of Parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther. The rest belonged to the courts below."

Mr. Pitt, who had suffered from gout and fever, and came on crutches and wrapped in flannel, quitted the House at the conclusion of his speech, being unable to remain till the division.

By the obscenity of one publication [x], and the wantonness of his attacks upon an individual [y], Mr. Wilkes, in addition to legal prosecutions and parliamentary complaints, had drawn upon himself the disgust of all serious men; and involved himself in a personal duel. When he was in some degree recovered from the effects of the wound which he received in that duel, he thought it prudent to retire to 1764. France, and wait till a change in the administration might produce dispositions more favorable to himself. On the 20th January, 1764, Mr. Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons and a new writ was issued for Aylesbury.

On the 14th February, it was moved by Sir W. Meredith "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." The House having sat till past seven o'clock in the morning of the 15th [z], the question to adjourn till the 17th was put, and carried by a small majority [a]. On the 17th, an amendment to Sir W. Meredith's motion was made to this effect, "although such warrant has been issued according to the usage of office, and has been frequently produced to, (and, so far as appears to this House, the validity thereof has never been debated in,) the court of King's

[x] Essay on Woman. [y] Mr. S. Martin.

[z] Horace Walpole says that Mr. Pitt bore a part in this excessively protracted debate with his usual spirit.

[a] 208 against 184.

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Bench, but the parties thereupon have been frequently bailed by the said court." The motion, thus amended, was the one which the House eventually adopted as the question to be discussed.

In justification of the measures which the ministry had adopted in the apprehension of Mr. Wilkes, much stress was laid on precedents, and Mr. Pitt's administration was instanced as a sanction of the principle upon which they had proceeded. It will be seen that Mr. Pitt discriminated admirably between the two cases, in the course of the following speech [b]:

"He began with observing, that all which the crown had desired, all which ministers had wished, was accomplished in the conviction and expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; it was now the duty of the House to do justice to the nation, to the constitution, and to the law. Ministers had refused to lay the warrant before the House, because they were conscious of its illegality. And yet these ministers, he said, who affect so much regard for liberty and the constitution, are ardently desirous of retaining for themselves, and for their successors, a power to do an illegal act. Neither the law officers of the crown, nor the minister himself, had attempted to defend the legality of this warrant. Whenever goaded upon the point, they had evaded it. He therefore did not hesitate to say, that there was not a man to be found of sufficient profligacy to defend this warrant, upon the principle of legality. It was no justification, he said, that general warrants had been issued. Amongst the warrants which were laid before the House, to shew the practice of office, there were two which had been issued by himself; but they were not against libels. One was, for the seizure of a number of persons on board a ship going to France; the other for apprehending the Count de St. Germain, a suspected foreigner; and both in a time of war with France. Upon issuing the latter warrant, he consulted his friend the Attorney-General, (Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden), who told him the warrant would be illegal, and if he issued it he must take the consequences; nevertheless, pre-

[b] Taken from Debrett.

ferring the general safety, in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he run the risk, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like motive, and did an extraordinary act, against a suspicious foreigner, just come from France; and who was concealed at different times, in different houses. The real exigency of the case, of the time, and the apparent necessity of the thing, would, in his opinion, always justify a secretary of state, in every extraordinary act of power. In the present case, there was no necessity for a general warrant. Ministers knew all the parties. The plea of necessity could not be urged; there was no pretence for it. The nation was in perfect tranquillity. The safety of the state was in no danger. The charge was, the writing and publishing a libel. What was there in this crime so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable instrument; which, like an inundation of water, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted away its own privilege, and laid the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of his Majesty's Attorney-General. Did Parliament see the extent of this surrender, which they had made? Did Parliament see that they had decided upon the unalienable rights of the people, by subjecting their representatives to a restraint of their persons, whenever the ministers or the Attorney-General thought proper? The extraordinary and wanton exercise of an illegal power, in this case, admits of no justification, nor even palliation. It was the indulgence of a personal resentment against a particular person: and the condemnation of it is evaded by a pretence that is false, is a mockery of justice, and an imposition on the House. We are told that this warrant is *pendente lite*; that it will come under judicial decision, in the determinations of the court on the bills of exceptions; and, therefore, that Parliament ought not to declare any judgment upon the subject. In answer to this, he said, that whenever the bills of exceptions came to be argued, it would be found, that they turned upon other points. Upon other points, he repeated. He was confident in his assertion. He concluded with saying, that if the House negatived the motion, they

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would be the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity; who, after sacrificing their own privileges, had abandoned the liberty of the subject, upon a pretence that was wilfully founded in error, and manifestly urged for the purpose of delusion."

After some other members had spoken, it was moved that the debate should be adjourned to that day four months. The discussion which followed related to so interesting a subject that it has been described by three members of the House of Commons [c]—Sir George Yonge, Sir William Meredith, and Mr. Charles Townshend. The following is a passage in the account of it given by Mr. C. Townshend: "In the debate, neither the minister himself, nor the Attorney-General defended the legality of the warrant. The Marquis of Granby, and many others who voted for adjourning the debate, expressly declared their detestation of the practice, and their sense of the necessity of preventing a measure so dangerous to liberty; and the whole defence of that day consisted in arguing upon the impropriety of deciding in Parliament a question then depending in a court of judicature. They, who maintained the propriety and necessity of the motion, endeavoured to shew the fallacy of this reasoning, and dwelt upon the importance of the question, the violence of the proceeding, the power of Parliament exercised in similar cases, and the reproach of leaving the liberty of the subject, in a case of such notoriety, suspended by a court of law, upon the pretence of bills of exceptions, which, when examined, would be found to turn upon other points, and where the decision in this matter of universal interest might be long kept in suspence, at the will even of the very party accused. Upon a motion being made to adjourn the debate for four months, the numbers were found to be 234 for the question, and 220 against it; by which this great constitutional question, perhaps the most important that ever animated the spirit of a free people, has been put, as it is now phrased, into a due course of trial at law: in con-

[c] It has, however, never been reported.

sequence of which candid reference every method has been taken to delay the suit and to avoid discussion [b]." CHAP. XX. 1764.

On the 8th March 1764, a motion was made in the House of Commons; "for regulating the mode of collection by excise, so as to secure to the subject their undoubted right of trials by juries; and to restrain by penalties any abuses of the officers of excise contrary to law."

At the time of putting this question, a very considerable part of the minority, amongst whom were Mr. Pitt and Mr. Charles Townshend, were absent. The consequence of the absence of these gentlemen, and the subsequent weakness and disunion of the opposition, are thus described by a contemporary writer. "By the absence of these two principal persons at that critical time, the spirit of opposition instantly cooled, and the minister as suddenly recovered his strength. The probability of success being now farther removed than ever, they began to break with one another, and every man became jealous of his friend's being reconciled to the minister, or some way or other making his peace at St. James's before himself. In a few weeks desertion and dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the whole party; insomuch, that when the public business came on, that is, the plan of supplies, which every opposition has thought itself bound to oppose, they were almost totally silent; which gave to the minister such a manifest appearance of superiority, that it had a wonderful effect upon what are called the *flying squadron*, a considerable part of whom had joined the minority, upon the late probability of success from that quarter: they were now so thoroughly convinced of their error, that they returned to the court with vows of the most faithful attachment. The session, therefore, ended without any further efforts of the minority [c]."

[b] Although very few accounts of the speeches are preserved, the questions to which the prosecutions against Wilkes gave rise occasioned the House to sit longer and later than upon any former occasion. The 14th February is said to have produced a most protracted discussion, in which Mr. Pitt sustained a part with his usual spirit.

[c] History of the late Minority, p. 290.

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Perhaps no man, who ever lived, enjoyed so large a share of the public esteem and admiration, or for so long a period, as Mr. Pitt. Nor was this admiration confined to his own countrymen, or to verbal expressions. Foreigners, of every rank, manifested the highest respect for the name and character of William Pitt. In the month of January, 1764, that heroic soldier, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, came to England, to espouse her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, a sister of the King's. When the customary ceremonies were ended, the Prince paid a visit to Mr. Pitt, who was then confined by the gout at Hayes. The meeting between these great men must have been in the highest degree interesting, and as gratifying to the soldier as to the statesman[d]. I have said that the public admiration for Mr. Pitt was not confined to verbal expressions: in several instances it was manifested by more substantial tokens. The reader will recollect the bequest which he received from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. If it be said that this legacy proceeded from caprice, I answer, that upon this supposition, it reflects equal honor upon the recipient. It was left to Mr. Pitt because he was considered by the world as virtuous and public spirited, and the Duchess, by assigning the legacy, wished to establish a claim to the same character. Thus we find the miser sometimes endeavouring to be thought generous, by a contribution to some charitable institution. In both cases, however we may contemn the donors, we must acknowledge that their bequests are proofs of the worth and general estimation of the objects upon whom they were conferred. Mr. Allen, of Prior Park, died in the year 1764, and left 1000*l.* to Mr. Pitt. Sir William Pynsent, a gentleman of ancient family in Somersetshire, had long admired the illustrious commoner, and bequeathed to him an estate of nearly 3000*l.* a-year. He died on the 12th January, 1765, and although

[d] Horace Walpole, writing to the Earl of Hertford, in a letter dated April 7, 1765, says: "M. de Caraman is agreeable, informed, and intelligent: he supped at your brother's t'other night, after being at Mrs. Anne Pitt's. As the first curiosity of foreigners is to see Mr. Pitt, and as that curiosity is one of the most difficult points in the world to gratify, he asked me if Mr. Pitt was like his sister? I told him, *Qu'ils se ressembloient comme deux gouttes de feu.*"

there was a contention for the property, the will of the testator was confirmed [e].

Early in the month of April, 1765, the King was attacked by an alarming disorder. Upon his Majesty's recovery, he went to the House of Lords, and delivered a speech, in which, after the mention of his late indisposition, the following passage occurred. "I propose to your consideration, whether, under such circumstances, it will not be expedient to vest in me the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments in writing, under my sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of my royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of my successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor shall attain the age of eighteen years; subject to the like restrictions and regulations as are specified and contained in an act, passed upon a similar occasion, in the 24th year of the reign of the late King, my royal grandfather: the regent, so appointed, to be assisted by a council, composed of several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, are constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom you may think proper to leave to my nomination."

This speech is said to have been written without the advice, and, indeed, without the knowledge of the ministry, whose conduct,

[e] Writing upon this subject, Horace Walpole says; "You have heard, to be sure, of the great fortune that is bequeathed to Mr. Pitt by a Sir William Pynsent, an old man of near ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht; and, luckily for Mr. Pitt, lived to be as angry with its *pendant*, the treaty of Paris. I did not send you the first report, which mounted it to an enormous sum: I think the medium account is 2000*l.* a-year, and 30,000*l.* in money. This Sir W. Pynsent, whose fame, like an aloe, did not blow till near an hundred, was a singularity."

In another letter he says; "Do you know that Sir W. Pynsent had your brother, (*General Conway,*) in his eye! He said to his lawyer, 'I know Mr. Pitt is much younger than I am, but he has very bad health: as you will hear it before me, if he dies first, draw up another will, with Mr. Conway's name instead of Mr. Pitt's, and bring it down to me directly.' I beg Britannia's pardon, but I fear I could have supported the loss on these grounds." It will be remembered that General Conway was Horace Walpole's cousin, and most intimate friend.

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upon any other supposition, was extremely reprehensible. A doubt having arisen upon the construction of the words, "or any other of the royal family;" it was stated by the Secretary of State [f], that they applied to the descendants of George the Second. Such an exclusion of the Princess Dowager of Wales was, naturally, most offensive to the King. Upon the next reading of the bill, it was moved by Mr. Morton, as an amendment, that the name of the Princess should be expressly inserted. The House divided upon this question, and the amendment was carried by a very great majority [g].

From these and other symptoms it plainly appeared that the ministry had lost the confidence of the Sovereign. Desirous of manifesting their indignation against the man whom they regarded as the cause of the King's dissatisfaction with themselves, and perhaps anxious to gain the favor of the people, the ministry now adopted a measure which for ever must have closed the door of royal favor against them. At once they removed from office the Lords Northumberland and Holland, the intimate friends of Lord Bute, and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie [h], his brother. Before the difference between the ministry and Lord Bute had reached to points so extreme, an effort was made by the latter to bring Mr. Pitt into office. A communication was opened with that gentleman, and with his relation and intimate political associate, Lord Temple. Desirous of promoting the public welfare and the comfort of his sovereign, the Duke of Cumberland condescended to become the channel of this negociation.

On the 15th May his Royal Highness sent for Lord Temple from Stowe, and informed him that the King, having resolved to change his ministers, was desirous of engaging the services of his Lordship, of Mr. Pitt, and of their friends. But it was necessary, in the first place, to know *their conditions*. Lord Temple most respectfully assured him that these were confined to the following few: the forming

[f] Lord Halifax.

[g] Ayes 167, noes 37.

[h] The Hon. James Stuart, only brother of Lord Bute, upon succeeding to the estate of his grandfather, Sir G. Mackenzie, assumed his name.

certain foreign alliances; the restoration of those officers, both civil and military, who had been unjustly deprived of their appointments; the repeal of the excise on cider; the total and full condemnation of general warrants and of the seizure of papers. His Royal Highness said, that he sincerely approved of these conditions, but added, that he had to signify his Majesty's desire to place Lord Northumberland at the head of the Treasury. Lord Temple replied that "he never would come into office under Lord Bute's Lieutenant[1]." Here the conference broke off.

On the 19th May the Duke of Cumberland sent a message to Lord Temple, requesting to meet him at Mr. Pitt's house at Hayes. Before the arrival of Lord Temple, his Royal Highness had signified to Mr. Pitt the King's desires with regard to Lord Northumberland. Although Mr. Pitt had not received the smallest intimation of Lord Temple's refusal to accede to that proposition, he at once pronounced it inadmissible. He assured the Duke that he was ready to go to St. James's, *if he could carry the constitution along with him.*

On the following day the Duke sent Lord Frederick Cavendish to Mr. Pitt, to assure him that the proposition respecting Lord Northumberland would be relinquished, provided that nobleman was considered in some other way. Mr. Pitt repeated the answer which he had given to his Royal Highness at their late interview. Upon the return of Lord Frederick, the Duke offered the situation of First Lord of the Treasury to Lord Lyttleton, who desired to consult Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. His Royal Highness conceiving that a continued negociation would compromise the dignity of the crown without producing any satisfactory result, advised his Majesty to continue his present servants. It was doubtless the failure of this negociation with Mr. Pitt and Earl Temple which rendered the ministry so confident of their stability, and induced them to adopt the extraordinary measures I have mentioned. But a state of such thraldom

[1] Lord Northumberland was at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

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had become intolerable to the Sovereign. In addition to the removal of those who were most agreeable to the King, it is said that a leading member of the administration had conducted himself towards his royal master in a manner as insulting as it was violent[k]. His Majesty was therefore pleased to send for Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, who obeyed the summons on the 25th June. The propositions to which they were required to accede were: the restoration of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, the appointment of Lord Northumberland to the office of Lord Chamberlain, the continuation of certain persons in their respective offices. With the two first of these conditions Mr. Pitt was disposed to comply, but required an explanation with regard to the third. Lord Temple expressed his dislike of all the conditions, and thus the conference closed.

His Majesty, after experiencing farther humiliation from the ministry, had now once more recourse to the negociation of the Duke of Cumberland. At the recommendation, and, indeed, at the urgent request of his Royal Highness, the Marquis of Rockingham exerted himself to form an administration. This was speedily arranged, and on the 10th July the Duke of Grafton and General Conway[l] were appointed Secretaries of State. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the Treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Newcastle, still eager to be employed, received the privy seal[m].

The virtuous Prince to whom these nominations were principally

[k] The Duke of Bedford.—*See Junius, Letter 23.*

[l] Henry Seymour Conway, only brother of the Earl of Hertford. The reader will recollect that he was employed in the unsuccessful expedition against Rochefort. He had been a groom of the bedchamber, but, in April, 1764, was dismissed from court and from his regiment for his opposition to government upon the questions respecting general warrants. Both himself and his friends considered that he was hardly treated. Horace Walpole, writing to the Earl of Hertford, says: "Mr. Pitt is exceedingly well-disposed to your brother, talks highly of him, and of the injustice done to him, and they are to meet on the first convenient opportunity." Although not possessing great abilities, General Conway was an upright and most respectable minister. He had few opportunities of evincing military talent, but his courage was undoubted. He was made a Field-Marshal in 1793, and died in 1795.

[m] Lord Chesterfield, in metaphorical language, calls this administration a political arch, and

owing, lived not to assist the new ministry by his countenance or advice. On the 31st of October his Royal Highness was seized with a disorder of which he had felt many previous symptoms, and which, within a very short time, deprived him of existence. His loss was deeply deplored by his royal nephew, by the ministry, and by the nation. CHAP. XX. 1765.

It was at this time that the renowned Mr. Burke emerged from comparative obscurity, and began to occupy a portion of that public attention which he afterwards so widely commanded. The circumstances attending his introduction to the Marquis of Rockingham, to whom he now became Private Secretary, are equally honorable to both parties[n]. They evince the frankness and confidence of the minister, and the lofty spirit of the Secretary. The amazing powers which were concentrated in the mind of Mr. Burke must render him an object of intense and universal admiration. In the union of indefatigable industry, vast comprehension, splendid imagination, and facility of expression, he was, perhaps, never surpassed. He was, however, destitute of some qualities, without which no statesman can be safely trusted. His disposition appears to have been vindictive[o], and his judgment was sometimes overmastered by his passions. Betwixt the Marquis of Rockingham and himself the greatest harmony subsisted. He was indeed greatly indebted to his Lordship, and his warm nature was incapable of ingratitude. Mr. Burke's talents were constantly exerted in assisting and defending the Rockingham administration.

The attention of the new administration, and, indeed, of the country in general, was principally engrossed by the distressing accounts received from America. The seeds of the fatal contest which

says: "It will certainly require repairs, and a key-stone next winter; and that key-stone will, and necessarily must be, Mr. Pitt. It is true he might have been that key-stone now, and would have accepted it, but not without Lord Temple's consent, and Lord Temple positively refused." Letter 344.

[n] See correspondence of Lord Charlemont; and Prior's Life of Burke.

[o] I think this is apparent from the violent part he took in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings.

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was about to ensue between England and her colonies, had long been sown, and now began to appear. The magnitude of the subject, and the prominent part which was taken in its discussion by Mr. Pitt render some considerations of it necessary in this place. I shall first state the measures adopted by former ministers, and the sentiments they entertained with regard to that right, the assertion of which proved so calamitous to Great Britain—the right of taxing America.

The unexampled expences of the late war having added most heavily to the burthens of the country, and great difficulty having been experienced in discovering new sources of revenue, the attention of Mr. Grenville was early turned to America with a view to taxation. The point to which the authority of the mother country might justly be extended over the colonies had never been accurately discussed or defined. In England, it had always been maintained that Parliament possessed the power of binding them in every case. In America, opinions widely different from these and from one another prevailed upon the same subject. A plan of taxing the colonies by authority of Parliament had been formed so early as the year 1739. This was suggested to the government by a body of American merchants, at the head of whom was Sir W. Keith, governor of Pennsylvania. A proposition was made to levy a body of troops and to station them along the western frontier of the British settlements for the protection of the Indian traders. The expence of this establishment was to be defrayed by the produce of a duty to be imposed by Parliament upon stamped paper and parchment throughout the colonies. Sir R. Walpole did not encourage this expedient, and it was laid aside until the year 1754. But although the idea was then revived, the momentous struggle in which we were engaged with the French in America rendered it unsafe to irritate the feelings of the colonists by carrying it into execution. It was accordingly again postponed by the ministers, with a determination to enforce it whenever the termination of hostilities should enable them to do so with safety. The proper opportunity, they thought, had now arrived. Almost every cause combined at the end of the war to render Great Britain an object of

esteem and admiration to the colonies. Community of interest, participation in danger and in conquest contributed to endear reciprocally the inhabitants of both countries. No one then would have supposed that those deadly dissensions were preparing which caused the effusion of so much blood, and severed for ever America from Great Britain: CHAP. XX. 1765.

"Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei
Temperet à lachrymis?"

The first great cause of dissatisfaction in America arose from the enforcement of certain regulations adopted by the British government to maintain the laws of trade, and to prevent smuggling. This was followed by the introduction of a bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of imposing duties upon certain kinds of American merchandize. The fund arising from these duties was to be applied, under the direction of Parliament, to defray the future charges of protecting, defending, and securing the colonies. This bill passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent on the 5th April, 1764. At the time when the resolutions upon which this act was founded were moved in the House of Commons, the minister brought forward another motion to the following effect: "That towards defraying the expences of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies." This resolution, although no bill was introduced upon the subject, was a notice to the colonial assemblies that the British treasury stood in need of a supply, and indicated the mode in which it was proposed to raise it.

Whatever might have been the fate of the commercial regulations, the resolution with regard to the duties on stamps excited the most lively sensation in America. The right assumed by Parliament to tax the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue, was universally discussed, and generally denied. Petitions to the King, and memorials to both Houses of Parliament, against the measure, were trans-

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mitted to England by several of the provincial assemblies, and the clamour and indignation against it were vehement and lasting.

But Mr. Grenville was not to be deterred from persevering in his system by an opposition in America which he deemed neither founded in justice nor capable of resisting the vigorous resolution of the Parliament of Great Britain. When he brought forward his celebrated act for imposing stamp duties in America Mr. Pitt was confined to his bed by indisposition, and unable to attend the House. General Conway was single in denying the right asserted by the British legislature to tax the colonies.

The intelligence that the stamp act had received the royal assent reached New England sooner than the other provinces of America. It is well known that the inhabitants of this colony inherited the principles of their ancestors, who left Great Britain from a spirit of independence. The feeling of indignation now manifested was universal and excessive. The ships in the harbour hung out their colors half mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itself was printed with a death's head affixed to the place usually occupied by the stamp, and publicly cried in the streets under the title of "England's folly and America's ruin [p]."

The other colonies were not backward in following the example of New England, nor were their exertions confined to their own continent. To interest the inhabitants of Great Britain against the measures of administration, associations were formed in all parts of America for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and against the use of those imported from Great Britain. To increase their quantity of wool, they determined to kill no lambs, and by this, and every other method in their power, to multiply their flocks of sheep. To preclude the use of stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and earnest endeavours were made to settle all controversies by arbitration. Determined as was this resistance to the

[p] Annual Register for 1765. Stedman's History of the American War. Adolphus' Great Britain. Marshal's Life of Washington.

stamp act, for some time, in America, no actual disturbances took place until the month of August, 1765. The storm which had long been gathering then burst with violence. At Boston in Massachusets Bay, the fury of the populace was principally directed against several persons in official situations who were supposed to be favorable to the ministerial plan of taxing the colonies. Private houses and public offices were pillaged, and the documents of the one and the furniture of the other committed to the flames. The proceedings of the populace in the other colonies, although less violent than at Boston, were so alarming as to occasion the resignation of those who were appointed to distribute the stamps. In consequence of such resignations the custody of these stamps, upon their arrival from England, in September and October, was consigned to the governors of the respective provinces. Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance to preserve them, the stamped papers were, in some colonies, seized and destroyed by the populace; and none were found so courageous as to undertake their distribution.

Such was the distressing intelligence received from America when Parliament assembled on the 17th December. His Majesty addressed them from the throne in the following speech:

"The present general state of tranquillity in Europe gave me hopes that it would not have been necessary to assemble my Parliament sooner than is usual in times of peace.

"But as matters of importance have occurred in some of my colonies in America, which will demand the most serious attention of Parliament; and as farther information is daily expected from different parts of that country, of which I shall order the fullest accounts to be prepared for your consideration, I have thought fit to call you now together in order that opportunity may thereby be given to issue the necessary writs on the many vacancies that have happened in the House of Commons since the last session; so that the Parliament may be full to proceed, immediately after the usual recess, on the consideration of such weighty matters as will come before you."

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After addressing the King upon this speech, and receiving his Majesty's answer, the Houses adjourned to the 14th January, 1766. On that day they reassembled. His Majesty's speech was now, as upon the last occasion, almost wholly occupied by the recent disturbances in America. Upon the usual motion for an address, the friends of the new ministry spoke in gentle terms of those disturbances, terming them only *occurrences*. This gave much offence to the late ministry and their adherents. In the debate which now arose, and in those which subsequently ensued upon this most important question, three modes of reasoning were adopted with regard to America. Two of these were positive, the third was intermediate. The party of the late administration maintained that the right of taxation was inseparable from that of legislation. Upon this ground they urged the danger which would attend all our future regulations with regard to America, should we weakly abandon our claims upon the present occasion by the repeal of the stamp act. Mr. Pitt, Lord Camden [q], and a few other senators, in both Houses of Parliament, maintained a very opposite opinion. They asserted that there was the clearest distinction between the right of legislation and that of taxation; and, whilst they maintained that "the legislative power of Great Britain over the colonies was sovereign and supreme," they denied our right to impose taxes upon a people who were not represented in Parliament. Upon these general grounds they argued that as we had no right to impose *any* internal tax upon America, the *particular* one, respecting stamps, should be "*repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately.*" The greater number of those who formed the present administration, although they claimed the *right* to tax America, were desirous of avoiding a discussion upon that particular point, but recommended the repeal of the stamp act upon the principle of expediency alone. Mr. Nugent "insisted, that the honor and dignity of the kingdom obliged us to compel the enforcement of the

[q] Sir C. Pratt, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was created Baron Camden immediately after the Rockingham party came into power.

stamp act, except the right was acknowledged, and the repeal solicited as a favor. He computed that the expense of the troops now employed in America, for the defence of the colonists, amounted to ninepence in the pound of our land-tax, whilst the produce of the stamp act would not raise a shilling a head on the inhabitants of America; but a pepper-corn, in acknowledgment of the right was, he said, of more value than millions without it. He expatiated on the extreme ingratitude of the colonies; and concluded by charging the ministry with encouraging petitions to Parliament, and instructions to members against the act, from trading and manufacturing towns." Mr. Pitt spoke next in the debate. He commenced in a low tone of voice, which, together with the agitation of the House upon his first rising to address them, prevented the introduction of this celebrated speech from being distinctly heard. Mr. Pitt proceeded to say[r]:

"I came to town but to-day, I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty's speech and the proposed address, till I heard them read in this house. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address. The address being read, Mr. Pitt went on, He commended the King's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of, an *early*, is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to Parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate; I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late ministry, (turn-

[r] There is no doubt as to the accuracy of this speech. It was originally taken by Sir Robert Dean, assisted by the Earl of Charlemont. It has been published both separately and in conjunction with the other speeches upon the occasion, and has been admitted into every collection of debates.

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ing himself to Mr. Grenville, who sat within one of him,) every capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong!

"As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye, (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway sat with the Lords of the Treasury,) I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his Majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honor to ask my opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage, but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, Gentlemen [s], (bowing to the ministry,) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom, youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence.

"There is a clause in the act of settlement to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives his sovereign. Would it were observed!—I have had the honor to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others.—I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew it into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men! Men, who, when left by your jealousy became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world; detested be the national reflections against them!

[s] The exquisite grace and dignity of this apostrophe, and the immeasurable superiority by which the spectator must have been struck, of Mr. Pitt to his audience, are well described by Mr. Butler in his *Reminiscences*.

they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly.—When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the *country* of the man by which I was moved—but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.

"It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it! It is now an act that had passed—I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

"I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America—I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires. A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House! that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bound or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen, (alluding to Mr. Nugent,) seem to have considered it as a point of honor. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert, the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.—They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of English-

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men: equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power.—The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy possessed the lands. In those days, the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church, (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands, and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty,—what? Our own property?—No! We give and grant to your Majesty, the property of your Majesty's Commons of America.—It is an absurdity in terms.

"The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Crown, the Peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown, the Peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by *power*.

"There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? *Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number!* Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough?—a

rough which perhaps no man ever saw.—This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution.*—It cannot continue a century—if it does not drop, it must be amputated[1].—The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man—it does not deserve a serious refutation.

"The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

"Here I would draw the line,

"Quam ultra citraque neque consistere rectum."

Mr. Pitt concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. Pitt had done speaking.

Mr. Conway, at length, rose. He said, "he had been waiting to see whether any answer would be given to what had been advanced by the Right Honorable Gentleman, reserving himself for the reply: but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the Right Honorable Gentleman.—That they are so conformable, he said, is a circumstance

[1] We shall find Lord Chatham recurring to this figure four years afterwards, but with some alteration in his opinion. In his speech, Jan. 22nd, 1770, he says: "The boroughs of this country have, properly enough, been called the rotten parts of the constitution, and, without entering into any invidious particularity, I have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death."

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that affects me with the most sensible pleasure, and confers upon me the greatest honor. But two things fell from that Gentleman which give me pain, as whatever falls from that Gentleman, falls from so great a height as to make a deep impression.—I must endeavour to remove it.—It was objected, that the notice given to Parliament of the troubles in America was not *early*. I can assure the House, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of Parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An overruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I disclaim it for myself, and, (as far as my discernment can reach,) for all the rest of his Majesty's ministers."

Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. Conway, "The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one. That must appear from the papers now before the House."

Mr. Grenville next stood up. "He began by censuring the ministry very severely for delaying to give earlier notice to Parliament of the disturbances in America. He said, they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January: lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and, if the doctrines I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been, exercised over those who are not, who never were represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatine of Chester, and the Bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to Parliament. I appeal, for proof, to the

preambles of the acts which gave them representatives; the one in the reign of Henry VIII., the other in that of Charles II. Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read: which being done, he said; When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me where the Americans are emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and, now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honor of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favor, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no

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trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by an Act of Parliament. I desire that a West India merchant, well known in the city, (Mr. Long,) a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place it becomes me to wipe off the aspersion."

Here Mr. Grenville ceased. Several Members then rose to speak, amongst whom was the illustrious commoner; the House was then so clamorous for Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt, that the Speaker was obliged to call to order.

After some degree of order was enforced, Mr. Pitt began with informing the House, "that he did not mean to have gone any farther into the subject that day; he had only designed to throw out a few hints, which gentlemen, who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to send taxes to America, might consider; they might then, perhaps, in a cooler moment, find that the right was, at least, equivocal. But since the gentleman who spoke last had not stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole, into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Stamp Act, as well as into the right, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point."

He was going on, when Lord Strange rose, and called both gentlemen, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville, to order. He said, "they had both departed from the matter before the House, which was the King's speech; and that Mr. Pitt was going to speak twice in the same debate, although the House was not in a committee."

Mr. George Onslow [u] answered, "that they were both in order, as nothing had been said but what was fairly deducible from the King's speech;" and appealed to the Speaker. The Speaker decided in Mr. Onslow's favor.

Mr. Pitt said, "I do not apprehend that I am speaking twice: I

[u] Afterwards Lord Onslow.

did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this House, but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice; I only finish what I designedly left imperfect. But if the House is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure, to be silent."—Here he paused.—The House resounding with Go on, go on, he proceeded:

"Gentlemen, Sir, (to the Speaker), I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Several have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of Parliaments, with the statute-book doubled down in dogs' ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them to shew that, even under any arbitrary reigns, Parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people, without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the Gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? he might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by Parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman: I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But, for the defence of liberty, upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented.—The India Company, merchants, stockholders,

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manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented, on other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not equally represented. But they are all inhabitants, and as such, are they not virtually represented? Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connexions with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stockholders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. Since the accession of King William, many ministers, some of great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government.

"He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them. None of these, he said, thought, or even dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the æra of the late administration: not that there were wanting some, when I had the honor to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his land, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

"If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain dis-

tinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

"The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when they were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honor of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office; I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good, I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits of Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years' purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn in the Exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation[x]! I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the emigration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favor of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of Parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

"Does the gentleman complain that he has been misrepresented

[x] Alluding to an expression in Mr. Nugent's speech.

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in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of last war, I was abused in all the newspapers, for having advised his Majesty to violate the law of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in hand-bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, administration never contradicted it. I will not say what advice I did give to the King. My advice is in writing signed by myself, in the possession of the crown. But I will say, what advice I did not give to the King: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

"As to the report of the gentleman's preventing in some way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own, I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

"The gentleman must not wonder that he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserts the right of Parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House, which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes looks towards St. James's. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that question at the proper season; the German war, my German war, they called it. Every sessions I called out, has any body any objections to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the upper House, by succession to an ancient barony[y]; he told me he did not like a German war, I honored the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

"A great deal has been said without doors, of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valor of your troops, I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of

[y] Lord Le Despencer, formerly Sir Francis Dashwood.

foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

"In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you? While France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave-trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman[z] whose noble and generous spirit would do honor to the proudest grandee of the country. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behavior to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind;
"Be to her virtues very kind.

"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be *repealed absolutely, totally*, and *immediately*. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every

[z] Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Draper, the antagonist of the celebrated Junius.

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point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pocket without their consent[a]."

The address was carried without a division. A bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act was soon afterwards brought forward in a committee of the whole House, and carried by a considerable majority. Desirous of giving satisfaction to all parties, the ministry, at the time of passing this bill, introduced another, which censured and condemned the resolutions of the American assemblies, and declared that the British Parliament had authority to make laws for binding the colonies in all cases whatever. These two bills accompanied each other through both Houses, and received the royal assent on the 18th March.

[a] The extraordinary influence which Mr. Pitt exercised over the minds of his hearers will be seen from the following account of the debates upon the repeal of the stamp act, written by Lord Charlemont to Mr. Henry Flood:

"Mr. Pitt has spoken several times: his first speech was near two hours long. He began by abusing the late ministry, and in particular G. G., who did not choose to answer him: he then found fault with the present also, insinuating that they were under ill influences: '*I say influences in the plural, because I would not be understood to mean only that influence which is most suspected.*' By this he is supposed to have hinted at the too great influence of the D. of N———. He then spoke to the American affair, and boldly and distinctly declared that the act of taxation was *illegal;* that the colonies could only be taxed by their representatives; and concluded by insisting that the act should be repealed as illegal. This produced a warm debate: the majority of the House seemed to be of opinion that, if the tax were to be taken off, it should be done upon a supposition that it was too heavy for the colonies to bear, but the rescinding of the act should be accompanied by an explicit declaration of the right of taxation. Poor expedient! The question of adjournment was put and carried. Yesterday the debate was resumed, and Mr. Pitt declared it as his opinion, *that by this illegal act the original compact with the colonies was actually broken,* ———, &c. Heavens, what a fellow is this Pitt! I had his bust before, but nothing less than his statue shall content me now."

CHAPTER XXI.

1766.

The Marquis of Rockingham and his administration—Weight of Mr. Pitt's character—Lord Chancellor Northington treats with Mr. Pitt respecting a new Administration—Character of Earl Temple—Quarrel between Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt—Mr. Pitt accepts the Privy seal, and is created Earl of Chatham—Difficulties and Mortifications experienced by Lord Chatham in the formation of a Ministry—Arbitrary measures of Government—Mr. Flood's Account of Lord Chatham's Speech upon the meeting of Parliament—Negociations to strengthen the Administration—Alarming state of Lord Chatham's health—Affairs of the East India Company—Letters between Lord Chatham and the Hon. Charles Townshend—Intrigues of parties—Mr. C. Townshend dies—Lord North becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer—Other changes—Corsica—Lord Shelburne—Resignation of Lord Chatham.

NOTWITHSTANDING the respectability of the ministry, discerning persons clearly perceived that they could not long retain their employments. They possessed not the favor of the sovereign [a], and a numerous opposition was combined to resist them. Mr. Pitt's declaration that "he could not give them his confidence," weakened their influence amongst themselves and with the people. All things seemed to indicate that another change was about to take place, and that the administration would quickly centre in the illustrious commoner. Whilst he was thus the object of earnest attention to all descriptions of men, Mr. Pitt was seized with a violent attack of the gout which shattered his nerves and affected his temper.

[a] One cause of the King's dissatisfaction with the ministers, is said to have been their delay in applying to Parliament for a provision for his Majesty's younger brothers.—*Adolphus's History of England.*

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Although he at length recovered from this illness, it appears to have had a more lasting effect upon his constitution, than any of his former attacks, and to have rendered him unfit for that unremitting attention to public business by which he was so wonderfully distinguished during his first administration.

The least satisfactory part of Mr. Pitt's history is that upon which I am about to enter [b]. His conduct towards the Marquis of Rockingham has generally been considered as neither kind as a man, nor wise as a politician. Had Mr. Pitt coincided with that virtuous nobleman, he might probably have strengthened and given permanency to an administration, which, whatever were its defects, comprehended more integrity and right feeling than any which the country was likely to witness upon its dissolution [c].

[b] To the admirers of Mr. Pitt's character, who are desirous of considering his conduct at this period, the following observations may be opportunely offered: "That men should be stedfastly patriotic, and, in their pursuit of the public good, always temperate, just, and self-denying, is very desirable; but the historian feels with regret the necessity of recording the aberrations of the most elevated minds; and that work must be a romance not a history, which fails to shew that individuals, whose general views have been directed to the benefit of their country, have been, in occasional acts, rash, vain, factious, arbitrary, or absurd."—*Preface to Mr. Adolphus's History of England.*

[c] Mr. Pitt, however, must not hastily be censured. It is probable that in the interviews with which he had been honored by the King, something had been said which he thought precluded him from conferring with the Marquis of Rockingham, respecting the formation of a ministry, without the express command of his Majesty. This appears from the minutes of Mr. Nuthall, solicitor to the Treasury, who was the medium of a communication between the Rockingham party and Mr. Pitt. By the liberality of John Nuthall, Esq., I am enabled to present the public with this valuable document of his father's.

"In answer to the honor of Lord Rockingham's message by Mr. Nuthall, Mr. Pitt desires to assure his Lordship that he should be proud and happy to confer with Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway openly and unreservedly upon the formation of an Administration, if respect and duty to the King did not indispensably forbid him without his Majesty's express commands so to do, sensible that nothing but the King's most gracious pleasure, that he should lay his feeble thoughts in the royal presence at his Majesty's disposal, can acquit him, as a private individual, of the highest presumption in obtruding his opinion in a matter of this nature.

"Mr. Pitt cannot enough express the sense he has of the honor Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway do him, by this mark of their favorable opinion, and trusts that difficulties on his part, from the nature of things insurmountable, will not be construed into any want of regard, inclination, or confidence."—*Minutes by Mr. Nuthall, 27th February.*

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Although possessing no shining abilities, the Marquis of Rockingham was a man of undoubted integrity. All allow that he was actuated by disinterested motives, and that he was earnestly intent upon promoting the public advantage. Nor was his conduct so deficient in energy as many have represented it. Within the short period of his administration, several most important measures regarding both the domestic and foreign relations of the kingdom were brought forward and established. I have stated with what views the Stamp Act was repealed. If it be said that the declaration, which accompanied that repeal, virtually annulled its popularity in America, and led succeeding ministers to the adoption of the severest and most fatal resolutions; it is answered, that this declaration was made after the maturest deliberation, and after it had received the sanction of a most shrewd and sensible American[d]. The wisdom of a measure is not always to be determined by subsequent events.

The Lord Chancellor, Northington[e], is said to have been the immediate cause of the dissolution of the ministry. Soon after the prorogation of Parliament, the state of Canada occupied the particular attention of the council. The Attorney and Solicitor-General having prepared a plan respecting the civil government of Quebec, submitted it to the cabinet, assembled at the house of the Chancellor. Lord Northington, conceiving that his advice had been neglected in some previous consultations upon this subject, expressed himself warmly against the measure, and declared his determination to attend no more to its discussion[f]. A few days afterwards, at an audience with the King, he gave his opinion, in strong terms, of the inefficiency of the ministry, and advised his Majesty to send for Mr. Pitt. His

[d] See Franklin's examination before the House of Commons: Debrett's Debates vol. iv. p. 234.

[e] Robert Henley, made Recorder of Bath in 1751: Knighted and appointed Attorney-general November 6, 1756; Lord Keeper of the great seal and a Privy Counsellor June 30, 1757; raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Grange March 27, 1760; constituted Lord Chancellor of Great Britain January 16, 1761; and created Earl of Northington May 19, 1764. He was a man of sufficient abilities, but coarse and intemperate in his language and in his habits.

[f] Adolphus's History of England.

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advice was adopted, and a negociation with that gentleman was immediately commenced by Lord Northington.

A short time previous to these transactions, several other noblemen had expressed an attachment to Mr. Pitt. The Duke of Grafton[g], having resigned his office of Secretary of State, declared in the House of Lords, "that he had no objection to the persons or to the measures of the ministers he had recently left; but that he thought they wanted strength and efficiency to carry on proper measures with success; and that he knew but one man, *(meaning Mr. Pitt,)* who could give them that strength and solidity; that under him he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a spade or a mattock[h]."

Lord Shelburne refused both the presidency at the Board of Trade, and the appointment of ambassador to Paris. Lord North declined being made either Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Lord Townshend[i] would not accept the embassy to Paris or to Madrid. Lord Egmont and Lord Hardwicke[k] separately refused the seals which the Duke of Grafton had resigned. Lord Lyttleton declined accepting a cabinet situation.

In thus withholding their assistance from the existing administration, these noblemen were influenced by the prevailing opinion that another and a more comprehensive one was about to be formed, under which they hoped to obtain permanent employments.

How extraordinary was the influence, and how mighty was the name of Mr. Pitt at this particular juncture! Lord Northington waited upon him from the King, and invited him to form an administration upon his own conditions. Mr. Pitt, naturally wishing to have this offer confirmed by the King himself, was, on the 12th July, introduced to his Majesty at Richmond. The conference was short.

[g] Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, one of the objects of Junius's repeated and most venomous attacks.

[h] This is mentioned by numerous writers.

[i] George, fourth Viscount Townshend, a Field-Marshal, created a Marquis in 1787.

[k] Philip, second Earl of Hardwicke.

The King completely sanctioned the proceeding of his chancellor, and said that he had no terms to propose, but should place himself in the hands of Mr. Pitt. On the evening of the same day Mr. Pitt had another interview with the Chancellor, and afterwards with General Conway, with whom he made the principal arrangements for the new administration. On the following day the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, sent for Lord Temple from his seat at Stowe. Upon the 15th July Lord Temple, previous to an interview with Mr. Pitt, waited upon the King at Richmond, who informed him of the offer which had been made to Mr. Pitt, and said that he expected his Lordship would assist that gentleman in forming arrangements. Perhaps the most distressing event in the life of Mr. Pitt was the one which followed.

The reconciliation which had taken place between Lord Temple and his brother, Mr. George Grenville, had, in some degree, weakened the intimacy which had so long subsisted between the former and Mr. Pitt. A difference also arose in their political opinions. Whilst the repeal of the Stamp Act was vehemently supported by Mr. Pitt, it was as strongly condemned by Lord Temple. But, notwithstanding this difference of opinion, they were still considered as the warmest friends.

Richard Grenville, first Earl Temple, was born in 1711. He was the son of Mr. Richard Grenville by a sister of the celebrated Lord Cobham. This nobleman dying in 1749, his estates and titles devolved upon his sister who was soon afterwards created Countess Temple, when her son assumed the title of his uncle. Devoted, like most of his brothers[l], to politics, Mr. Grenville for many years took an active part in the business of the House of Commons, and when, by the death of his mother, he was elevated to the peerage, his exertions were by no means relaxed. He had married a lady[m] of ample

[l] His brothers who arrived at manhood were, George, (grandfather of the present Duke of Buckingham); James, (father of the late Lord Glastonbury); Henry; Thomas Henry, Captain in the Navy, who lost his life most gallantly in 1747.

[m] Miss Anne Chamber, daughter and coheir of Thomas Chamber, Esq. of Hanworth, Middlesex.

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fortune, and when he became Earl Temple, his wealth and influence rendered him one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom. Warm in his feelings and open in his character, Earl Temple was either a fast friend, or a bitter opponent. He was inferior to his brother, Mr. George Grenville, both in judgment and application; the views which they took of certain political measures were different, and an unfortunate misunderstanding for some time prevailed between them. This, however, had been removed, and at the time of which I write they were in those habits of intimacy which should ever subsist between brothers. Of all the members of the Grenville family Mr. Pitt had ever distinguished the elder brother by the most cordial attachment. This intimacy had now subsisted for nearly fifty years; it had been bound more closely by family connection, and Mr. Pitt and Earl Temple had long been considered as brothers in blood, in interest, and in feeling. Who must not regret that ties so sacred should have been burst by ambition!

On the 16th July, 1766, Lord Temple received a very affectionate note from Mr. Pitt, requesting to see his Lordship at North End, Hampstead, as his health would not allow him to come to London. Upon Lord Temple's arrival, Mr. Pitt informed him of what had passed between his Majesty and himself. He said that he had advised his Majesty to send for Lord Temple as one who was *indispensable;* and to place him at the head of the treasury; and that it was arranged that himself should take the privy seal. Mr. Pitt then produced a list of those persons who were to be subordinate to Lord Temple at the treasury, which list, he said, was not to be altered. Lord Temple said, that he also had been honored with a conference by his Majesty, whom he had seen on the preceding evening, and that from what then passed between them, he did not understand that Mr. Pitt was to be *absolute master*, and to form *every part* of the administration. Had he imagined this to be the case, he should have spared himself the trouble of coming to Mr. Pitt, as he was determined, in the event of his taking the most responsible situation in the government, to be placed upon an equality with Mr. Pitt, who had

only chosen a *side-place*, to which no responsibility was annexed. Lord Temple proceeded to say, that he must insist upon having some of his own confidential friends in the cabinet: that he made a sacrifice of his brother, Mr. G. Grenville, who, notwithstanding his exclusion from the intended system, would give him all the assistance and support in his power; that it was the wish to conciliate all parties upon the solid basis of union, which rendered Mr. Pitt's former administration so respectable and glorious; the same system should now be strictly pursued; but, if Mr. Pitt assumed a superior dictation, and did not choose to promote the restoration of that union which was at no time so necessary, he, (Lord Temple,) desired the conference might end, as he was determined not to submit to the conditions proposed.

Mr. Pitt, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; and asked who those persons were whom his Lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His Lordship answered, that one in particular was a noble Lord of approved character and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to himself, although pressed to accept it in the strongest manner by the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Newcastle; and who, being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr. Pitt himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was Lord Lyttleton. At the conclusion of this sentence, Mr. Pitt said, good God! how can you compare him to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, and Mr. Conway? Besides, continued he, I have taken the privy seal, and he cannot have that. Lord Temple then mentioned the post of Lord President: upon which Mr. Pitt said, that could not be, for he had engaged the Presidency: but, said he, Lord Lyttleton may have a pension. Lord Temple immediately answered, that this would never do; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with an accumulation of such burthens. Mr. Pitt consented, indeed, that Lord Temple should nominate his own board; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board, (Mr. T. Townshend and Mr. G. Onslow,) were turned out, they should be compensated by pensions.

Mr. Pitt next asked, what person his Lordship had in his thoughts

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for Secretary of State? His Lordship answered, Lord Gower, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Mr. Pitt had named, and of much greater family connexion; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a very powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in Parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. His Lordship added, that he had never imparted his design to Lord Gower, he did not even know whether that noble Lord would sanction it[n]; he mentioned it now, only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties; that the business of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of Parliament. But Mr. Pitt rejected this proposal, evidently healing as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Mr. Conway should stay in his present office, and that he had Lord Shelburne to propose for the other office, then held by the Duke of Richmond; so that there remained no room for Lord Gower. This Lord Temple said, was coming to his first proposition of being sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit. And therefore he insisted upon ending the conference; which he did by saying, that if he had been first called upon by the King, he should have consulted Mr. Pitt's honor, with regard to the arrangements of ministers, and have given him an equal share in the nomination; and that he thought himself ill treated by Mr. Pitt's not observing a similar conduct.

Upon this the conference terminated.

On the following day Lord Temple had an audience of the King in the closet; when his Lordship told his Majesty, in substance, that Mr. Pitt's terms were of such a nature, that he could not possibly accept of them consistently with his honor; that he had made a sacrifice

[n] Lord Temple afterwards wrote to Lord Gower, to excuse the mention he had made of his name.

of his brother to Mr. Pitt's resentment, in order to accommodate him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom were personal enemies to his Lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of government. Mr. Pitt, he said, would not permit him to name one friend for the cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence: and had assumed a power to himself, to which his Lordship never could submit; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was, to retrieve the honor of the nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his first and principal view was to extinguish and annihilate, as much as possible, in order that the whole attention of Parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to his Majesty, either for himself or his friends, for any place of honor or emolument; he did not even seek the present offer; yet he was extremely willing to sacrifice his own peace and leisure to the service of his Majesty and the country, provided he could do it with honor; but that, he added, was in his own disposal, and he would not make a compliment of it to any man.

In the evening of the same day, Lord Temple told Lord Northington, that the farce was at an end, and the mask was off: his Lordship, he said, need not have sent for him from the country, for there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration [o].

[o] The above account of Mr. Pitt's quarrel with Lord Temple is taken from a pamphlet written by Mr. Humphry Cotes. Lord Chesterfield supposed that it was written by Lord Temple himself, and very justly says of it, that "it is very scurrilous and scandalous, and betrays private conversation." Mr. Pitt's conduct was defended in another publication, of which Lord Chesterfield says: "the pamphlet on the part of Mr. Pitt, gives an account of his whole political life; and, in that respect, is tedious to those who were acquainted with it before; but, at the latter end, there is an article which expresses such supreme contempt of Lord T——, and in so pretty a manner, that I suspect it to be Mr. Pitt's own: you shall judge yourself, for I here transcribe the article, '—But this I will be bold to say, that had he (Lord T——) not fastened himself into Mr. Pitt's train and acquired thereby such an interest in that great man, he might have crept out of life with as little notice as he crept in; and gone off with no other degree of credit, than that of adding a single unit to the bills of mortality.'"

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Mr. Pitt having chosen the privy seal was necessarily created a Peer. This event was thus announced in the London Gazette:

"*St. James's, July* 30.

"The King has been pleased to grant unto the Right Hon. William Pitt, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Viscount and Earl of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Chatham in Kent."

Allowing that Mr. Pitt generally enjoyed the amplest share of popular applause, his conduct upon some occasions subjected him to almost an equal portion of virulence and abuse. His acceptance of a peerage, upon his present readmission into the ministry, exposed him to as much obloquy as his acceptance of a pension upon his retirement from office in 1761. Nor was that obloquy more just in the one case than in the other. When created Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt was nearly sixty years of age, and seventy in point of constitution. His health forbade his taking an active part in the business of the House of Commons. But his Majesty urged him to form an administration, and the custody of the privy seal, which has always been consigned to a peer, seemed best adapted to his age and his infirmities. Under these circumstances nothing surely could be more natural or more reasonable than his acceptance of a peerage.

A statesman has, perhaps, of all men, the greatest occasion for a sound constitution and an even disposition. Application to weighty business, and the necessary anxiety which it occasions, affect the health and spirits of the strongest men, and overwhelm the weak. It is well known how much the temper suffers from particular bodily ailments, and without temper no statesman can hope, either satisfactorily or permanently, to retain his station. Whatever be his talents and his influence, he must necessarily require the co-operation of many whose services are not to be secured without great address and conciliation. These remarks are, I think, particularly applicable

to the difficulties experienced by Lord Chatham in the formation of an administration, and to the little harmony which prevailed amongst its members when formed. As want of health prevented Lord Chatham from occupying a post of responsibility, or from regularly superintending the administration as conducted by others, he was compelled to select those persons for the most important stations who would most studiously fill up and execute his plans, and pursue his measures from conviction. Such a system, to be effective, required a very rare degree of mutual confidence and attachment. Now it must be confessed, that highly as Lord Chatham was loved and respected in his own family, and great as were his talents and his virtues, he possessed not the art of cementing political friendships. A consciousness of his own superior abilities, strengthened by the brilliant successes of his former administration, and by the unbounded popularity he had enjoyed, imparted an austerity to his manners, which distressed and offended his colleagues. Although his dispute with Lord Temple was the most distressing, it was by no means the only unpleasant occurrence to which the present arrangements gave rise. Lord Scarborough and Mr. Dowdeswell each complained of the abrupt and offensive manner in which they were applied to by Lord Chatham, and each, consequently, declined official employment[p].

Had Lord Chatham made Lord Gower Secretary of State when solicited by Lord Temple, he would have conferred a favor upon both noblemen: when he subsequently offered the appointment to the same individual it was rejected with indignation.

The Marquis of Rockingham, considering himself to have been unkindly treated, refused to see Lord Chatham, who requested an interview. These were all severe mortifications, and clearly proved that talents, however splendid, are not of themselves sufficient to maintain the authority of a minister. It was now that Lord Chatham first learned to appreciate the value of Lord Temple's friendship.

[p] To one a message was sent, "that he might have an office if he would:" to a second, "that such an office was still vacant:" to a third, "that he must take such an office or none."

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Although greatly inferior in point of abilities, Lord Temple possessed many engaging qualities of which his illustrious relative was devoid. The union of these great men rendered them respectable and powerful; their separation exposed them to subserviency. The one became an involuntary instrument in the hands of Lord Bute, the other in those of the opposition.

At length an administration was formed. Lord Camden was made Chancellor. The Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the Treasury, and the Earl of Shelburne and General Conway were made Secretaries of State. The Earl of Northington, who was deprived of the great seal, succeeded the Earl of Winchelsea as President of the Council. The Marquis of Granby was placed at the head of the Army. Mr. C. Townshend was subsequently appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the leading Minister in the House of Commons [q].

Lord Chatham's popularity was greatly diminished both by his acceptance of a title, and by his supposed connexion with Lord Bute —a connexion which never existed. What was said by Mr. Burke of the Marquis of Rockingham was equally true of Lord Chatham: "with the Earl of Bute he had no connexion nor correspondence of counsel; he neither courted him nor persecuted him." The supposition of such connexion originated in a very honorable transaction, which marked the commencement of Lord Chatham's administration. When Mr. Stuart Mackenzie received the privy seal of Scotland, he was assured by his Majesty that his appointment was for life. The Duke of Bedford, apprehensive of being considered under the influence of Lord Bute, deprived Mr. S. Mackenzie of this appointment, and thus reduced the Sovereign to the painful feeling of having violated his promise. Actuated by a sense of respect towards the King, and of justice towards an individual, Lord Chatham disregarded the odium which he knew would attend the measure, and at once restored to Mr. Mackenzie the seal.

[q] For a full account of the persons holding offices in Lord Chatham's administration see a table at the end of the Appendix, which contains also a list of every administration from his first entrance into Parliament until his death.

It is singular that Lord Chatham's present administration should have commenced like that of 1756, whilst the people were suffering from an extreme scarcity of provisions. But a season more ungenial to the fruits of the earth than the summer of 1766 was perhaps never before experienced. From March to August scarcely a day passed without rain. Both on the continent of Europe and in England the grain had suffered prodigiously, and serious apprehensions were entertained of a famine. The distress of the people becoming extremely urgent impelled them to the commission of the greatest enormities. Their rage against those whom they charged with engrossing provisions, in order to enhance their price, occasioned the loss of much property and of numerous lives. These were most alarming circumstances, and called for the most serious attention of the government.

Whilst severe measures were adopted against the rioters, several councils were held to consider the most effectual method of relieving the wants of the people. A proclamation was first issued against forestallers and regraters. But this measure not proving efficient, and the distress of the country increasing, another proclamation was issued to prohibit the exportation of grain, although it was yet at a price at which it might legally be sent out of the country.

Messengers were despatched to the various ports to enforce the regulations of the proclamation, and to prevent such ships as were laden with wheat or flour from sailing with their cargoes. The use of wheat for the purposes of distillation was also prohibited. Although Lord Chatham did not attend the councils, he sent them his written opinion in favor of the embargo. In advising this interposition of the royal prerogative, and thus overstepping the bounds of law, he was actuated by the same principle which led him during his former administration to issue a general warrant; that principle was—the necessity of the measure, the preservation of the people[r].

[r] The prompt measures adopted by government upon this occasion, and the subsequent meeting of Parliament to discuss them, are very analogous to the conduct of administration and the meeting of Parliament, sixty years afterwards, in 1826.

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On the 11th November the King opened the session of Parliament. The following is a principal portion of his Majesty's speech:

"The high price of wheat, and the defective produce of that grain last harvest, together with the extraordinary demands for the same from foreign parts, have principally determined me to call you thus early together, that I might have the sense of Parliament, as soon as conveniently might be, on a matter so important, and particularly affecting the poorer sort of my subjects.

"The urgency of the necessity called upon me, in the mean time, to exert my royal authority for the preservation of the public safety against a growing calamity, which could not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by and with the advice of my Privy Council, laid an embargo on wheat and wheat flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of my Parliament could be taken thereupon. If farther provisions of law be requisite or expedient with regard to the dearness of corn, so necessary to the sustenance of the poorer sort, they cannot escape the wisdom of Parliament, to which I recommend the due consideration thereof.

"At the same time I must with concern take notice that, notwithstanding my cares for my people, a spirit of the most daring insurrection has in divers parts broke forth in violences of the most criminal nature. Necessary orders have been given for bringing such dangerous offenders to condign punishment and speedy justice; nor shall vigilance and vigour on my part be wanting to restore obedience and reverence to law and government."

The address was opposed in both Houses. A bill being introduced by the ministers to indemnify the inferior agents of the executive power who had enforced the embargo, an amendment was moved by the opposition, implying that the ministers themselves being open to censure stood in need of indemnity for advising the embargo; a bill of a more comprehensive nature was therefore recommended.

The debate[s] which arose, upon the conduct of the administration, in the House of Peers, and the difficulties experienced by Lord Chatham in other respects, are thus described by Mr. Henry Flood in a letter to Lord Charlemont:

"Opposition began with Lord Suffolk; it was urged that the matter treated of being illegal, a bill of indemnity would be necessary to indemnify the persons concerned, and the constitution. It was added, that Parliament might and ought to have been called sooner, and that, if it had, perhaps this illegal act might have been avoided. Lord Ch——m, (who began with a very eloquent description of his feelings, from the situation in which he spoke, in an unaccustomed place, before the most knowing in the laws, in the presence of the hereditary legislators of the realm, whilst he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled with Majesty, and by all the tender virtues which encompass it,) allowed that it was physically possible to have called the Parliament a fortnight or three weeks sooner, consistently with the order of prorogation subsisting at the time when the alarm was first suggested; but that this, instead of being of service, would have been detrimental, for that it would have deprived the country in the very article of danger of the presence of the principal persons of it, whose authority had been of so much weight in suppressing those tumults. That this was the fact certainly, and though it could not be pretended that this was exactly foreseen, yet we could not but rejoice that nothing was done to deprive the country of such an effectual interposition; that Parliament now met earlier than usual, and that it was not in itself desirable to hurry away upon every rumour all the principal persons of the nation from every extremity of the kingdom, and to crowd them into the metro-

[s] This debate has not been reported. The principal arguments employed by Lord Mansfield, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and other Peers, were afterwards published in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Speech in behalf of the Constitution against the suspending and dispensing Prerogative." This has been attributed to Lord Mansfield, but was really written by Mr. Macintosh, assisted by Earl Temple and Lord Lyttleton.

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polis; that such a conduct would be a mark of weakness and temerity, especially in a country in which sudden distresses are so liable to be created and aggravated either from lucrative views, or from a factious spirit; that had he advised the calling of Parliament upon the first intelligence he received, (which was but a suggestion of apprehended scarcity, and could be no more, as the harvest was not threshed out or known,) he would justly have been censured for the alarm to the public, and the inconvenience to individuals, which a precipitate convention of Parliament must have occasioned; a step which would have created an imaginary scarcity, though a real one had not existed. That these considerations determined his Majesty, with the advice of his council, to issue that order of prorogation under which Parliament now met; that under the former prorogation, Parliament could not meet consistently with usage, for that it was always usual in the last proclamation of prorogation preceding the session to declare the Parliament to be prorogued to a certain day, then to meet for the despatch of business,—a material notification not inserted in the former, because it was not decided to meet then. That a new prorogation therefore was necessary, and that the usage was never to give less than forty days' notice. That this was a very salutary custom, and that nothing could be so perilous as sudden and surreptitious conventions of Parliament. That it might well be considered as the law of usage and of Parliament, though not perhaps of the land, that not less than forty days' notice should be given. That therefore the prorogation could not properly have been for less than forty days[t]. That

[t] The Lords in opposition were extremely severe upon the arguments employed by Lord Chatham, particularly upon those respecting the prorogation of Parliament. I shall cite a passage from the pamphlet mentioned in the preceding note: "States have perished by the neglect of an hour, and moments have decided the fate of empires. The prorogation of Parliament, in such a season of calamity and danger, was no minute blunder. Last year the noble Lord said he could not commend the then administration for calling Parliament early, as they termed it, because he thought their speed was delay in such a conjuncture as that was, though the ground of his complaint of delay was not that America had been suffered to continue in rebellion for months, but that so much time had been lost in giving these poor oppressed subjects relief from the grievances which he thought justified their mutiny. Now when one

indeed Parliament was by this last proclamation prorogued for somewhat more than forty days; but that this was done when only a surmise of scarcity had been suggested before the threshing out of the harvest, and whilst the danger had only been talked of, not expected. That it was some time after this prorogation before the conjecture of scarcity was verified, and the riots began; and that then, the time for the meeting of Parliament was publicly fixed, and the interval could not be shortened except by calling Parliament suddenly, contrary to proclamation and with a stretch of power, and a precedent infinitely more dangerous than the delay of their meeting, and the issuing of the embargo. That this indeed was so illegal, that the legislature had thought it necessary, by a particular clause in the Militia bill, to empower the Crown to call Parliament in the particular cases of actual invasion or rebellion in fourteen days, notwithstanding any prorogation to the contrary. That this delay therefore, arising from Parliament's being prorogued for somewhat more than forty days, was not faulty at the time, no danger being in probable expectation then which would require an earlier meeting; that after the proclamation the delay was unavoidable, and that, in fact, it was so far from being detrimental, that it had been advantageous. He ridiculed the stress which had been laid upon the possibility of calling Parliament fourteen or fifteen days sooner, and of setting every member of Parliament in the kingdom upon a horse to ride post up to London; and having thus defended the time of calling the Parliament, he proceeded to defend the issuing of the embargo during the interval of Parliament by regal authority as an act of power, justifiable before Parliament on the ground of necessity; and read a paragraph of Mr. Locke to shew that though it was not strictly speaking legal, yet that it was right in the opinion of that great friend of liberty, that constitutional philosopher and liberal statesman [u]. Had it ended here it would have been well;

greater and wiser than all other men is minister, days and dates are *minutiæ*. It is his prerogative to blunder and be blameless."

[u] Lord Chatham, according to the pamphlet, cited several passages from Locke in the course of his speech. Mr. Flood appears to allude to the following one: "If there comes to be a

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but Lord N——gt-n insisted on the legality of the embargo, and that the Crown had a right in cases of necessity to interpose even against a positive Act of Parliament, and that such interposition was not only justifiable, but legal. He said he was no patron of the people, and used something like sarcasm towards Lord Ch——m; I should have said solecism, you know. He challenged any lawyer to contradict him. Lord M—d for the first time, on the side of the constitution, rose up, but good as his ground was, he was afraid to tread upon it. As actions had been commenced against the persons who had carried into execution the order of embargo, he said he was restrained by prudence from delivering an opinion as to a matter which was likely to come judicially before him; but that either it was legal or was not: if the former, the act was unexceptionable in every light; if the latter, it was justified by necessity. He wished, therefore, no opposition to the address, because, in whatever view, the measure was to be approved. If the matter came into legal question, he said that it would branch into two points, one of common, the other of statute law, viz. First, Whether the Crown had in any case a right to lay an embargo in time of peace. Second, Whether in the particular case of corn, inasmuch as by a statute of Charles II., I think, all persons, natives or aliens, were expressly empowered to export corn. It was to be collected from his manner that he thought the Crown had not the power in either. Lord N——gt-n had mentioned the addresses of Parliament since the Revolution to the Crown, during the imposition of embargoes in some cases as a presumptive proof that they thought it not illegal, for if they had, he said, they must have known that their addresses would not have made it legal; a weak argument indeed! for knowing it to be illegal, they might think it necessary, and as such advise it; and if it were confessed to be illegal, ministry might wish to have the previous justification of Parliament, rather than the subsequent; (in truth, as Parliament was sitting, without such a previous

question between the executive power and the people about a thing claimed as prerogative, the tendency of the exercise of such a prerogative to the good or hurt of the people will easily decide that question."

step, they could not have been subsequently justified,) whereas, if it had been thought legal, they probably might have opposed such addresses as implying that the Crown was negligent of its duty, and then those addresses would probably not have passed. The passing therefore of those addresses is rather a presumption of the illegality of the act than of the contrary, for as Parliament was sitting, if the act were illegal, these addresses seem to have been necessary to administration, whereas if it were legal, they certainly were not so, and therefore the passing of these addresses, (if not carried against administration, which never was supposed,) is a better proof or a stronger presumption of illegality than the contrary, just in so much as necessity, or at least the approach to it, was a stronger motive for administration to wish them, than the total absence of necessity. Lord M—d mentioned that argument of Lord N——gt-n's, but did not examine it. He left him in possession of the implication he had assumed to himself from it, but mentioned, that before the Revolution, the statutes, authorising the exportation of corn, always, by a particular clause, gave the crown a power of stopping the exportation; whereas the laws of that kind, since the Revolution, have not given that clause. He left his hearers to draw this inference, that the former laws shew that the Crown was not supposed to have the power in itself; that, therefore, before the Revolution, whilst they thought such a power eligible, they found it necessary to give it, by a particular clause; and that, since the Revolution, by the omission of that clause, it is to be presumed that they thought it dangerous to be given. He said that something ought to be done to put an end to questions on that subject; not to indemnify the council, or the great officers of state, he said he thought nothing of that, but to prevent suits against the persons concerned in the execution of the order. And at length he asserted the want of power in the Crown, in plain terms, though, when charged with it by Lord C—en, he denied his having said so. He was accurate, and able, and almost eloquent, but the character of the man defeated his capacity; for with the most popular and constitutional ground under his feet, and Lord

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C—en on the contrary, he was afraid to speak out. He relinquished efficacy for insinuation, and force for management. Both the men were misplaced; the artifice, and almost chicanery of Lord M—ld was suited to Lord C—en's ground, and the simplicity, frankness, and warmth of Lord C—en would have become Lord M—d's situation. Thus the nature of these two men, wise and great as they are, prevailed over their judgments, and the one could not rise, nor could the other fall to his condition. Lord C—en supported Lord N—g—n's tenet; I grieve to say it, and I cannot dwell upon it. He is always eloquent, for he always feels, and he made the worse appear the better cause. This tenet made a prodigious noise. I ought to have remembered, that after Lords N——gt-n and C—en had spoken, Lord Ch—m spoke again, and concluded with calling the embargo an act of *power*, such I still think it, said he, *justified* by *necessity*, and with referring himself to the judgment of Parliament. Lord Spencer, I saw, moved the address; he was inaudible. Lord Hill—h seconded the address, and what he said was a bad opposition to it. Lord Suffolk did it much more favor by opposing it; he spoke pompous nothings. Lord Shel—ne was better, and the Duke of Gr—on worse than I expected. Lord Lytt—n was reasonable, and Lord T—le as bad as he could be. I have mentioned that this doctrine made much noise, but, as Lord Ch—m had kept clear of it, it would have died, if Beck—rd had not revived it, in two days after, in the House of Commons, in more offensive words, by saying, that the Crown had, in cases of necessity, a power to *dispense* with laws. This, which at another time would have been laughed out of the House, became serious, though spoken by such a scattering man. G. Gr—lle took down the words; they were condemned by every body. The doctrine, in the Lords, was mentioned with very severe strictures, and Mr. B——rd was obliged to explain, by a retraction and contradiction in fact, of what he had said, which remains in the journals. This was a triumph to G. Gr——lle; he urged that a bill of indemnity was further necessary, to indemnify the advisers as well as the actors under that order. General Con—y agreed in condemn-

ing the doctrine, but did not seem to think that it was necessary to indemnify the advisers. He moved for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify the persons acting under the order. Lord Ch—m, like himself, on hearing this affair, desired the bill to be made as strong as possible, and to be extended to the advisers, and to be made declaratory as well as indemnifying [x]. It has been thus framed accordingly, and is brought in; but it is still thought that Mr. G—lle will offer amendments, and keep the ball on foot.

"All this affair, aggravated by the multitude of private discontents which mingled with it, produced a ferment, and encouraged all the parties that are unsatisfied to join against Lord Ch—m on Tuesday last. Beckford was chosen by him, not luckily, it should seem, to make a motion for examining into the state of the East India Company. This motion contained offensive matter, and was offensively introduced: our friend B—rke rose first in opposition, and acquitted himself very honorably. Yorke, G. Grenville, Thurlow, Rigby, Dowdeswell, Wedderburn, all joined. Ch. Townshend stated the matter quite new, disclaimed all the offensive parts, and made a very artful, conciliating, able, and eloquent speech. Barrè, Conway, the Attorney General, the Master of the Rolls, Hans Stanley, &c. spoke in favor of the general ground of the motion; upon the whole, however, there was little concert, and not much ability, in the defence. The opponents were more successful, upon the whole, though no one person near Townshend. He is the orator; the rest are speakers. I have heard him frequently this time, and always well: one remarkable speech of his I missed, but I went to see him the day after, (he was so good as to introduce himself to me a few days before:) I lamented the loss I had sustained by my absence, and he remedied it by speaking excellently on the same subject to me in his room. At half an hour after eleven the question was carried in favor of the resolution, amended by Conway, by 129 to 76.

[x] It is singular that Lord Chatham has been represented as opposing the amendment upon this subject, and he has been censured for so doing. Whereas his conduct appears to have been most candid, and deserving of praise. See the anonymous Life of Lord Chatham.

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The Bed—ds, R—g—m, P—t—nd, Dev——, T—ple, Gr——lle, Y—rkes, and the friends of the Company all united. "Some of the Lord B—te's were against administration, some went away, and Osw—d and Ell—tt were silent. Ham—on voted with the minority, but did not speak. This day the Duke of P—t—nd resigned, and Lords Scarb——gh, Bes——gh, and Monson, as I hear, and believe certainly. Lord Hertford took possession this day of the Duke of P—t—nd's staff: resignations will spread wide, it is said, and who is to come in, or whether any administration can be fixed, is unknown. Four or five days ago Lord Edgecombe was dismissed, and Jack Shelly put into his place. This offended. Lord Ch—m has refused all explanations upon the subject, it is said; complains that there is nothing but faction round him, and seems determined to go on unmoved, and to break through it or fall; the scheme, however, as to the East India Company seems from its unlucky beginning to be hurt. Their revenue is 4,000,000*l.* a-year, it is said, and the territory which they claim immense. One of Lord Ch—m's schemes, it seems, was to make some compromise with them that might bring relief to the public, and, as Townshend stated the matter, it should seem that it might be done upon equitable terms. Whether any thing can be done now is doubtful."

If additional facts were necessary to prove that Lord Chatham's nature was not adapted for the adjustment of party differences, or for the refinements frequently practised in establishing a political connexion, they are amply furnished by this period of his life. Soon after the proclamations respecting the embargo were issued, Lord Chatham went to Bath for the benefit of his health. Thither also, and for the same purpose, the Duke of Bedford repaired. Lord Chatham was well aware of the formidable nature of the opposition which was forming against him. He knew that it would consist of the late ministry, of several of his own relations, and of the Duke of Bedford and his friends. His particular object was to break the union of the two last parties.

In an interview which he obtained with the Duke of Bedford at Bath, he endeavoured to detach his Grace from Mr. Grenville. He commenced this conference with a warm assurance that he was anxious to secure the approbation and interest of the Duke of Bedford to adorn and strengthen his Majesty's administration. The Duke making no reply to this exordium, Lord Chatham proceeded to say that he should lay before his Grace the principal measures which he was determined to pursue. He intended, First, to preserve the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the princes upon the continent that they did the same.

Secondly, To enter into no continental connexions, and to make no subsidiary treaty with any European power.

Thirdly, To observe such a strict and rigid economy as should command the approbation of the most frugal member of Parliament.

The Duke of Bedford replied, that these were the very measures for which he had always contended. They were *his* measures, and he certainly would support them whether or not his friends were in power.

The subject of America was studiously avoided. This conference closed with a mutual feeling that it was merely preparatory to another. It was in consequence of this feeling that the Bedford party took little share in the early debates of the session. But although one weight was thus for a time withdrawn from the opposite scale, Lord Chatham was apprehensive that it would still preponderate. His next attempt was to divide the Newcastle interest from the late administration. For this purpose he promised the staff of Treasurer of the Household, at this time in the hands of Lord Edgcumbe, to Mr. Shelley, a near relation of the Duke of Newcastle. The circumstances which attended the dismission of Lord Edgcumbe will be read with much pain by every admirer of Lord Chatham's character. They are thus related by a cotemporary writer:

[y] "About the 20th November, 1766, the minister sent a note to

[y] From the Political Register, vol. i. page 275. The above extract was inserted by Almon, in his Anecdotes of Lord Chatham.

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Lord Edgcumbe, acquainting his Lordship, 'That a great personage had determined upon making some alterations in his servants; and that he (the minister) should be glad to see Lord E. in Bond-street, or he would wait upon his Lordship in Upper Grosvenor-street.' Lord Edgcumbe directly waited upon the minister in Bond-street. The minister began with highly commending his Lordship's abilities, his virtues, his integrity, and recited the contents of his letter. Then, after many pauses, and inarticulate sounds, he said, 'He was very sorry for it, was extremely concerned it should happen so—but—it was necessary—.' Here Lord E. stopped him short, and bluntly demanded, 'if his post was destined for another.' The minister, after a little pause, and uttering a few broken sentences, acknowledged that it was, and that it had been so for some time. Lord E. then proceeded to remind him of the measures of the late opposition: 'that he had, four years, steadily and uniformly supported those measures; measures which he (the minister) had approved and adopted, and which were now happily effected; that he had never deserted any of the great questions upon the subjects of the liberties and interests of his country; and expressed his astonishment that this treatment should be the reward of a conduct that had manifestly the approbation of and was agreeable to, the spirit and principles of the minister, while in opposition.' The force of these truths, and this conclusion, obviously made an impression upon the minister; and he said, 'that however unwilling a great personage was to increase the number of his Lords of the Bedchamber, yet he (the minister) would nevertheless venture to place his Lordship upon that list.' Lord E. directly made answer, 'That however willing he really was to hold some place, in order that he might continue in office with his friends, and support the measures of government, yet, after this usage, he would not take any place, nor resign that which he held, to any but the great personage himself. And added, that it was extremely impolitic thus to turn out persons of rank; persons of great parliamentary interest.' The minister burst out—'Oh!' said he, 'if that be the case, *let me feel myself!* I despise your parliamentary interest! I do not want

your assistance!' And added, 'that he trusted to the uprightness of his measures for the support and confidence of the K——, and the favor and attachment of the people; and acting upon these principles, *I dare look in the face the proudest connexions in this country!*' They parted.

"Two days after, Lord E. received a note signifying a great person's desire of his staff. On Monday the 24th November, 1766, he waited on the great person, who said, 'that he was very sorry to part with his Lordship, of whose services he had a very high opinion, as well as of his Lordship's abilities, and attachment to his person, and especially because his Lordship had no mixture of factious principles in his disposition; but,' says he, 'my ministers tell me it must be so;' and added, 'that the idea of the bed-chamber was purely his own.' Lord E. returned the great person his sincere and most humble thanks for the good opinion he was pleased to entertain of him; and expressed the great obligation he was under for it, and the more so,' added he, 'for not pressing the bed-chamber upon me; all which more than pay me for the ill usage of your ministers.' The staff was given up, and Mr. Shelley appointed treasurer of the household.

"Next day the Earl of Besborough, who was one of the joint post-masters, offered to make room for Lord E. by proposing to resign that post in favor of his Lordship, and taking the bed-chamber, which had been offered to that Lord. But this obliging offer was rejected. Upon which the Duke of Portland, the Earls of Besborough and Scarborough, and Lord Monson, resigned the next day, which was Wednesday, November the 26th, 1766. And these resignations were immediately followed by those of Sir Charles Saunders, Sir William Meredith, Admiral Keppel, &c."

In consequence of these resignations Lord Chatham renewed his overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his friends.

John Russel, fourth Duke of Bedford, was born in 1710, and succeeded his brother in the dukedom in 1732. Possessing a certain quickness of apprehension he sometimes spoke with ability and effect, but his influence in the state was far more owing to his splen-

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did rank and immense property, than either to his talents or his virtues. Although of an obstinate and passionate disposition, he was certainly exempt from qualities of a blacker nature, and the abuse which has been heaped upon his character is as indecent as it is undeserved [z].

Lord Chatham now offered the high appointment of first Lord of the Admiralty to Lord Gower, who instantly repaired to Woburn to consult the Duke [a]. Whilst this appointment was under negociation, Lord Chatham had a long conference with the King. He stated that his intended alliance with the Bedford party was founded upon the necessity of supplying the vacancies occasioned by the late resignations. But the King was so offended by the former violent conduct of the Duke of Bedford, that he entreated Lord Chatham to mention him no more. In other respects his Majesty assured him his advice should be attended to, and the most cordial support afforded to his measures.

Lord Chatham had certainly been precipitate. Before he made proposals to any party, he should have well considered whether it was in his power to fulfil them. In consequence of this interview with his Majesty a new arrangement was made. Sir Edward Hawke was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty; the remaining vacant seats at that board were given to Mr. Jenkinson and Sir Peircy Brett. Lord Le Despencer was made Postmaster.

It may be supposed that the next interview between Lord Chatham and the Duke of Bedford was satisfactory to neither party. This took place in Bond-street on the 1st of December. The Duke, ignorant of the late transactions, and supposing that the negociation which had been opened at Bath was to be continued upon the same footing, requested that several of his friends might be appointed to the vacant offices, and that an English peerage might be conferred upon the Marquis of Lorne. He said that he asked nothing for him-

[z] That of Junius in particular.

[a] There was a double connexion between the families of Russel and Gower. Earl Gower's mother was the aunt, and his sister the wife of the Duke of Bedford.

self, but expected that the public measures before avowed were strictly to be pursued.

Lord Chatham began by putting an unqualified negative upon the peerage for Lord Lorne. He said that very few of the public offices were now vacant, and mentioned the persons upon whom they had been conferred. With regard to measures—he was determined, he said, to maintain the alliance with the King of Prussia—his opinion of the peace remained unaltered; it was the same that he had declared in Parliament.

The Duke of Bedford withdrew from this conference in astonishment and angry disgust[b].

Although all prospect of connexion with the Duke of Bedford had closed, Lord Chatham deemed it prudent to secure, if possible, the assistance of some of his Grace's friends. With this view, the Marquis of Lorne, to whom the very dignity had a few days before been denied, was made an English peer; and Mr. Nugent, who was placed at the head of the board of trade, was created Lord Clare.

Lord Chatham had now formed an administration in numbers but not in effect. It was like an army composed of recruits, who might answer when summoned on the muster-roll, but whose right to the name of soldiers the first day of battle would destroy. Mr. Burke's description of this ministry well deserves the celebrity it has acquired, *decies repetita placebit*:

"He made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic[c]; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of

[b] Lord Chesterfield's account of this transaction is as follows: "Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his people, but they could by no means agree, and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, so that negociation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have; even *he* cannot be alone, *contra mundum*." *Letter* 372.

[c] It is possible that Mr. Burke may have adopted his renowned metaphor from the following

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black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies: that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues, whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons.'—I venture to say it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed [d]."

Nothing more clearly shews the wisdom of adhering to one even line of conduct than the perplexity in which Lord Chatham was involved by his recent deviations from it. That mighty statesman who had formerly astonished and subdued Europe, was now exposed to the sneers of the most pitiful courtier, and to the charge of inconsistency and prevarication. Lord Temple, his ally in the hour of political altercation, and the solace of his cares in retirement, was now lost to him as a friend. His colleagues in office had merely clung to him from the influence of his name, and several of them were already his rivals for power. His popularity, to which few are indifferent, and which he so highly valued, was greatly diminished by his acceptance of the peerage. To complete the whole, his constitutional malady arose to such an height as to exclude him from all participation in public business. His mind agitated by contending passions—his body tortured by pain, he fell into a paroxysm of the gout at Bath, which for some time threatened his existence [e]. But even at this, the

hint afforded by Lord Chesterfield, "I am apt to think that it will be a Mosaic ministry made up *de pieces rapportées* from different connexions."—*Letter* 376.

[d] Supposed to allude to the Right Hon. Lord North, and George Cooke, Esq. who were made joint paymasters in the summer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham administration.

[e] Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham.

least glorious period of his life, there is something extremely grand in the efforts which he made to break through his infirmities, and the anxiety which he evinced for the public welfare.

The state of our possessions in the East Indies, and the affairs of the Company engrossed, at this time, much of the attention of Parliament and the country. There is reason to suppose that Lord Chatham never regarded the monopoly exercised by the East India Company with a favorable eye. He thought it unreasonable that the nation in general should be excluded from so desirable a trade, and that they should be compelled to pay an extravagant price for the goods of India in consequence of the abuses attendant upon the management of that country[f]. The vigor and judgment of his own plans had materially tended to the augmentation and to the security of the British territories in India, and he was of opinion that instead of advancing the exclusive interests of a company, they should be made subservient to the general prosperity of the kingdom. He maintained, therefore, that these territories and the revenues arising from them belonged of right to the Crown. Lord Chatham had beheld the recent proceedings of the proprietors of East India stock with the strongest disgust. By an interested policy, the civilians in India had constantly transmitted to their employers at home the most flattering accounts of the state of their affairs. The avarice of the proprietors of stock was inflamed by these descriptions, and they became impatient to participate in this exaggerated wealth. This impulse urged them in 1766, to raise their dividend from six to ten per cent. They even contemplated and demanded a higher return of interest[g]. Such conduct was stigmatized by Lord Chatham as rapacious and unprincipled. He justly thought that it was the duty of the Company to discharge their debts, then amounting nearly to seven millions sterling, before they attempted to engross such enormous profits to themselves.

[f] Adam Smith entertained the same opinions.

[g] On the 6th May, 1767, a dividend of 12½ per cent. was voted for the year in a general court.

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Although many of his colleagues in the administration entertained similar opinions, they were far from being unanimous upon the subject. The policy of Mr. Charles Townshend, at first flattering to the proprietors, appears to have ended, like his general wavering and unstable systems, in disappointing and deceiving the parties. He was charged in the next year, with "sacrificing the more permanent interest of the nation and the Company to obtain a morsel to his annual budget[h]."

The following is a portion of a correspondence which at this time took place between this gentleman and Lord Chatham:

The Earl of Chatham to the Right Hon. Charles Townshend.

Burton Pynsent, Jan. 2, 1767.

1767. "SIR,

"The honor of your letter followed me to this place from Bath, whither I return to-morrow morning. I am impatient to express how sensibly I am obliged to you for so early a communication of the resolutions of the last General Court. I need not tell you how entirely this transcendant object, India, possesses my heart, and fixes my thoughts. It will not be hard, then, to judge of my sensations, on a dawn of reason and equity in the General Court, so long delivered up to the grossest delusions of a mistaken self-interest, and shutting their eyes to the clearest principles of justice, and to a series of the most incontestible facts. I can call it hitherto only the dawn, waiting anxiously for the more perfect day. The motion, (discreet enough in itself,) is so worded, that it may contain all that is right and desirable: it may also conceal within a specious generality, certain narrow notions, that would frustrate national justice and public prosperity. I will, however, hope for the best side of the alternative; and am fully persuaded, my dear Sir, that you and I shall equally share the honest joy, if the desired success crowns the great work; and, indeed, by one and the same act, to do the nation

[h] See a letter to the committee of twenty-five proprietors of India stock, published in 1768.

justice, and to fix the ease and preeminence of England for ages, are plentiful sources of manly and noble joy. Allow me, then, with the addition of one descriptive epithet, to pray, (in your own words,) for all the natural consequences of an adequate, amicable, and happy conclusion of this vast subject. I am, with the greatest regard and consideration,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most faithful

"and obedient humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

The Right Hon. Charles Townshend to the Earl of Chatham.

"*Downing Street, Jan.* 4, 1767.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have this moment received the honor of your letter; and I flatter myself you will forgive me if I trouble you a second time, in consequence of some observations in your letter, (which seem to call for an answer from me,) and of proceedings which have since followed the resolution of the General Court.

"I cannot help thinking, that the words of the motion were conceived with great prudence, propriety, and judgment; because, in my opinion, they clearly extend to every consideration which one would wish to include in the result of the negociation. Under the expression, 'of enlarging their commerce,' will naturally be considered every measure which the Directors have to propose for the relief of their trade at home and abroad. Under the next words, 'of securing their possessions,' (your Lordship will observe it is possessions, not rights,) will be introduced whatever they want, in recruiting their military, governing their servants, and establishing the revenue itself. And under the last general phrase, 'of perpetuating the prosperity of the Company,' may be classed a variety of other points not yet started; all which, amicably given, will be so many reasons with the General Court finally to acquiesce in an issue advan-

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tageous to the Company and adequate to the public. Your Lordship will recollect, that in my letter I had the honor to assure you, that the motion was opened, supported, and carried, in this extensive sense. I am now to inform you, that the Directors have been with me, to communicate the resolution; and from them I learn, that they receive their power, and construe it in this manner; and that they will, without delay, collect every information, in order to prepare themselves for waiting upon your Lordship and the servants of the Crown, upon their return to town; till which time, I told them, I could not venture to advance one step. I have also seen other very leading men in the Court, who speak of the temper of the day, the meaning of the motion, and the extent of the power given to the Directors, as I have done to your Lordship; and, therefore, I should hope, there is no ground for doubting which side of the alternative, stated by your Lordship, ought to be taken, on the construction of the generality of the words; formed thus general, I am convinced, to secure unanimity in granting the power to treat, without the least secret wish thereby to frustrate national justice and public prosperity.

"Your Lordship does me justice in supposing me equally anxious with yourself to see this delicate and important matter brought to an adequate, as well as amicable and happy issue. Perhaps I may have thought, more than others of sounder judgment than mine, that the only way of making the issue adequate was to make it amicable; which, if it has been an error, it was an honest one, proceeding from a sincere, though it should be thought an extreme, sense of the endless difficulties accompanying every idea of substituting the public in the place of the Company, in the collecting, investing, and remitting the revenue, and from a fear that the knowledge of this impracticability might embolden a body of heated proprietors to stand the issue of such a measure, rather than submit to what they might deem severity in the manner, or in the plan.

"I am to beg your Lordship's pardon for this interruption; truly anxious to leave no doubt upon your mind, which I feel myself

authorised to remove, by the representation of any circumstances within my knowledge, I could not resist the pleasure of assuring you more fully of the sense of the last General Court, and the declaration of the Directors themselves.

"I am, my Lord, with the greatest solicitude for your Lordship's health, and the success of whatever interests you have in the accomplishment of your great plans for the prosperity and honor of these kingdoms,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obliged and most faithful servant,

"C. TOWNSHEND."

The Earl of Chatham to the Right Hon. Charles Townshend.

"*Bath, January* 6, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am honored this morning by the favor of your letter of the 4th, and am sorry that any observations of my former letter should have occasioned you the trouble of justifying the motion of the General Court; the wording of which I admitted to be prudent enough: my anxious doubts and well grounded fears turning upon the final issue of the transaction, not upon the expression of the resolution, which will, in my sense of things, be such in either alternative, an adequate or an illusory proposal. It would be an useless intrusion upon your time to repeat here the first principle which rules me in this matter, namely, that the right is evidently with the Company; for I can venture upon no method of defining the idea of adequate, but by assuming or deciding the question of right, and by considering consequently whatever portion of the revenue shall be left by Parliament to the Company as indulgence and matter of discretion. I will only add, upon this head, that my fears do not arise from distrusts of the good intentions of the Directors, but from the vices and passions of the General Court, to whom they are to report. Under

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these circumstances, I confess, I am not quite sanguine enough to hope for an issue I shall think adequate.

"Allow me now, dear Sir, to assure you, that I esteem myself sensibly obliged to you for the honor of the letter I am now answering, and am not a little flattered with the attention you are so good to give to solicitudes, which are very real and proportioned to the mighty national benefit, which is to be acquired or lost at the end of this momentous business. I feel all the extent of the very favorable and kind expressions with which you conclude your letter, and beg you will accept of my warm acknowledgments. I hope to have the pleasure of embracing you in town, about the 14th or 15th. I am, with great regard and consideration,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most faithful

"and most obedient humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

In the month of February, 1767, Lord Chatham attempted to proceed from Bath to London, but his disorder attacked him with violence on the way, and compelled him to remain several weeks at Marlborough. At length he reached the metropolis, but being wholly incompetent to the transaction of public business, he retired to Hampstead. Conceiving the air of this place too sharp for his disorder, he expressed a wish to repossess his former house at Hayes. The owner, Mr. Walpole, very handsomely gratified his desire, and allowed him to repurchase the property.

Whilst Lord Chatham was at Hampstead the King sent frequent messages to enquire after his health, and to desire him not to be disconcerted by his confinement, or by his necessary absence from public business, as his Majesty was determined to support him. But however consolatory these gracious messages from the Sovereign proved to Lord Chatham, he now perceived that his influence with his

colleagues in office was at an end, and that he could hope to effect scarcely any thing for the public welfare[i].

Mr. Charles Townshend was not of a disposition to brook a superior even during the height of Lord Chatham's popularity, and when his faculties were most vigorous, but when he supposed that nobleman's infirmities would for ever exclude him from public business, he determined to establish his own power upon the most lasting basis. General Conway was favorable to his views. A negociation was opened by these gentlemen with the Marquis of Rockingham. Their common object was the removal of the Duke of Grafton, but the return of Lord Chatham to the neighbourhood of London prevented the prosecution of their design, and Mr. C. Townshend became reconciled to the Duke.

In consequence of several intimations of intended resignations from his servants, his Majesty, a few days after the rising of Parliament, wrote a letter, with his own hand, to Lord Chatham, desiring his lordship's advice and assistance. Lord Chatham was then at Hampstead confined to his bed by sickness. He returned a verbal answer to the King's letter, stating, "that such was his ill state of health, that his Majesty must not expect from him any farther advice or assistance in any arrangements whatsoever[k]." It is scarcely to be conceived that the same ardent and high-spirited minister, who had

[i] In a letter to Mr. Flood, dated London, February 19, 1767, Lord Charlemont says: "All matters here go on as usual. Lord Chatham is daily expected, and till he arrives nothing worth informing you of is likely to happen. There has been, upon various topics, a great deal of conversation in the House of Commons but no divisions. One thing, however, appears very extraordinary if not indecent: no member of the opposition speaks without directly abusing Lord Chatham, and no friend ever rises to take his part. *Qui non defendit alio culpante* is scarce a degree less *black* than *absentem qui rodit amicum.* Is it possible that such a man can be friendless?"

[k] In a letter, dated April 9, 1767, Lord Charlemont says: "Lord Chatham is still minister, but how long he may continue so is a problem that would pose the deepest politician. The opposition grows more and more violent, and seems to gain ground: his ill health as yet prevents his doing any business. The ministry is divided into as many parties as there are men in it; all complain of his want of participation. Charles Townshend is at open war, Conway is angry, Lord Shelburne out of humour, and the Duke of Grafton by no means pleased."

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formerly retired from office because he was not allowed to guide the measures of the country, should have sent such an answer to his Sovereign without accompanying it by the resignation of his seal. Had he at this time resigned—had he expressed his regret that the melancholy state of his health prevented his fulfilling the hopes with which he entered into the administration, his name would have been spared the imputation of measures which were abhorrent to his heart, and he would have been attended in his retreat by the veneration and sympathy of his country.

The month of July was marked by frequent political conferences between the various parties in opposition, and several of the members of administration, with a view to the formation of a new ministry upon a more comprehensive system. The Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, and the Marquis of Rockingham, were the leaders upon these occasions; Messrs. Conway, Grenville, and Rigby, were intimately concerned in the arrangements they proposed. Although these leaders agreed upon many public grounds, they differed upon a most essential one—the future measures to be adopted with regard to America. Had the Marquis of Rockingham been appointed minister, he intended to pursue a system of mildness and conciliation; this was contrary to the policy of the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville, and it was this difference which occasioned the failure of the negociations.

As Lord Chatham's health was now deemed irrecoverable, and as the negociations to extend and strengthen the administration had proved abortive, the existing ministry were compelled to make the most of their strength, and to act upon their own suggestions.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having boastingly said in the House of Commons, that "he knew how to draw a revenue from the colonies without giving them offence," Mr. Grenville eagerly caught at the suggestion, and urged the minister immediately to redeem his pledge by the adoption of such a measure. Mr. C. Townshend supporting, in its fullest latitude, the distinction which had been laid down between external and internal taxation, that is, between raising money from the colonies by the imposition of duties on the importa-

tion or exportation of merchandize, and raising it internally in the way proposed by the Stamp Act, procured an act of Parliament to be passed, imposing certain duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea, payable upon the importation of these articles into the American colonies. These duties when collected, were to be applied chiefly in providing for the administration of justice, and for the support of civil government in those colonies which required such provisions. The residue of the duty was to be paid into the Exchequer in England, and to be applicable to the same purposes as the former duties imposed in the year 1764[l].

This appears to me one of the most extraordinary and unwise measures recorded in history. At a time when the extreme irritation occasioned by the Stamp Act was fresh in the minds of all, it surely was most dangerous to renew that irritation by another act so closely resembling the former. The principle of the two measures was precisely the same. Unfortunately the marked distinction which Lord Chatham himself had laid down between internal and external taxation, and the place which he still retained in the administration in some degree associated him with the advocates of the measure. Lord Chatham, the first public man in Great Britain who declared the right of America to grant her own money; Lord Chatham, to whom the gratitude of America had erected monuments and statues, and whose name, throughout that vast continent, was identified with liberty, was now the ostensible reviver of our claim to taxation!

Observing the disunion of parties, and the great scarcity of public talent, Charles Townshend had, for some time, determined to become first minister of Great Britain. With this view he had entered into all the arrangements of the court with respect to America. Had he lived, there is little doubt that he would have become first Lord of the Treasury before the opening of the next session of Parliament[m].

[l] Stedman's History of the American War. Burke's celebrated speech on American taxation in 1774.

[m] He gave a proof of his power by creating his lady an English peeress, with remainder to his son.

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But it rarely happens that men gifted like Charles Townshend arrive at longevity. Their ardent minds appear to anticipate and consume the ordinary supplies of strength and spirits furnished by the body. The sword, to use a familiar metaphor, cuts the scabbard. After sitting twenty years in Parliament, and filling several very important posts in the government, Charles Townshend was almost on the point of arriving at the summit of a subject's power, when a fever interposed, and snatched him, at the age of forty-two, from his admiring companions and from life. Few men have equalled him in genius, in wit, or in application. He was the delight and ornament of the senate as well as of every private family. With infinitely greater application, he seems, in some respects, to have resembled a character of our own times, and with the same unsettled principles, to have possessed the same exquisite wit for which the late Mr. Sheridan was conspicuous[n]. Mr. Townshend's place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was offered to Lord Barrington and Lord North, both of whom thought proper to refuse it. Lord Mansfield attempted to open a negociation with the Duke of Bedford, but his Grace refused to enter into any treaty which did not include his friends. At length Lord North, by the persuasion of his father, and at the solicitation of the Princess of Wales, was induced to change his intention, and consented to become Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sept. 4th.

Frederick, Lord North, was the eldest son of the first Earl of Guildford, by Lucy Montagu, daughter of George, Earl of Halifax. He was born April 13, 1732, and first came into Parliament in 1754. During Mr. Pitt's administration he became one of the Lords of the Treasury, but was removed from that appointment by the Rockingham ministry in 1765. In the following year he again came into office under Lord Chatham, and was appointed joint paymaster of the forces. The seeds of those troubles which afterwards yielded such a harvest of calamity were sown before Lord North took a prominent part in the administration. He came forward at a very critical and alarming

[n] See his character in Burke's speech upon American taxation.

period, his appointment to the chancellorship of the exchequer, and his subsequent elevation to the first place in the ministry being rather the effect of necessity than of choice. At a time when a statesman of the greatest judgment and experience was required, chance pointed out Lord North, and his administration, at first to all appearance temporary, proved one of the most permanent which the country has known. He was well skilled in questions of finance, and without pretending to the eloquence of Lord Chatham, or of Charles Townshend, was powerful in debate. But his views of government were narrow, and he was incapable of forming any great or comprehensive system. Notwithstanding the extremely alarming state of America, Lord North appears to have been satisfied with temporary expedients, calculated perhaps to remove some trifling discontents but founded on no fixed basis, and altogether inadequate to the exigency of the times.

As to moral character no man was more amiable. Abounding with wit and good-nature, he possessed the most undoubted integrity, and, amongst a host of political adversaries, had not a single enemy [o].

Mr. Thomas Townshend [p] succeeded Lord North at the Pay-office, and Mr. Jenkinson [q] was appointed a Lord of the Treasury in the place of Mr. Townshend. These arrangements were made without the least communication with Lord Chatham. Indeed the verbal declaration which he had made to his Majesty, and his departure to his own distant estate in Somersetshire, precluded both the ministry and the court from again consulting him.

As Lord Northington and General Conway still expressed a desire to resign their appointments, the Duke of Grafton, not discouraged by former failures, determined to open another negociation with the friends of the Duke of Bedford. In this he was successful. Lord

[o] Lord North succeeded to the Earldom of Guildford in 1790, and died in 1792.

[p] Grandson of Charles, second Viscount Townshend; created Viscount Sydney in 1783. He was the father of the late Countess of Chatham.

[q] Charles Jenkinson, created Baron Hawkesbury in 1786, succeeded to his hereditary title of baronet in 1789, and advanced to the Earldom of Liverpool in 1796. His Lordship's abilities are too well known to require comment. He died in 1808.

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Gower was made President of the Council in the place of Lord Northington, and Lord Weymouth [r] Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Conway. Mr. Rigby succeeded Mr. Oswald as Vice-treasurer of Ireland, the latter retiring upon a considerable pension.

Soon after this, Lord Hillsborough [s] was appointed to the new office of Secretary of State for America.

During these arrangements, Lord Chatham returned from Burton Pynsent to his repurchased seat at Hayes, but his health still incapacitated him for business [t]. The Privy-seal, becoming officially necessary, was in the month of February, 1768, put into temporary commission. The precedence annexed to this office, (exclusive of the high importance of the trust which attends it,) sufficiently explains the reasons of its being generally consigned to men of the first character and consequence in the state. This salutary regulation was now departed from, and the public saw, with amazement, the seal entrusted to the care of three private individuals of whose names they were before in ignorance [u]. In the following March the seal was

[r] Thomas, third Viscount Weymouth, born September 13th, 1734, created Marquis of Bath in 1789.

[s] Wills, created Marquis of Downshire in 1789. His Lordship died in 1793.

[t] In accounting for the cause of Lord Chatham's absence from all public business, Lord Chesterfield says, "His physician Dr. —, as I am told, had very ignorantly checked a coming fit of the gout, and scattered it about his body. It fell particularly upon his nerves, so that he continues exceedingly vapourish, and would neither see nor speak to any body while he was here, "*(at Bath.)—Letter* 381 *dated December* 19, 1767.

[u] The following notice appeared in the Gazette.

"*Whitehall, February 2nd.*

"The King has been pleased to issue his commission under the great seal, authorizing and empowering Richard Sutton, William Blair, and William Fraser, Esqrs. or any two of them, to execute the office of Keeper of his Majesty's Privy-seal, for and during the space and term of six weeks, determinable, nevertheless, at his Majesty's pleasure; and also to grant, during his Majesty's pleasure, to the Right Hon. William Earl of Chatham, the said office of Keeper of his Majesty's Privy-seal, from and after the said term of six weeks, or other sooner determination of the said commission."

The author of Junius is extremely severe upon this consignment of the Privy-seal. He says, "From the names of these persons we can collect nothing, but that two of them are of Scottish extraction, and that the third is Recorder of St. Alban's, but from their insignificance and ob-

restored to Lord Chatham, but his infirmities still prevented him from emerging from retirement, and compelled him to submit in sullen submission to many severe outrages upon his feelings and his friendships.

Amongst these, I must now mention an event, which, although grossly misrepresented by party writers, was certainly calculated to wound the high spirit of Lord Chatham. I allude to the appointment of Lord Bottetourt to the government of Virginia. It will be recollected that Sir Jeffery Amherst, when that government was bestowed upon him for his services, was specifically exempted from a residence in America. Mr. Pitt himself[x] had communicated these gracious marks of his sovereign's favor to the General, who during several years had enjoyed them without dispute. But disturbances had since arisen in America, and it was deemed necessary by Lord Hillsborough, the Minister for the Colonies, that there should be a resident governor in Virginia. It might be supposed that one so honorable and so disinterested as Sir J. Amherst had proved himself to be, would not oppose his own accommodation to the welfare of his country, but would consent to waive his claim of non-residence, and either repair to the government, or, upon a just compensation, relinquish it to another. Such a proposition was accordingly made to him by the ministry, and at first he appeared

security we may easily collect that there is some particular design in fixing on such persons to execute one of the first offices of the state. Why the Earl of Chatham should continue to hold an employment of this importance, while he is unfit to perform the duties of it, is, at least, a curious question. But it is infinitely more material to enquire why the *interregnum* is not committed to people of a higher rank and character. * * * *

"The dignity of the Lord Privy-seal's office, (next in rank to the President of the Council,) would of itself be a sufficient reason for giving it to none but men of birth and character, and the great trust, annexed to that dignity, is a farther reason for never committing such an office to any but men of the first rank and fortune. But in the choice of the present commissioners, there seems to be something particularly and singularly improper. * * * *

"I cannot believe that these persons could have been chosen by the Earl of Chatham. Whatever may be his faults, a man of spirit could no more lend his office than he could his mistress to the purposes of prostitution; much less would he descend to take either of them back again with a public mark of infamy upon them."—*See thirteenth letter of Junius' Miscellaneous Letters, dated February* 16, 1768.

[x] See vol. i. p. 414. 483.

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to acquiesce in the propriety of the measure. Unfortunately, he subsequently learnt, that before himself had been consulted, his government had been promised to Lord Bottetourt. Indignant at such treatment, he demanded an audience of his Majesty, and tendered the resignation of his regiments. This not being accepted, he was desired by the ministry to consider and to state with what satisfaction he would be contented. He did so, and it must be confessed that his demands were high. The Duke of Grafton accordingly dictated a refusal, in terms, which, although gentle, were neither dignified nor wise. The dispute with Sir J. Amherst was subsequently adjusted; in its progress, many unjust imputations were cast upon the wisdom of Mr. Pitt in first exempting the General from a residence in Virginia.

The most extraordinary event at this period in Europe was the purchase of the island of Corsica by the French from the Genoese. That nearly 200,000 human beings should have been thus transferred like so many cattle from one possessor to another is revolting to the feelings of liberty and humanity. Independently of this consideration the conduct of the French upon this occasion must be regarded as an infraction of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which it had been stipulated that no change should be made in the state of Italy. The French, moreover, had subsequently and explicitly avowed the independence of Corsica. It is singular that the powers of Europe should have remained passive spectators of such an infringement of treaties, and of the liberties of mankind[y]. The King of Sardinia appears to have been the only potentate who expressed uneasiness and displeasure at the conduct of France, which, however, he was not able, singly, to oppose. The Earl of Shelburne, indeed, gave instructions to Lord Rochford[z], the English minister at Paris, to remonstrate in very spirited

[y] It is painful to reflect upon the apathy of the British government upon this occasion.—How opposite to the spirited, active, and immediate intervention of administration in 1826, to prevent the tyranny of Spain over Portugal.

[z] William Henry, fourth Earl of Rochford, born September 16, 1717. He is one of the very few men of whom the author of Junius speaks with unmingled praise. See 49th letter dated 26th October, 1768, amongst the miscellaneous letters of Junius.

terms against the proceeding, but the Duc de Choiseul, knowing that these were not the prevailing sentiments of the British cabinet, wholly disregarded the remonstrances of Lord Rochford, and proceeded most actively in measures for the subjugation of Corsica. Such contempt of his diplomatic character was not to be tolerated by Lord Rochford, who immediately solicited his own recal. This accordingly took place, and Lord Shelburne was, at the same time, deprived of the seals of Secretary of State [a].

I have already expressed my astonishment that Lord Chatham should so long have consented to form a part, even nominally, of an administration whose sentiments and proceedings were so opposite to his own. It is probable that he had hoped to recover sufficient bodily strength to enable him once more to come forward and exert himself for the public good. But whatever were heretofore his motives for remaining in office, the recent conduct of the ministry was so gross an outrage upon his feelings, both as they regarded his public measures, and his private friendships, that he now felt himself compelled to resign. The spirit of his advice with regard to America had been wholly neglected; Corsica was abandoned to France, and his friend Lord Shelburne was dismissed from office. On the 15th October, 1768, Lord Camden, on the part of Lord Chatham, resigned the privy seal into his Majesty's hands. A greater contrast in the feelings of the cabinet and of the nation upon the present resignation of Lord Chatham to those which were evinced upon his dismission from office in 1757, and upon his retirement in 1761, can scarcely be imagined. His dismission in 1757 excited one common cry of enthusiastic admiration towards himself, and of indignation against his political opponents. The attention not only of Great Britain, but of the whole of Europe, was attracted by his resignation in 1761, and although the voices of his countrymen were not so universally united in his

[a] These facts are stated in almost all the publications of the period. Mr. Burke positively asserts them in his "Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents," and from that essay they seem to have been copied by the author of the "Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham." See also Junius' letter to the Duke of Grafton, May 30, 1769.

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favor as upon the former occasion, the event was considered as affecting the interests of nations in the four quarters of the globe. The resignation of Lord Chatham in 1768 was in fact nothing more than the official relinquishment of an appointment in which he had long ceased to exercise his authority, or to exert his abilities. It was expected by the ministry, it was little regarded by the people of Great Britain, it was almost unknown on the Continent of Europe.

CHAPTER XXII.

1769.

Improvement in the health of Lord Chatham—Reconciliation with Earl Temple—Proceedings of the House of Commons relative to Mr. Wilkes—Occurrences in North America—Meeting of Parliament—Speeches of Lord Chatham and Lord Mansfield—Character of Lord Camden—The great Seal taken from Lord Camden and offered to Mr. Yorke—Death of Mr. Yorke—Speeches of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and the Earl of Chatham—Lord Chatham's sentiments respecting Parliamentary Reform, considered—Resignation of the Duke of Grafton.

THE health and spirits of Lord Chatham still demanding repose, he continued for some time to abstain from all participation in the business of Parliament. His reconciliation with Earl Temple which, at this time, took place[a], by restoring tranquillity to his mind, contributed most essentially to the re-establishment of his bodily health. A year spent in the bosom of his family, and in the society of a few intimate friends, produced the happiest effects upon his constitution. He then felt himself able to emerge from a retirement which was not adapted to the ardour of his character, or to the distracted state of the nation.

There never was a period when discontents were more generally prevalent. These discontents and the strength and ability with which they were manifested by means of the press, were certainly indicative

[a] By the interposition of Mr. Calcraft. This reunion continued uninterrupted until the death of Lord Chatham, who appointed Lord Temple one of his executors: but the latter did not long survive his friend; his death was violent, and occurred in September, 1779, in consequence of a fall from his phaeton.

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of an ill-administered government. Great abilities, whether civil or military, develope themselves upon great occasions. When political writers obtain an extensive and permanent popularity, it is a proof, however they may exaggerate, that there is some ground for their statements. To what but to the weakness of the ministry in 1768, and in many subsequent years, is to be ascribed the almost universal dissatisfaction which prevailed, and the multitude and ability of their political opponents[b]?

Among the many subjects of popular complaint which at this time subsisted, there were two which were particularly urgent. The first related to the proceedings of the House of Commons with regard to the Middlesex election: the second was the fearful state of the North American colonies. I shall consider them both so far as they are connected with the sentiments and public declarations of Lord Chatham.

Nothing could be more unwise or inconsistent than the measures adopted by the ministry against Mr. Wilkes upon his return from France. He arrived in England in the month of February, 1768, when the penalties of outlawry were in full force against him. There were two different modes of proceeding, either of which the ministry might have adopted with propriety and success. The one was by a vigorous execution of the laws to apprehend Mr. Wilkes, and thus prevent him from personally influencing and inflaming the minds of the people: the other was, to grant him a free pardon, and thus, by depriving him of all claim to the character of a persecuted man, to reduce him to utter insignificance. Neither of these methods were followed. Mr. Wilkes was allowed to remain several weeks at large, and it was not until after he was elected member for Middlesex that he was ordered into custody. The furious disturbances which ensued

[b] Although I most cordially condemn the virulence of the party publications of this period, I am of opinion that the general system of the administration gave colour to many of the charges alleged against them in the speeches and essays of Mr. Burke, and in the letters of Lucius, Junius, and numerous other writers.

among the people, and Mr. Wilkes's libel upon the ministry, in relation to the violent conduct of the soldiery in St. George's fields, are too well known to be here recited. By a mistaken but lawful exertion of authority, Mr. Wilkes, for a complication of alleged offences, was expelled the House of Commons on the 3rd February, 1769. On the 16th of the same month he was rechosen member for Middlesex. On the following day his election was pronounced void by the House of Commons, and Mr. Wilkes declared incapable of being elected into that Parliament.

I have said that I considered the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, although strictly legal, to have been a mistaken effort of power. It reduced the House of Commons to a very awkward predicament. Although recent determinations have set this question at rest, the most opposite opinions then prevailed as to the extent of the jurisdiction of the House in expelling and in incapacitating members who were not previously disqualified by law. On the one side it was contended, that if the House of Commons possessed the right of expelling a member, (and it is a right which has never been questioned,) such expulsion must necessarily incapacitate the member from being re-elected into the same Parliament, for, otherwise, the resolution of the House would be reduced to absurdity. On the other side it was urged, that, although the power of expulsion was justly given to the House, to mark its disapprobation of the conduct of any particular member, the electors, being the sole judges of him upon whom they thought proper to confer their votes, might, provided such person were not previously disqualified by the laws of the country, immediately re-elect him after expulsion: that less danger would arise to the country from the admission of an improper person into the House of Commons, than from the toleration of a power assumed by *one*, which belonged only to the joint resolutions of the *three* branches of the legislature.

Notwithstanding the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes, he was, on the 16th March, again elected member for Middlesex; Mr. Dingley, the other candidate, not having obtained a single vote. On the

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following day this election was again declared void by the House of Commons.

It was now supposed that these elections, and the subsequent declarations of their invalidity, would be continued until the end of the session of Parliament. A different expedient was, however, resorted to by the ministry. Colonel Luttrell was induced to vacate his seat in Parliament by the acceptance of a nominal place, and to encounter the whole shock of popular indignation by declaring himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex. But although the entire weight of ministerial influence was thrown into this gentleman's scale, the immense preponderance of the opposite one immediately raised it to the beam. On the 13th April Mr. Wilkes, having 1143 votes, whilst Colonel Luttrell had only 296, was returned by the Sheriffs member for Middlesex. Two days after this election, the House of Commons, by a large majority, ordered the name of Mr. Wilkes to be erased from the return, and that of Colonel Luttrell to be substituted in its place. The violence of party and of personal animosities, and the heats and contentions which followed these measures, will never be forgotten.

I shall now take a brief retrospective view of the occurrences in North America posterior to the year 1766.

The act of Parliament passed by Mr. Charles Townshend, imposing duties on certain articles of merchandize imported from Great Britain into the colonies, odious as it at first was to the Americans, was rendered infinitely more so by their political writers. Unfortunately the English government paid little attention to their representations, till it was too late to controvert them with success. Boston was the first town which expressed a decided opposition to the act of Parliament, and her example was speedily followed by the towns of the other provinces. Letters to the different ministers, and petitions to the King, were transmitted to England; associations were formed amongst themselves for the purpose of distressing the trade of the mother-country, and of thus interesting the mercantile and manufacturing classes in Great Britain in their favor. Whilst these systematic

arrangements were made by the leaders, the feeling of the populace was manifested by tumult and outrage. Boston presented a scene of violence. A dispute arising between the revenue officers and the master of an American sloop, the mob proceeded from insults and threats to attack the houses of the Commissioners of the Customs, compelling the owners to take refuge on board a ship of war in the harbour. Representations being made to the British ministry on the subject of these disturbances, a military force was ordered to Boston to strengthen the civil power. A report of the expected arrival of these troops excited much alarm among the inhabitants, a committee of whom now waited upon Sir F. Bernard, the Governor. The General Assembly had been previously dissolved, and the object of the committee was to request the Governor to convene a new one, but this he peremptorily refused. Irritated by this refusal, some most extraordinary resolutions were adopted by the inhabitants of Boston. Amongst other things it was resolved, "that as the Governor did not think proper to call a general court for the redress of their grievances, the town should make choice of a suitable number of persons to act for them, as a committee in a convention to be held in Faneuil-hall in Boston, with such as might be sent to join them from the several towns in the province."

In consequence of these resolutions, which were communicated to the other towns, a convention consisting of deputies from ninety-eight towns and eight districts, met at Boston on the 22d September, 1768. But whether they were apprehensive that they had arrogated to themselves an illegal authority, or whether they were disconcerted by the firmness of the Governor, it is certain that the members of the convention acted with unexpected moderation. Their proceedings were confined to the framing a petition to the King against the late acts of Parliament, and to a report stating the causes of their meeting, and the objects which they had taken into consideration.

The day before the convention was dissolved two British regiments arrived, under convoy, in Nantasket-road. Some difficulties arose as to the places in which they should be quartered; these were

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at length removed by hiring some empty houses and converting them into barracks. The inhabitants then saw, with feelings of disgust and indignation, the British soldiers march into Boston with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and every other feature of military display. These feelings were heightened when they beheld their state-house opened for the reception of the troops, the chamber of their deputies occupied by armed men, and their whole city presenting the appearance of a town garrisoned by an enemy [c].

The disturbances in Boston created great alarm in England, and were particularly noticed in his Majesty's speech from the throne in November, 1768. Much discussion then took place in both Houses of Parliament respecting the posture of affairs in North America. Although there is no doubt that the declarations of several of the members in opposition strengthened the hostile determinations of the Americans, it must be owned that many of the resolutions of the ministry were most unwise, and, under the semblance of vigor, tended only to exasperate the colonists against the parent country. Of this description was a recommendation in the address to the King to enforce an almost obsolete statute of Henry VIII. for the trial of treasons committed beyond the seas. Although it is not probable that the ministry purposed to carry this very arbitrary and severe statute into effect, its threatened revival was productive of the worst consequences in America. It stimulated and confirmed the feelings of the discontented amongst the colonists, and tended much to weaken and to alienate the affections of the loyal and well-disposed.

Such was the posture of public affairs when Parliament assem-
1770. bled on the 9th January, 1770. His Majesty opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open this session of Parliament with acquainting you, that the distemper among

[c] Marshall's Life of Washington.

the horned cattle[d] has lately broken out in this kingdom, notwithstanding every precaution that could be used from preventing the infection from foreign parts. Upon the first notice of its actual appearance, my next attention was to endeavour to stop, if possible, its further progress; and as the success of those endeavors must, in all probability, have been entirely defeated by any, the least degree of delay in the application of them, I thought it absolutely necessary, with the advice of my Privy Council, to give immediate directions for every step to be taken that appeared most capable of checking the instant danger of the spreading of the infection, until I could have an opportunity of consulting my Parliament upon some more permanent measures for securing us against so great a calamity; and to your immediate and serious consideration I earnestly recommend this very important subject.

"I have given my Parliament repeated assurances that it has always been my fixed purpose to preserve the general tranquillity; maintaining, at the same time, the dignity and honor of my Crown, together with the just rights and interests of my people. The uncommon burthens which my subjects have borne so cheerfully, in order to bring the late war to a happy conclusion, must be an additional motive to make me vigilant to prevent the present disturbances in Europe from extending to any part where the security, honor, or interest of this nation may make it necessary for my Crown to become a party. The assurances which I receive from the other great powers, afford me reason to believe that my endeavors will continue to be successful. I shall still make the general interests of Europe the object of my attention; and while I steadily support my own rights,

[d] The solemn mention of the horned cattle, in the beginning of the speech, afforded a fruitful topic of ridicule amongst the members of opposition, who designated this session "the horned cattle session." Junius, in his letter to the Duke of Grafton, who was supposed to be the inditer of the royal speech, says, "while the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a King, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier, and the whining piety of a methodist."

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I shall be equally careful not to acknowled e the claims of any other powers contrary to the limitations of the late treaties of peace.

"It is needless for me to recommend to the serious attention of my Parliament the state of my government in America. I have endeavored on my part, by every means, to bring back my subjects there to their duty, and a due sense of lawful authority. It gives me much concern to inform you, that the success of my endeavours has not answered my expectations; and that in some of my colonies many persons have embarked in measures highly unwarrantable, and calculated to destroy the commercial connexion between them and the mother-country.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I have ordered the proper estimates for the service of the current year to be laid before you. I am persuaded that your affection for my person and government, and your zeal for the public good, will induce you to grant such supplies as are necessary; and you may be assured that, on my part, they shall be managed with the strictest economy.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"As the welfare and prosperity of my people have always been the object of my wishes, and the rule of my actions; so I am persuaded, from my experience of your conduct, that you will be governed in your proceedings by the same principles. My ready concurrence and support, in every measure that may serve to promote those ends, you may always depend upon. On you it will be now, more than ever, incumbent, most carefully to avoid all heats and animosities amongst yourselves, and to cultivate that spirit of harmony, which becomes those, who have but one common object in view; and which may be most likely to give authority and efficacy to the result of your deliberations. Such a conduct on your part will, above all things, contribute to maintain, in their proper lustre, the strength, the reputation, and the prosperity of this country; to strengthen the attachment of my subjects to that excellent constitution of government, from which they derive such distinguished advantages; and to cause

the firm reliance and confidence which I have in the wisdom of my Parliament, as well as in their zeal for the true interest of my people, to be justified and approved both at home and abroad."

The motion for an address to the throne was made by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore.

" [e] The Earl of Chatham, after paying some compliments to the Duke of Ancaster, said, that he should have been happy to be able to concur with the noble Duke in every part of an address, which was meant as a mark of respect and duty to the Crown; he professed personal obligations to the King, and veneration for him; but though he might differ from the noble Duke in the form of expressing his duty to the Crown, he hoped he should give his Majesty a more substantial proof of his attachment than if he agreed to the motion. At his time of life, and loaded as he was with infirmities, he might perhaps have stood excused had he continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But the alarming state of the nation called upon him, forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to God, to his Sovereign, and to his country; he was determined to perform it, even at the hazard of his life. There never was a period which called more forcibly than the present, for the serious attention and consideration of that House; and as they were the grand hereditary counsellors of the Crown, it was particularly their duty, at a crisis of such importance and danger, to lay before their Sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects, the discontent which universally prevailed amongst them, the distresses under which they laboured, the injuries they complained of, and the true causes of this unhappy state of affairs.

" He had heard with great concern of the distemper among the

[e] It is nearly certain that this speech, the answer of Lord Mansfield, and the reply of Lord Chatham were published by Almon from a manuscript report furnished by Mr. Francis, (supposed by many to be the author of Junius,) afterwards Sir Philip Francis. See Identity of Junius, &c. established, chap. ix.

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cattle, and was very ready to give his approbation to those prudent measures which the council had taken, for putting a stop to so dreadful a calamity. He was satisfied there was a power, in some degree arbitrary, with which the constitution trusted the Crown, to be made use of under correction of the legislature, and at the hazard of the minister, upon any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity which might threaten the welfare of the people, or the safety of the state. Upon this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he knew was not strictly legal; but he had recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country[f].

"He was extremely glad to hear, what he owned he did not believe when he came into the House, that the King had reason to expect that his endeavors to secure the peace of this country would be successful, for that certainly a peace was never so necessary as at a time when we were torn to pieces by divisions and distractions in every part of his Majesty's dominions. He had always considered the late peace, however necessary in the then exhausted condition of this country, as by no means equal in point of advantage to what we had a right to expect from the successes of the war, and from the still more exhausted condition of our enemies. Having deserted our allies, we were left without alliances, and during a peace of seven years, had been every moment on the verge of war. France, on the contrary, had attentively cultivated her allies, particularly Spain, by every mark of cordiality and respect. If a war was unavoidable, we must enter into it without a single ally, while the whole House of Bourbon was united within itself, and supported by the closest connexions with the principal powers of Europe. The situation of our foreign affairs was undoubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy their Lordships' consideration; but he declared with grief, there were other matters still more important and more urgently demanding their attention. He meant the distractions and divisions which prevailed in every part

[f] Lord Chatham alludes to the conduct of administration in the autumn of 1766.

of the empire. He lamented the unhappy measure which had divided the colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into excesses which he could not justify. He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowances even for those excesses. They ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart. He professed himself entirely ignorant of the present state of America, therefore should be cautious of giving any opinion of the measures fit to be pursued, with respect to that country. It was a maxim he had observed through life, when he had lost his way, to stop short, lest by proceeding without knowledge and advancing, (as he feared a noble Duke[s] had done,) from one false step to another, he should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth, and never be able to recover the right road again. As the House had yet no materials before them, by which they might judge of the proceedings of the colonies, he strongly objected to their passing that heavy censure upon them, which was conveyed in the word *unwarrantable*, contained in the proposed address. It was passing a sentence without hearing the cause, or being acquainted with facts, and might expose the proceedings of the House to be received abroad with indifference and disrespect. If unwarrantable meant any thing, it must mean illegal; and how could their Lordships decide that proceedings, which had not been stated to them in any shape, were contrary to law? What he had heard of the combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture, had indeed alarmed him much for the commercial interests of the mother country; but he could not conceive in what sense they could be called illegal, much less how a declaration of that House could remove the evil. They were *dangerous*, indeed, and he greatly wished to have that word substituted for unwarrantable. We must look for other remedies. The discontent of two millions of people deserved considera-

[s] The Duke of Grafton.

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tion; and the foundation of it ought to be removed. This was the true way of putting a stop to combinations and manufactures in that country. But he reserved himself to give his opinion more particularly upon this subject, when authentic information of the state of America should be laid before the House; declaring only for the present, that we should be cautious how we invaded the liberties of any part of our fellow-subjects, however remote in situation, or unable to make resistance. Liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished; he loved the tree, and wished well to every branch of it. Like the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east to west, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. The Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.

"The parts of the address which he had already touched upon, however important in themselves, bore no comparison to that which still remained. Indeed there never was a time, at which the unanimity, recommended to them by the King, was more necessary than at present; but he differed very much from the noble Duke, with respect to the propriety or utility of those general assurances contained in the latter part of the address. The most perfect harmony in that House would have but little effect towards quieting the minds of the people, and removing their discontent. It was the duty of that House to enquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation, to state those causes to their Sovereign, and then to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. The privileges of the House of Peers, however transcendent, however appropriated to them, stood, in fact, upon the broad bottom of the people. They were no longer in the condition of the barons their ancestors, who had separate interests and separate strength to support them. The rights of the greatest and of the meanest subjects now stood upon the same foundation—the security of law, common to all. It was, therefore, their highest interest, as well as their duty, to watch over and guard the people; for when the people had lost their rights, those of the peerage would soon become insignificant. To argue from experience, he begged leave to refer their Lordships to a most important

passage in history, described by a man of great abilities, Mr. Robertson. This writer, in his life of Charles the Fifth, (a great, ambitious, and wicked man,) informs us, that the Peers of Castile were so far cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him in overturning that part of the Cortez, which represented the people. They were weak enough to adopt, and base enough to be flattered with an expectation, that by assisting their master in this iniquitous purpose, they should increase their own strength and importance. What was the consequence? They exchanged the constitutional authority of Peers, for the titular vanity of Grandees. They were no longer a part of a Parliament, for that they had destroyed; and when they pretended to have an opinion as Grandees, he told them he did not understand it; and naturally enough, when they had surrendered their authority, treated their advice with contempt. The consequences did not stop here. He made use of the people whom he had enslaved, to enslave others, and employed the strength of the Castilians to destroy the rights of their free neighbours of Arragon.

"My Lords, let this example be a lesson to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea that our rights stand on a footing different from those of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow-subjects, however mean, however remote: for be assured, my Lords, that in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America, or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes from that moment an instrument in the hands of an ambitious prince, to destroy the freedom of others. These reflections, my Lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in provinces but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints, they proclaim with one voice the injuries they have received; they demand redress, and depend upon it, my Lords, that one way or other they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity until they are redressed; nor ought they; for in my judgment, my Lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to

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perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution. Let me entreat your Lordships, then, in the name of all the duties you owe to your Sovereign, to the country, and to yourselves, to perform that office to which you are called by the constitution; by informing his Majesty truly of the condition of his subjects, and of the real cause of their dissatisfaction. I have considered the matter with most serious attention, and as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought, in our address, to state that matter to the King. I have drawn up an amendment to the address, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House:

"'And for these great and essential purposes we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapability of John Wilkes, Esq., (expelled by that House,) to be elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, thereby refusing, (by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only,) to the subject his common right; and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.'

"The cautious and guarded terms in which the amendment is drawn up will, I hope, reconcile every noble Lord who hears me to my opinion; and as I think no man can dispute the truth of the facts, so, I am persuaded, no man can dispute the propriety and necessity of laying those facts before his Majesty."

Lord Mansfield began with affirming, "that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, nor should he now, notwithstanding any thing that might be expected from him. He had locked it up in his own breast[h], and it should die with him: he wished to

[h] This reserve of Lord Mansfield is to be regretted. Surely the opinion of so very able a man, if delivered with firmness, would have had great weight in assuaging the commotions which arose upon the point in question! Junius, with his usual virulence, in addressing Lord Mansfield, says,

avoid speaking on the subject; but the motion made by the noble Lord was of a nature too extraordinary and too alarming to suffer him to be silent. He acknowledged the unhappy, distracted state of the nation; but he was happy enough to affirm, with a safe conscience, that he had no ways contributed to it. In his own opinion, declarations of the law made by either House of Parliament were always attended with bad effects; he had constantly opposed them whenever he had an opportunity, and, in his judicial capacity, thought himself bound never to pay the least regard to them. Although thoroughly convinced of the illegality of general warrants, which, indeed, naming no persons, were no warrants at all, he was sorry to see the House of Commons, by their vote, declare them to be illegal. It looked like a legislative act, which yet had no force nor effect as a law; for, supposing the House had declared them to be legal, the courts in Westminster would nevertheless have been bound to declare the contrary; and consequently to throw a disrespect upon the vote of the House: but he made a wide distinction between the general declarations of law, and the particular decision which might be made by either House, in their judicial capacity, upon a case coming regularly before them, and properly the subject of their jurisdiction. Here they did not act as legislators, pronouncing abstractedly and generally what the law was, and for the directions of others; but as judges, drawing the law from the several sources from which it ought to be drawn, for their own guidance in deciding the particular question before them, and applying it strictly to the decision of that question. For his own part, wherever the statute law was silent, he knew not where to look for the law of Parliament, or for a definition of the privileges of either House, except in the proceedings and decisions of each House respectively. He knew of no parliamentary code to judge of

"As a lord of Parliament you were repeatedly called upon to condemn or defend the new law declared by the House of Commons; you affected to have scruples, and every expedient was attempted to remove them. The question was proposed and urged to you in a thousand different shapes. Your prudence still supplied you with evasion; your resolution was invincible. For my own part, I am not anxious to penetrate this solemn secret; I care not to whose wisdom it is entrusted, nor how soon you carry it with you to your grave." 41st Letter.

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questions depending upon the judicial authority of Parliament, but the practice of each House, moderated or extended according to the wisdom of the House, and accommodated to the cases before them. A question touching the seat of a member in the Lower House could only be determined by that House: there was no other court where it could be tried, or to which there could be an appeal from their decision. Wherever a court of justice is supreme, and their sentence final, (which he apprehended no man would dispute was the case in the House of Commons, in matters touching elections,) the determination of that court must be received and submitted to as the law of the land; for if there be no appeal from a judicial sentence, where shall that sentence be questioned, or how can it be reversed? He admitted that Judges might be corrupt, and their sentences erroneous; but these were cases for which, in respect to supreme courts, the constitution had provided no remedy. If they wilfully determined wrong, it was iniquitous indeed, and in the highest degree detestable. But it was a crime of which no human tribunal could take cognizance, and it lay between God and their consciences. He avoided entering into the merits of the late decision of the House of Commons, because it was a subject he was convinced the Lords had no right to enquire into, or discuss. The amendment proposed by the noble Lord threatened the most pernicious consequences to the nation, as it manifestly violated every form and law of Parliament, was a gross attack upon the privileges of the House of Commons, and, instead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, must inevitably throw the whole country into a flame. There never was an instance of the Lords enquiring into the proceedings of the House of Commons with respect to their own members; much less of their taking upon them to censure such proceedings, or of their advising the crown to take notice of them. If, indeed, it be the noble Lord's design to quarrel with the House of Commons, I must confess it will have that effect, and immediately. The Lower House will undoubtedly assert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. I leave it, therefore, to your Lordships to consider the fatal effects which may arise in such a conjuncture as the present, either from an open breach between

the two Houses of Parliament, or between the King and the House of Commons. But, my Lords, if I could suppose it were even advisable to promote a disagreement between the two Houses, I would still recommend it to you to take care to be in the right. Whenever I am forced into a quarrel, I will always endeavour to have justice on my side. Now, my Lords, admitting the House of Commons to have done wrong, will it mend the matter for your Lordships to do ten times worse? And that I am clearly convinced would be the case, if your Lordships were obliged to declare any opinion of your own, or offer any advice to the Crown, on a matter in which, by the constitution of this country, you have no right to interfere. I will go farther, my Lords, I will affirm, that such a step would be as ineffectual as it would be irregular. Suppose the King, in consequence of our advice, should dissolve Parliament, (for that I presume is the true object of the noble Lord's amendment,) the next House of Commons that meets, if they know any thing of their own privileges or the laws of this country, will undoubtedly, on the very first day of the session, take notice of our proceedings, and declare them to be a violation of the rights of the Commons. They must do so, my Lords, or they will shamefully betray their constituents and themselves. A noble Lord, (Lord Marchmont,) near me, has proposed that we should demand a conference with the other House. It would be a more moderate step, I confess, but equally ineffectual. The Commons would never submit to discuss their own privileges with the Lords. They would not come to a conference upon such a subject, or if they did come, they would soon break it up with indignation. If, then, the Commons have done wrong, I know of no remedy, but either that the same power should undo the mischief they have done, or that the case should be provided for by an act of the legislature. That, indeed, might be effectual. But whether such a remedy be proper or necessary in the present case, or whether indeed it be attainable, considering that the other House must give their consent to it, is not a question now before us. If such a bill should be proposed, it will be regular and parliamentary, and we may then, with propriety, enter into the legal merits of the decision of the House of Commons.

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As for the amendment proposed by the noble Lord, I object to it as irregular and unparliamentary. I am persuaded, that it will be attended with very pernicious consequences to this country, and that it cannot possibly produce a single good one."

The Earl of Chatham.—" My Lords, there is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life. That in every question, in which my liberty or my property were concerned, I should consult, and be determined by, the dictates of common sense. I confess, my Lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinement of learning, because I have seen the ablest and the most learned men equally liable to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity of common sense, a rule for our direction, by which we shall never be misled. I confess, my Lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment, which I submitted to your consideration; and before I heard the opinion of the noble Lord who spoke last, I did not conceive that it was even within the limits of possibility for the greatest human genius, the most subtle understanding, or the acutest wit, so strangely to represent my meaning, and to give to it an interpretation so entirely foreign to what I intended to express, and from that sense which the very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly carry with them. If there be the smallest foundation for the censure thrown upon me by that noble Lord, if either expressly or by the most distant implication, I have said or insinuated any part of what the noble Lord has charged me with, discard my opinions for ever, discard the motion with contempt.

" My Lords, I must beg the indulgence of the House. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified to follow that learned Lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater respect for them than I have. I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other House, and always listened to him with

attention. I have not now lost a word of what he said, nor did I ever. Upon the present question, I meet him without fear. The evidence which truth carries with it, is superior to all argument, it neither wants the support nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities. If there be a single word in the amendment to justify the interpretation which the noble Lord has been pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole; let it be read, my Lords, let it speak for itself. *(It was read)*—In what instance does it interfere with the privileges of the House of Commons? In what respect does it question their jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this House to arraign the justice of their sentence? I am sure that every Lord who hears me will bear me witness, that I said not one word touching the merits of the Middlesex election; so far from conveying any opinion upon that matter in the amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver my own sentiments upon it, I did not say that the House of Commons had done either right or wrong; but when his Majesty was pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongst ourselves, I thought it the duty of this House, as the great hereditary council of the Crown, to state to his Majesty the distracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had destroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my Lords, I stated those events merely as facts, without the smallest addition either of censure or of opinion. They are facts, my Lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my Lords, will any man deny, that discontents prevail in many parts of his Majesty's dominions? or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the House of Commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? It is impossible; no man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right? Is it not indisputably true, my Lords, that Mr. Wilkes had a common right, and that he lost it no other way than by a resolution of the House of Commons? My Lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the House of Commons; I have consulted their journals and

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have taken the very words of their own resolution. Do they not tell us in so many words that Mr. Wilkes, having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in that Parliament? and is it not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment says farther, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this a false fact, my Lords, or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes, (whom I mention without either praise or censure,) was the favorite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in Parliament. If the noble Lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substances be preserved; and these are facts, my Lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance in whatever form of language they are described.

"Now, my Lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity, and having, as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the House, having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble Lord, I must a little longer intreat your Lordships' indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? My Lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and when our Kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My Lords, I beg to

be understood: no man respects the House of Commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve to them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well-being of the people; beyond that line every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend, (Lord Lyttleton,) has truly described it, *Res detestabilis et caduca.* My Lords, I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the House of Commons. It is for their own sakes that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, lest, by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess. My Lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their constituents, and violated the constitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have *made* a law, and united in the same persons the office of legislator and of judge.

"I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to the noble Lord's doctrine, which it is indeed impossible to mistake, so far as my memory will permit me to preserve his expressions. He seems fond of the word jurisdiction, and I confess with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his Lordship's doctrine be well founded, we must renounce all those political maxims by which our understandings have hitherto been directed, and even the first elements of learning taught us in our schools when we were school-boys. My Lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *jus dicere*; we knew that *legem facere* and *legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution; but now it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction: that there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they

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are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto*, the law of the land. My Lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, however, of the English laws are sufficiently clear: they are founded in reason, and are the masterpiece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble Lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the House of Commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong, the subject has no appeal but to heaven. What then, my Lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves, and to transmit to their posterity a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a King, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my Lords, this is not the fact, this is not the constitution; we *have* a law of Parliament, we *have* a code in which every honest man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the Statute-book, and the Bill of Rights.

"If a case should arise unknown to these great authorities, we have still that plain English reason left, which is the foundation of all our English jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that every judicial court, and every political society must be vested with those powers and privileges which are necessary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us also, that no court of justice can have a power inconsistent with, or paramount to, the known laws of the land: that the people when they choose their representatives, never

mean to convey to them a power of invading the rights, or trampling upon the liberties of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a court of judicature might determine every question that came before it, not by any known, positive law, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble Lord is pleased to call the wisdom of the court? With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law; that they are submitted to without reluctance by the people; that they are unquestioned by the legislature, (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation,) and, what, in my judgment, is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the constitution. My Lords, this is not a vague or loose expression: we all know what the constitution is; we all know that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men, (less than the whole legislature,) but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand.—Now, my Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the House of Commons upon the Middlesex election is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent; for the case of Sir R. Walpole is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. Incapacity was indeed declared, but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established. It contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, by

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which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that elections of members to serve in Parliament shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures and adopted the most positive language to express their discontent. Whether it will be questioned by the legislature, will depend upon your Lordships' resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the constitution, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country; yet, if we are to believe the noble Lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the constitution will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to heaven. My Lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this House. It is to your ancestors, my Lords, it is to the English barons that we are indebted for the laws and constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

"My Lords, I think that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their Sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, These are the rights of the great Barons, or these are the rights of the great Prelates;—No, my Lords; they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts of freemen. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all; they deserve to be remembered—

they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those Iron Barons, (for so I may call them when compared with the Silken Barons of modern days,) were the guardians of the people; yet their virtues, my Lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution—the battlements are dismantled—the citadel is open to the first invader—the walls totter—the constitution is not tenable.—What remains, then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach to repair it, or perish in it?

"Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the dreadful consequences of a difference between the two Houses of Parliament—that the House of Commons will resent our presuming to take notice of their proceedings; that they will resent our daring to advise the Crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the state.—My Lords, I am *sensible* of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis: at a moment such as this we are called upon to do our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most—the representative, or the collective body of the people. My Lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and, if we must have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause they deserve to be slaves!—My Lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks: I know I speak warmly, my Lords, but this warmth shall never betray my argument nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame. As mediators between the King and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing; and, whenever his Majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to enquire more minutely into the causes of the present discontents. Whenever that enquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the House to

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prove, that since the first institution of the House of Commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend, (the Lord Chancellor,) has also pledged himself to the House that he will support that assertion.

"My Lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried: I mean the House of Commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and God forbid, my Lords, that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule than the fixed laws of the land! I believe, my Lords, I shall not be suspected of any personal partiality to this unhappy man: I am not very conversant in pamphlets or newspapers; but from what I have heard, and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my share in the compliments which have come from that quarter; and as for motives of ambition, (for I must take to myself a part of the noble Duke's insinuation,) I believe, my Lords, there have been times in which I have had the honor of standing in such favor in the closet, that there must have been something extravagantly unreasonable in my wishes if they might not all have been gratified. After neglecting those opportunities, I am now suspected of coming forward, in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so; there is one ambition at least which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life.—It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors. I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner

this House may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require and admit of, is not at present the subject of our consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an enquiry. That enquiry may, perhaps, point out the necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead us, perhaps, to desire a conference with the other House; which one noble Lord[g] affirms is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble Lord assures us the House of Commons would either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their Lordships to reconcile that matter between themselves, I shall only say, that before we have enquired we cannot be provided with materials, consequently we are not at present prepared for a conference.

"It is impossible, my Lords, that the enquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament—not that I have any doubt of our right to give that advice if we should think it necessary. His Majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the House of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the House of Lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the present House of Commons of having actually formed so detestable a design; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and, for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my Lords, that where law ends, tyranny begins."

Lord Camden expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the ministry in even stronger terms than Lord Chatham. The amendment was negatived. After this, the Marquis of Rockingham moved that the Lords should be summoned to attend on the following day, as he had to make a proposal of great national importance.

Lord Pomfret said, that at a proper time he should be extremely glad to hear the motion of the noble Marquis; but that he should

[g] Lord Marchmont.

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himself previously move that the House adjourn until that day se'n-night.

This proposed delay called forth some very bitter remarks from the minority.

Earl Temple said, "the House well knew for what purpose the ministry desired an adjournment. It was to settle the disordered state of the administration, now most miserably shattered, and, in all probability, on the point of dissolution. It was, in particular, to dismiss the virtuous and independent Lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place by some obsequious lawyer who would obey their bidding."

Lord Shelburne made use of similar language, adding, "that after the dismission of the present worthy Chancellor, the seals would go begging; but he trusted there was not a wretch so base and mean-spirited to be found in the kingdom, who would accept them upon the conditions on which they must be offered."

The debate in the House of Commons, both on the 9th and 10th of January, was characterised by a violence even greater than that which had prevailed in the House of Lords.

The Marquis of Granby, Commander-in-chief of the forces, made a public recantation of the opinion he had formerly given upon the Middlesex election. He said "that he had voted for the sitting of a member who was not returned to Parliament, because he had not considered the nice distinction between expulsion and incapacitation; but that he should always lament that vote as the greatest misfortune of his life. He now saw his error, and was not ashamed publicly to confess it, and to give his vote for the amendment."

Sir George Saville said, "that the House of Commons, with respect to the Middlesex election, had betrayed the rights of the people." He was here called to order by Sir Alexander Gilmour. General Conway said "that the words were reprehensible—they were an insult upon Parliament, and for uttering such expressions, members had been committed to the Tower. He believed they were spoken in anger, but he could wish that the Hon. Baronet would be

more cautious for the future." Sir G. Saville replied, "that he had not spoken in anger. He never had used, he never should use other expressions when speaking of the proceedings of the House upon the Middlesex election." CHAP. XXII. 1770.

Mr. Burke called upon the ministry to punish Sir G. Saville if his accusation were false. If a false and unjust charge had been made, the gentleman who made it ought to be sent to the Tower. But the ministers were conscious of the truth of the assertion, and therefore they tamely crouched under the charge. He said the people abhorred the present ministry, and asked the Speaker if the chair did not tremble beneath him? Towards the conclusion of the debate, Sir George Saville again rose and said, "I am as cool as I was before, more so I cannot be, and standing here in my place, as member for the county of York, I declare that this House of Commons has betrayed the rights of the nation."

Next to Earl Temple, the most intimate political as well as private friend of Lord Chatham was Lord Camden [h]. It does not appear that the friendship which subsisted between them was at any time interrupted. The bond of gratitude which unites one statesman to another is in general supposed to be weak; in the present instance it was strong and lasting.

Charles Pratt was born in the year 1714. He was descended from a very respectable family, and was the son of Sir John Pratt, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Mr. Pratt was educated at Eton, and afterwards entered at King's College, Cambridge, of which society he was elected a fellow in 1731. In 1739 he took the degree of Master of Arts, after which he became a member of Lincoln's Inn, and, having gone regularly through his legal studies, was called to the bar. His professional practice was for many years so inconsiderable, that he, at one time, had determined to relinquish his attendance at Westminster Hall. By degrees, however, his talents and his learning forced him into notice, and in 1752 we find him sup-

[h] Lord Camden was appointed one of his executors by Lord Chatham.

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porting the rights of juries in opposition to the celebrated Mr. Murray, in a case of libel, in which his client was acquitted. In October, 1749, Mr. Pratt married Elizabeth, daughter, and at length sole heiress of Nicholas Jeffreys, Esq. by whom he had a numerous issue. In 1754 he was chosen representative for the borough of Downton in Wiltshire. In 1759 he was made Recorder of Bath, and in the same year, by the interest of Mr. Pitt, he became Attorney-general. From this time he continued warmly attached to his benefactor. In December, 1761, Mr. Pratt was constituted Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and at the same time he received the honor of knighthood. His Lordship is said to have presided in this court with a dignity, weight, and impartiality not exceeded by any of his predecessors. But it was not so much by the depth of his learning as by the popularity of his opinions and the boldness of his decisions that Sir Charles Pratt was at this time distinguished. When Wilkes was seized and committed to the Tower, his lordship granted him a *habeas corpus;* and when the same individual was brought before the Court of Common Pleas, he discharged him from his confinement in the Tower. In 1765 he was created a Peer of Great Britain by the title of Lord Camden; and on the 30th of July, 1766, he was made Lord High Chancellor. In this capacity he appears to have given universal satisfaction. Whatever might be thought of his political sentiments, the acuteness, judgment, and perspicuity with which he delivered his official opinions, the general courteousness and dignity of his demeanor, all tended to produce respect towards Lord Camden, both as an individual and as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. His private character was particularly amiable, and few men ever possessed a more cheerful and benevolent disposition [i].

The great seal having been taken from this nobleman, was offered

[i] Lord Camden was appointed President of the Council in March, 1782. In this station he continued, with the exception of a short secession during the coalition administration, to the end of his life. In 1786 he was created Viscount Bayham and Earl Camden. He died on the 18th April, 1794, and was buried at Seal in Kent, leaving one son and several daughters.

to Mr. Charles Yorke, second son of the late Earl of Hardwicke. This gentleman had discharged the important offices of Solicitor and Attorney-general to the high satisfaction of all candid men, and his elevation to the Chancellorship had long been anticipated by the public as a very desirable event. Mr. Yorke was well aware of the extreme want of harmony which subsisted between the different parties in the kingdom, and of the very gloomy state of public affairs, and it was now only by the express command of his Majesty that he was induced to accept the seals. But whilst the patent of his peerage was preparing[k], his melancholy death rendered the completion of it unnecessary. His mind anxious, harassed, and perplexed by contending feelings, acting upon a bodily system much disordered by sickness, produced a temporary delirium, in which he perished by his own hand. The great seal was now offered to Sir Eardly Wilmot and to Lord Mansfield. After both had refused, it was put in commission, and Lord Mansfield was made Speaker of the House of Lords until another Chancellor was appointed. But these were not all the changes which took place. The Marquis of Granby resigned all his appointments, except the regiment of blues; the Duke of Beaufort his place of Master of Horse to the Queen; the Duke of Manchester and the Earl of Coventry those of Lords of the Bedchamber; the Earl of Huntingdon his situation of Groom of the Stole; Mr. Dunning renounced his office of Solicitor-general; and Mr. James Grenville that of one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland.

I said that the Marquis of Rockingham had given notice of his intention to move for a day to take into consideration the state of the nation. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, he made his motion.

"The object of his Lordship's speech[l] was to shew, that the present unhappy condition of affairs, and the universal discontent of the people, did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had

[k] That of Baron Morden, of Morden, in the County of Cambridge.

[l] This speech, the answer of the Duke of Grafton, and the reply of Lord Chatham were first published by Almon from the notes of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Francis.

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grown upon us by degrees, from the moment of his Majesty's accession to the throne. That the persons in whom his Majesty then confided, had introduced a total change in the old system of English government—they had adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of this country, viz. that the royal prerogative alone, was sufficient to support Government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed; and he could trace the operation of this principle through every act of Government since the accession; in which those persons could be supposed to have any influence. Their first exertion of the prerogative was to make a peace contrary to the wishes of the nation, and on terms totally disproportioned to the successes of the war; but as they felt themselves unequal to the conduct of a war, they thought a peace, on any conditions, necessary for their own security and permanence in administration. He then took notice of those odious tyrannical acts of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained. And he mentioned the general sweep through every branch and department of administration; the removes not merely confined to the higher employments, but carried down, with the minutest cruelty, to the lowest offices of the state; and numberless innocent families, which had subsisted on salaries of from fifty to two hundred pounds a-year, turned out to misery and ruin, with as little regard to the rules of justice, as to the common feelings of compassion.

"Their ideas of taxation were marked by the same principle. The argument urged for taxing the cider counties, viz. the equity of placing them on the same footing with others, where malt liquors were chiefly used, was too obvious to escape the attention of former ministers; but former ministers paid more regard to the liberties of the people, than to the improvement of the revenue. The object of the cider act, or the effect of it, at least, was not so much to increase the revenue, as to extend the laws of excise, and open the doors of private men to the officers of the Crown.

"Without entering into the right of taxing America, it was evident, that since the revenue, expected to arise from that measure, was

allowed to be very inconsiderable, the real purpose of government must have been to increase the number of their officers in that country, and consequently the strength of the prerogative.

"He then reprobated the indecent manner in which the debt upon the King's Civil List [m] had been laid before, and provided for, by Parliament. No account offered—No enquiry permitted to be made—Not even the decent satisfaction given to Parliament of an assurance, that *in future* such extraordinary expences should be avoided. On the contrary, the King's speech on that occasion had been so cautiously worded, that, far from engaging to avoid such exceedings for the future, it intimated plainly that the expences of the King's civil government could not be confined within the revenue granted by Parliament—That, as the nation was heavily burthened by the expence, they were no less grossly insulted by the manner in which that burthen was laid upon them. That in certain grants lately made by the Crown, the ministry had adhered to their principle of carrying the prerogative to its utmost extent. No right of property—no continuance of possession had been considered. But if these had been weaker than they were, he thought some respect was due to the memory of the great Prince by whom these grants had been made; and, in common justice to the noble Duke [n], whose property had been

[m] Amounting to 513,511*l.*: brought before Parliament on the 28th February, 1769. The opposition moved for papers to account for this arrear, these were promised by the minister, but on condition that there should be no delay in acceding to the King's request. After three days discussion in the House of Commons the sum was voted by a majority of 248 against 135.

[n] The Duke of Portland. It is almost unnecessary to state that the Marquis alludes to the contention between his Grace and Sir James Lowther relative to a grant from William III. to the ancestor of the former. Sir James Lowther asserted that certain premises were not included in the terms of the grant, and presented a memorial to the treasury, praying for a lease of his Majesty's interest therein. The question was decided against the Duke, and as his opponent was the son-in-law of Lord Bute, it may be supposed that his triumph excited the highest indignation amongst the opposition. Allowing many of the charges against the ministry on this occasion to have been rancorous and unfounded, it appears certain that they evinced a disposition to gratify Sir James Lowther at the expence of the Duke of Portland; that they compromised the dignity of the Crown by involving it in a contest with a subject, and that, for election purposes, they violated the presumptive rights of long and undisputed possession.

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invaded, the ministry should, at least, have avoided that hurry and precipitation, which had hardly left his Grace time to defend his rights; and by which the ministry themselves seemed to confess, that their measures would not bear a more deliberate mode of proceeding. But the purposes of an election were to be served; and the person, benefited by this measure was supposed to be a better friend to administration than the noble Duke, whose property had been arbitrarily transferred to another. And when, upon occasion of this extraordinary measure, and to quiet the minds of the people, a bill had been brought into Parliament for securing the property of the subject, it had been rejected the first year, and violently resisted the second; but the justice and necessity of it had prevailed over the influence, and favorite maxims of the administration.

"The affairs of the external part of the empire had been managed with the same want of wisdom, and had been brought into nearly the same condition with those at home. In Ireland he saw the Parliament prorogued, (which probably led to a dissolution,) and the affairs of that kingdom left unprovided for, and in the greatest confusion. In America measures of violence had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language and doctrine of the ministry to force that country to submit. That, in his own opinion, violence would not do *there*, and he hoped it would not do *here*. But, even if a plan of force were advisable, why had it not been adhered to? Why did they not adopt and abide by some one system of conduct? The King's speeches, and the language of the ministry at home, had denounced nothing but war and vengeance against a rebellious people, whilst his Majesty's governors abroad, were instructed to convey to them the gentlest promises of relief and satisfaction. His Lordship here referred to Lord Bottetourt's [o] speech to the assembly of Virginia, in May, 1769, out of which he recited a passage in point. The passage was this—"*I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you,*

[o] Lord Bottetourt, an intimate friend of the Earl of Hillsborough, had been appointed governor of Virginia, in 1768, in the place of Sir J. Amherst. See Chapter XXI.

that in a letter, dated May 13th, I have been assured by the Earl of Hillsborough, that his Majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of Parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been paid contrary to the true principles of commerce.

" With respect to foreign affairs, he thought it highly necessary to enquire, why France had been permitted to make so considerable an acquisition as the island of Corsica? No man could deny, that this island would prove a great addition to the strength of France, with respect to her marine; both from its harbours, and the timber it produced. He thought this attempt of France not only unjust in itself, but directly contrary to certain stipulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, confirmed by that of 1763, by which it was determined and settled, 'That the republic of Genoa should be entirely re-established and maintained in all its former states and possessions; and that, for the advantage and maintenance of the peace in general, for the tranquillity of Italy in particular, all things should remain there in the condition they were in before the war.'

" He had not dwelt so strongly as he might have done, upon that great invasion of the constitution, which had now thrown this noble country into a flame: the people were sufficiently alarmed for their rights, and he did not doubt but that matters would be duly enquired into. But he considered it only as the point to which all the other measures of the administration had tended. When the constitution was violated, we should not content ourselves with repairing the single breach, but look back into the causes, and trace the principles which had produced it, in order, not merely to restore the constitution to present health, but, if possible, render it invulnerable hereafter.

" Upon the whole, he recommended it strongly to their Lordships to fix an early day for taking into their consideration the state

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of this country, in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domestic; for we had been injured in them all. That consideration would, he hoped, lead their Lordships to advise the Crown not only how to correct past errors, but how to establish a system of government more wise, more permanent, better suited to the genius of the people, and, at least, consistent with the spirit of the constitution.

"The Duke of Grafton, who spoke next, did not oppose the motion; on the contrary, he engaged to second it, and to meet the noble Lord upon the great question whenever the House should think proper. For the present, he meant only to exculpate himself from some severe reflections, which he thought were directed particularly and personally against himself. He was ready to justify the measures alluded to by the noble Lord, respecting every other part of his conduct; and he did not doubt of being able to do so to the satisfaction of the House. The resumption made by the Commissioners of the Treasury of a supposed grant of the crown land had been most unfairly represented. He wished the noble Lord, instead of the word *property*, had only used *possession*; and then he would have truly described the fact and the object. Upon the application made to the board by the person who had discovered the defect in the noble Duke's title, he could not, consistently with his duty, as an officer of the Crown, have rejected the claim made by that person. If the noble Duke, instead of being an opponent, had been the warmest friend of administration, the Treasury-board could not have acted otherwise than they did, without a flagrant violation of justice; and as for that hurry and precipitation of which they were accused, he took upon him to contradict the noble Lord in the most positive manner, and offered to prove at the bar of that House, that they had proceeded not only with temper and deliberation, but with the utmost attention to the interests of the noble Duke, and every possible mark of respect to his person; and had protracted their decision to the very last moment allowed by the rules of the Board. With respect to the debt upon the Civil List, he neither had, nor could have, any personal motives for wishing to conceal from Parliament the particulars of the

extraordinary expenses by which that debt had been incurred. The persons to whose offices it belonged, had been constantly employed in drawing up a state of that account, and they had received every possible light and information from the officers of the Crown, in order to shorten and facilitate business; but it was a work of infinite labor and extent; and, notwithstanding the utmost diligence in the several public offices, could not yet be completed. CHAP. XXII. 1770.

"In regard to foreign affairs, he believed the conduct of the King's ministers would bear the strictest examination, and would be found irreproachable. For his own part, he had never thought, nor had he ever affirmed, that the conditions of the late peace were such as the people had a right to expect. He had maintained that opinion in former times, and no change of situation should ever induce him to relinquish it. But the peace being once made, and those advantages which we might have expected from a continuance of the war, being now irrecoverable, he would never advise the King to engage in another war, as long as the dignity of the Crown, and the real interests of the nation, could be preserved without it. What we had suffered already by foreign connexions, ought to warn us against engaging lightly in quarrels, in which we had no immediate concern and to which we might probably sacrifice our own most essential interests.

"The Earl of Chatham.—My Lords, I meant to have risen immediately, to second the motion made by the noble Lord. The charge which the noble Duke seemed to think affected himself particularly did undoubtedly demand an early answer; it was proper he should speak before me, and I am as ready as any man to applaud the decency and propriety with which he has expressed himself.

"I entirely agree with the noble Lord, both in the necessity of your Lordships concurring with the motion, and in the principles and arguments by which he has very judiciously supported it. I see clearly, that the complexion of our government has been materially altered; and I can trace the origin of the alteration up to a period, which ought to have been an æra of happiness and prosperity to this country.

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"My Lords, I shall give you my reasons for concurring with the motion, not methodically, but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall say nothing but what may deserve your attention, and what if not strictly proper at present, would be fit to be said, when the state of the nation shall come to be considered. My uncertain state of health must plead my excuse. I am now in some pain, and very probably may not be able to attend my duty, when I desire it most, in this House. I thank God, my Lords, for having thus long preserved me, inconsiderable as I am, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm the constitution.

"My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the state.—The constitution at this moment stands violated. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to Parliament, in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them, that their complaints are regarded, that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation, I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity.—If not—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER[p]. I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming;—so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the King's servants will not per-

[p] In a pamphlet by Sir P. Francis on Paper Currency, are these remarkable words printed in capitals:

"Let the war take its course; or, as I heard Lord Chatham declare in the House of Lords, with a monarch's voice, LET DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER."

mit a constitutional question to be decided on, according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it then must be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth-right to a despotic minister, I hope, my Lords, old as I am, that I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government. My Lords, this is not the language of faction; let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone we can distinguish what is factious, from what is not—by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles, and know that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I should follow the example set us by the most reverend bench, with whom I believe it is a maxim when any doubt in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, to appeal at once to the greatest source and evidence of our religion—I mean the Holy Bible; the constitution has its political Bible, by which if it be fairly consulted, every political question may, and ought to be determined. Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights, form that code which I call *the Bible of the English constitution.* Had some of his Majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the comments of their ministers, had they been better read in the text itself, the glorious Revolution would have remained only possible in theory, and would not now have existed upon record, a formidable example to their successors.

"My Lords, I cannot agree with the noble Duke, that nothing less than an immediate attack upon the honor or interest of this nation can authorise us to interpose in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprises of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish policy has prevailed in our councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers, less able than we are to make a resistance, we have permitted them to increase their strength, we have lost the most favorable opportunities of opposing them with success; and found ourselves at last obliged to run every hazard, in making that cause our

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own, in which we were not wise enough to take part, while the expense and danger might have been supported by others.—With respect to Corsica, I shall only say, that France has obtained a more useful and important acquisition in one *pacific* campaign, than in any of her *belligerent* campaigns; at least whilst I had the honor of administering the war against her. The word may perhaps be thought singular; I mean only whilst I was the minister, chiefly entrusted with the conduct of the war. I remember, my Lords, the time, when Lorrain was united to the crown of France; that too was, in some measure, a pacific conquest; and there were people who talked of it, as the noble Duke now speaks of Corsica. France was permitted to take and keep possession of a noble province, and according to his Grace's ideas, we did right in not opposing it. The effect of these acquisitions is, I confess, not immediate; but they unite with the main body by degrees, and in time make a part of the national strength. I fear, my Lords, it is too much the temper of this country to be insensible of the approach of danger, until it comes with accumulated terror upon us.

"My Lords, the condition of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your Lordships' enquiry. I am not sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so fully as I could wish; but by what appears to the public, and from my own observation, I confess I cannot give the ministry much credit for the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see that even where their measures are well chosen, they are incapable of carrying them through without some unhappy mixture of weakness or imprudence. They are incapable of doing entirely right. My Lords, I do from my conscience, and from the best weighed principles of my understanding, applaud the augmentation of the army. As a military plan, I believe it has been judiciously arranged. In a political view, I am convinced it was for the welfare, for the safety of the whole empire. But, my Lords, with all these advantages, with all these recommendations, if I had had the honor of advising his Majesty, I would never have consented to his accepting

the augmentation with that absurd, dishonorable condition, which the ministry have submitted to annex to it. My Lords, I revere the just prerogative of the Crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally support each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The expression, perhaps, is too light; but, since I have made use of it, let me add, that the entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is the royal prerogative, is the master-feather in the eagle's wing; and, if I were permitted to carry the allusion a little farther, I would say, they have disarmed the imperial bird, the '*Ministrum Fulminis Alitem.*' The army is the thunder of the Crown. The ministry have tied up the hand which should direct the bolt.

"My Lords, I remember that Minorca was lost for want of four battalions. They could not be spared from hence; and there was a delicacy about taking them from Ireland. I was one of those who promoted an enquiry into that matter in the other House; and I was convinced we had not regular troops sufficient for the necessary service of the nation. Since the moment the plan of augmentation was first talked of, I have constantly and warmly supported it among my friends: I have recommended it to several members of the Irish House of Commons, and exhorted them to support it with their utmost interest in Parliament. I did not foresee, nor could I conceive it possible, the ministry would accept of it, with a condition that makes the plan itself ineffectual, and, so far as it operates, defeats every useful purpose of maintaining a standing military force. His Majesty is now so confined by his promise, that he must leave twelve thousand men locked up in Ireland, let the situation of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger to this country be ever so alarming, unless there be an actual rebellion or invasion in Great Britain. Even in the two cases excepted by the King's promise, the mischief must have already begun to operate, must have already taken effect before his Majesty can be authorised to send for the assistance of his Irish army. He has not left himself the power of taking any preventive measures,

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let his intelligence be ever so certain, let his apprehensions of invasion or rebellion be ever so well founded, unless the traitor be actually in arms, unless the enemy be in the heart of your country, he cannot move a single man from Ireland [q].

"I feel myself compelled, my Lords, to return to that subject which occupies and interests me most—I mean the internal disorder of the constitution, and the remedy it demands. But, first, I would observe, that there is one point upon which I think the noble Duke has not explained himself. I do not mean to catch at words, but, if possible, to possess the sense of what I hear. I would treat every man with candour, and should expect the same candour in return. For the noble Duke, in particular, I have every personal respect and regard, I never desire to understand him but as he wishes to be understood. His Grace, I think, has laid much stress upon the diligence of the several public offices, and the assistance given them by the Administration in preparing a state of the expense of his Majesty's

[q] Lord Chatham particularly alludes to the following message delivered to the Irish House of Commons by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Townshend, who had been appointed to that government, by the interest of his brother Charles, in 1767.

"Townshend.—Gentlemen, I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that his Majesty, upon the most mature consideration of the state and circumstances of this kingdom, judges it absolutely necessary that a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, should be kept therein, for the better defence of the same; and that his Majesty, finding that, consistent with the general public service, the number before mentioned cannot be constantly continued in Ireland, unless his army upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included: his Majesty earnestly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in a measure which his Majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for the honor and dignity of his Crown, but the peace and security of this kingdom. And I have his Majesty's special command to assure you expressly, in his Majesty's name, that it is his determined resolution, that upon such augmentation, a number of effective troops, not less than 12,000 men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, shall at all times, except in cases of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, be kept within this kingdom for the better defence thereof." Lord Chatham's reasoning appears to be correct, for if the English ministry were to determine upon the necessity of sending for troops from Ireland, according to their own apprehensions or intelligence, the conditions, with respect to Ireland, would be altogether unmeaning.

Civil Government for the information of Parliament, and for the satisfaction of the public. He has given us a number of plausible reasons for their not having yet been able to finish the account; but, as far as I am able to recollect, he has not yet given us the smallest reason to hope that it ever will be finished, or that it ever will be laid before Parliament.

"My Lords, I am not unpractised in business, and if, with all that apparent diligence, and all that assistance which the noble Duke speaks of, the accounts in question have not yet been made up, I am convinced there must be a defect in some of the public offices, which ought to be strictly enquired into and severely punished. But, my Lords, the waste of the public money is not of itself so important as the pernicious purpose to which we have reason to suspect that money has been applied. For some years past there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular natural produce of labor and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connexions, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune can resist. My Lords, I am but saying that which is within the knowledge of us all; the corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprises of the Crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigor of the constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse without paying some attention to an object which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done. I shall offer my thoughts, such as they are, to the consideration of the House; and I wish that every

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noble Lord who hears me would be as ready as I am to contribute his opinion to this important service. I will not call my own sentiments crude and indigested; it would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your Lordships which I had not well considered; and this subject, I own, has long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your Lordships without reserve.

"Whoever understands the theory of the English Constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country; we must reduce our political practice, as nearly as possible, to our principles. The Constitution intended that there should be a permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people. Will any man affirm, that, as the House of Commons is now formed, that relation is, in any degree, preserved? My Lords, it is not preserved; it is destroyed. Let us be cautious, however, how we have recourse to violent expedients.

"The boroughs of this country have, properly enough, been called the rotten parts of the Constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and, without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the Constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death[r].

"Let us try, my Lords, whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us en-

[r] The idea afterwards expressed by his son upon this subject is the same, although the metaphor is weaker. Mr. Pitt, in his speech upon a reform in the parliamentary representation, May 7, 1783, says; "The second expedient I have heard of is to abolish the franchise which several boroughs now enjoy of returning members to serve in parliament. These places are known by the favorite popular appellation of *rotten boroughs*. I confess that there is something very plausible in this idea; but still I am not ready to adopt it. I hold those boroughs in the light of deformities, which in some degree disfigure the fabric of the constitution, but which I fear cannot be removed without endangering the whole pile."

deavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the Constitution, as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases.

"The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greatest cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more, in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the Constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigour of the Constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever rise, will the Constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the Crown [s].

[s] Mr. Pitt's first plan of parliamentary reform, and the arguments upon which it rested, are very much derived from the above opinions of Lord Chatham. Towards the end of the speech which he delivered on the 7th May, 1783, Mr. Pitt expressed himself thus: "It is unnecessary for me to say that the county members in general are almost necessarily taken from that class and description of gentlemen the least liable to the seduction of corrupt influence, the most deeply interested in the liberty and prosperity of the country, and consequently the most likely to pursue such measures as appeared to them the most salutary to their country: in the hands of such men the liberties of their constituents would be safe, because the interests of such representatives and the represented must necessarily be the same. This expedient, *(that of an addition to the county members,)* appears to me the fittest to be adopted, because it is the least objectionable. It has the merit of promising an effectual counterbalance to the weight of the boroughs, without being an innovation in the form of the constitution. I shall not now say what number of members ought to be added to the counties; I shall leave that to be inserted in a bill, which, if the resolutions I mean to propose shall pass, I intend to move for leave to bring in. I must, however, say, that, in my opinion, the number ought not to be less than one hundred. It was true the house would be then more numerous than he could wish; but still it were better it should be so, than that the liberties of the country should be exposed to destruction from the baleful influence of the crown in the boroughs."

Farther consideration induced Mr. Pitt to depart from the principle of increasing the number of members, and, in April, 1785, he brought forward the question in a new shape. Retaining his father's plan of increasing the number of county members, he suggested a substitute

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"I think I have weighed every possible objection that can be raised against a plan of this nature; and I confess I see but one, which, to me, carries any appearance of solidity. It may be said, perhaps, that when the act passed for uniting the two kingdoms, the number of persons who were to represent the whole nation in Parliament was proportioned, and fixed on for ever; that this limitation is a fundamental article, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the union.

"My Lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act than I have. I revere the memory of that great Prince who first formed the plan, and of those illustrious patriots who carried it into execution. As a contract, every article of it should be inviolable; as the common basis of the strength and happiness of the two nations, every article of it should be sacred. I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties at the expense of the other. No, my Lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned at the Union; and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege. On these terms,

for augmenting the entire number of representatives, by purchasing of such boroughs, as were willing to dispose of them, their elective privileges, and then transferring them to the counties. It is well known that his propositions were, in both instances, rejected by the House of Commons, and that Mr. Pitt never again advocated the question of parliamentary reform. The French Revolution seems to have produced in the mind of Mr. Pitt the same effect with regard to reform, that the Rebellion in 1745 produced in his father's with regard to a standing army. He considered it as infinitely more safe and wise to abide by the Constitution exactly as it stood, than, by introducing a change in any part, to expose ourselves to the possible admission of those dreadful evils which innovation had produced in France.

and while the proportion, limited by the Union, is preserved between the two nations, I apprehend that no man, who is a friend to either, will object to an alteration so necessary for the security of both. I do not speak of the authority of the legislature to carry such a measure into effect, because I imagine no man will dispute it. But I would not wish the legislature to interpose by an exertion of its power alone, without the cheerful concurrence of all parties. My object is the happiness and security of the two nations, and I would not wish to obtain it without their mutual consent.

"My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union, which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my Lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble Lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which I trust will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide, the emoluments of government; but if possible to save the state. Upon this ground we meet—upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only *arcanum* of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance.

"I hope an early day will be agreed for considering the state of the nation. My infirmities must fall heavily upon me, indeed, if I do not attend my duty that day. When I consider my age, and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question. But I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those

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who come after me, the blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself."

Eloquent and animated as is this speech, its occasional intemperance is to be regretted. The most important part of it relates to the representation of the House of Commons: this I shall now briefly consider.

There are few axioms more generally received than that human nature is fond of change; but, on the other hand, it is no less true that prejudices require a long time to remove them. This last principle of our nature is a wise counterbalance to the former one; for if our propensity to change were to act without control, nothing would be fixed or certain. The remark holds good with regard to every human institution, and is particularly applicable to that of the British Parliament. The lapse of years has certainly produced many changes in the situation both of the electors and the elected. Representation which is now with justice considered as an honor and a privilege was once regarded as a burthen; and the right of sending members to Parliament once almost arbitrarily determined by the executive part of the legislature, is now claimed and exercised by the country in a manner exactly defined. But these and similar changes are for the greater part the natural result of civilization, teaching men a juster value of privilege and of property, and are not to be confounded with those alterations which arise from legislative interference. In proposing any alteration in a system so vitally important to the country as the representation of the House of Commons, the utmost care is to be taken that the very measure intended to improve do not tend to disturb and subvert the constitution, and nothing important should be adopted without it comes recommended by demonstration. In bringing forward his propositions of reform, Lord Chatham appears to have been well aware of the dangers of innovation. He contemplated—not the extension of the elective franchise—not the annual or triennial duration of Parliament, but what he terms "an infusion of new health into the constitution," by an addition to the number of county members.

The spirit in which Lord Chatham suggested his propositions of reform was doubtless that of one really anxious to promote the welfare of his country, and decidedly at variance with those heated and dangerous opinions which tend to revolution. Notwithstanding, however, his Lordship's declaration that he had long and attentively considered the subject, his proposed plan of reform appears to me somewhat "crude and indigested." He suggests the addition of one member to each of the counties in England, and a similar proportionate increase in Scotland. Now as the representation in the latter country with respect to county members exceeds very considerably the proportion in the former, Lord Chatham's proposed alteration would nearly double the representation in the one, whilst it added not a fourth to that of the other. Farther considerations also affect the wisdom of Lord Chatham's propositions. At this time we find him an advocate for *septennial;* in the course of the following year, "he declared himself a convert to *triennial* Parliaments." Now, allowing that the occurrence of certain events must produce a change of opinion in the strongest and firmest minds, we shall not be warranted in adopting their suggestions, as to any momentous alterations, until we are certain that they have had thorough time and opportunity for reflection; until we are convinced that they have thoroughly reconciled their own opinions, and have reduced them to one undeviating standard.

The 24th January was fixed upon by the House as the day for taking into consideration the state of the nation. But, as no Lord Chancellor had been appointed, the motion was adjourned until the 2nd February. In the mean time, the Duke of Grafton, very much to the astonishment of the nation, resigned his office of first Lord of the Treasury[t]. His Grace was succeeded by Lord North, who was already Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[t] As the resignation of Lord Bute had been, by many persons, attributed to the North Briton, so that of the Duke of Grafton was now said to be occasioned by Junius. There may be some truth in both assertions. At all events it is certain that the attacks of Junius were most keenly felt by the Duke of Grafton, and were probably *one* cause of his retirement from office.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1770.

Motion by the Marquis of Rockingham—Speeches of the Earls of Sandwich and Chatham —Addresses from the City to his Majesty—Speeches of Lord Chatham upon Lord Craven's Motion for an Address, and upon the Civil List—Lord Chatham presents a Bill to reverse the adjudications of the House of Commons respecting Mr. Wilkes— Moves a Resolution respecting the King's Answer to the City Remonstrance—Moves for an Address to the Throne to dissolve the Parliament—The Thanks of the City are presented to Lord Chatham.

As the decision of the House of Commons, upon the Middlesex election, was the principal subject of complaint amongst the people, so it became the theme of discussion in Parliament.

On the 2d February, the House of Lords being in a committee upon the state of the nation, the Marquis of Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and to the known and established law and custom of Parliament, which is part thereof."

The Earl of Sandwich thus opposed the motion[a]: "How the matter before us ever came to be a question in debate, or how it could be supposed that this House should or could take cognizance of

[a] This speech, and Lord Chatham's answer to it were, I believe, originally inserted in the London Museum, whence they were admitted by Debrett and others into their collections of debates.

an affair that does not, in any respect, apply to it, (the expulsion and incapacitation of members being acts only relative to the Commons, to which they immediately belong,) is to me an object of as much surprise as any I ever experienced since I have been a member of this House.

"Although the impropriety of this proceeding might easily be exposed in theory, by proving particular rights inherent in either House, uncontrolable by any other power, I shall not launch into so wide a field, but confine myself to the state of our journals, where we shall find many instances to prove the independent power possessed by either House in the article of expulsion and incapacitation. As two such instances immediately occur to me, I shall beg leave to suggest them to your Lordships.

"The first is that of Lionel, Earl of Middlesex [b], who, in the reign of Charles the Second, was, for certain crimes and misdemeanors, considered not only as an improper person to officiate for any specified time, but for ever precluded and incapacitated from serving in this House. The other instance is that of Lord Bacon, who, although a man of acknowledged great capacity, yet, as bribery and corruption were proved against him, shared the fate of the Earl of Middlesex. This last instance is so very notorious that I now only mention it, my Lords, because it applies so directly to the point in question. In both these cases we find no alarm excited in the other branches of the legislation. They stood perfectly silent and undisturbed, knowing that interference on their part would have been improper and unnecessary. There was not even so much as a supposition raised that either the laws of this House or of the land had been in the least violated or invaded. I should be glad to know, my Lords, whence this doctrine of late originated, how it came to be broached? Who, naturally, should be the most tenacious of their own rights and privileges, but the members of that House themselves?

[b] It appears singular that Lord Sandwich should call this the first instance, as it happened so many years after the other case which he mentions.

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Yet great as the paradox is, we find numbers of those very members, both within and without the House, using every effort to divest themselves of this privilege. In what other manner, then, can we explain such extraordinary conduct, than by concluding that the spirit of party has gone abroad, and has been successful in its wiles and seductions? If, indeed, any encroachment had been made upon the other branches of the legislation, either upon this House or upon the royal prerogative, then it would indispensably behove us to interfere for the benefit of the whole; but as neither of these cases have occurred, as the affair is merely a point respecting the honor of the House of Commons, let us leave it to that House to determine it as they please. But it is urged, by the noble Marquis who opened the debate, that an alarm has gone forth amongst the people—that their minds are disquieted—that the laws of the land have been trampled on—that the grievances, on account of which they have petitioned, are left unredressed; and, to close this dreadful catalogue of ills, that a member, whom they have repeatedly returned, has been as repeatedly rejected, and finally incapacitated. Although I entertain the highest respect for the noble Marquis's veracity in other points, I must think that he is extremely mistaken in the former part of his assertions. I have been at some pains, (owing to the stir at first excited throughout the country,) to examine into the real nature of the alarm, and, upon the strictest search, I find it to be nothing more than a faction, first set on foot by the daring and ambitious, and occasionally supported by the ignorant, the necessitous, and the desperate. But let us take the fact as represented. We are told that the majority of the people of England have petitioned for a redress of grievances. Now the whole of the people of England are contained within forty counties, of which only thirteen have petitioned. My Lords, it requires no deep calculation, no abstract knowledge of numbers, to decide that thirteen is not quite one-third of forty, although it is roundly asserted that the whole of the people of England have petitioned. But if we further suppose, (which, with the strictest justice we may,) that a number of those who have signed

the petitions possess no manner of freehold, but are induced to sign from the general pressure of poverty, the want of an immediate meal, or the future hope of some better establishment; if we likewise consider what a number have been intimidated into signing, (I say intimidated, my Lords, for if we look into the public papers, we there find threatening letters frequently addressed to those who had firmness of mind and sufficient good sense to guide themselves,) we shall, even in these thirteen counties, find the number so much diminished, as not to amount to a twentieth part of his Majesty's subjects.

"And shall the supplications then, of so small a number be regarded as the general voice of the people? Are privileges to be broken in upon, are arbitrary dictums to be complied with, because a few factious, discontented people would have it so?

"I remember, my Lords, some years ago, when I was a member of the other house, a remonstrance from two aldermen of the town I represented complaining in the name of the whole, of some corporation fraudulencies. When the House began to consider that the corporation consisted of a great many members, and that out of so many two only had complained, they set aside the remonstrance as nugatory and frivolous, very properly judging that if any real grievance existed, it would have been better supported.

"Let us then, my Lords, be superior to these false alarms, the feeble echoes of despondence and ambition. Let us act like the guardians of the nation, steady in supporting the privileges of the people, but not too forward to appear when no real danger presses. If the House of Commons think themselves insulted by having a member forced upon them, whose private or public qualities are obnoxious to them, let them determine it amongst themselves. It would ill become us to widen the breach, by creating a rupture between two branches of the legislation upon whose concord and unanimity every thing depends which is conducive to the real interests of the people, and to the honor of the Crown."

Lord Chatham began with observing, that the noble Lord had

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been very adroit in referring to the journals, and in collecting every circumstance that might assist his argument. "Though my long and almost continued infirmities," said he, "have denied me the hour of ease to obtain these benefits, yet without the assistance of the journals, or other collaterals, I can reply to both the precedents which his Lordship has produced.

"I will readily allow the facts to be as the noble Earl has stated them, viz. That Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, as well as Lord Bacon, were both, for certain crimes and misdemeanors, expelled this House, and incapacitated from ever sitting here, without occasioning any interference on the part of the other branches of the legislature.

"Neither of these cases bear any analogy to the present case. They affected only themselves. The rights of no constituent body were affected by them. It is not the person of Mr. Wilkes that is complained of, as an individual, he is personally out of the dispute. The cause of complaint, the great cause is, that the inherent rights and franchises of the people are, in this case, invaded, trampled upon, and annihilated. Lord Bacon and Lord Middlesex represented no county or city. The rights of no freeholder, the franchises of no elector were destroyed by their expulsion. The cases are as widely different as north from south. But I will allow the noble Earl a *succedaneum* to his argument, which probably, he has not as yet thought of. I will suppose he urges, that whatever authority gives a seat to a Peer, is, at least, equally respectable with that which gives it to a Commoner, and that both in expulsion and incapacitation, the injury is directly the same:—granted; and I will further allow, that if Mr. Wilkes had not been *re-elected* by the people, the first expulsion, I believe, would have been efficient. Therefore, my Lords, this comparison ceases; for except these noble Lords mentioned, had received a fresh title, either by birth or patent, they could not possibly have any claim after the first expulsion. The noble Lord asks, how came this doctrine to be broached? And adds, who should be more tenacious of their liberties and privileges than the members themselves? In respect to the latter part of this question, I agree none should be so

proper as themselves to protect their own rights and privileges, and I sincerely lament that they have, by their recent conduct, so far forgot what those privileges are, that they have added to the long list of venality from Esau to the present day. In regard to the first part, how came this doctrine to be broached? I must tell the noble Lord it is as old as the constitution itself; the liberties of the people, in the original distribution of government, being the first thing provided for; and in the case of Mr. Wilkes, though we have not instances as numerous as in other cases, yet it is by no means the less constitutional. Like a comet in the firmament, which, however it may dazzle and surprise the vulgar and untutored, by the unfrequency of its appearance, affects the philosopher, versed in astronomic science, no more than any other common process of nature, being perfectly simple, and to him perfectly intelligible. Need I remind you, my Lords, at this period, of that common schoolboy position, that the constitution of this country depends upon King, Lords, and Commons; that each by their power are a balance to the other? If this is not the case, why were the three estates constituted? Why should it be necessary before an act of Parliament takes place, that their mutual concurrence should be had? My Lords, I am ashamed to trudge in this common track of argument; and have no apology to make, but that I have been drawn into it by the noble Lord's asserting, that we had no right to interfere with the privileges of the other House.

"The noble Earl has been very exact in his calculation of the proportion of persons who have petitioned; and did the affair rest merely on this calculation, his argument would be unanswerable; but has he considered the numbers, whose real sentiments most decidedly against the rigor of parliamentary proceedings, (for want of a few principals to call them together, and collect their opinions,) have never reached the ear of their Sovereign? If to this consideration we add, the interest made use of on the side of government to suppress all petitions, with the authority that placemen necessarily have over their dependents, it is very surprising, that out of forty counties, thirteen should have had spirit and independence sufficient to stem such

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a tide of venality. But I will suppose that this was not the case, that no undue influence was made use of, and that hence but one third of the people think themselves aggrieved. Are numbers to constitute right? are not the laws of the land fixed and unalterable? and is not this proceeding complained of, or any other, (supported even but by one,) to be tried, and adjudged by these laws? Therefore, however the noble Lord may excel in the doctrine of calculation as a speculative matter, it can by no means serve him when urged in the course of argument.

"Let us not then, my Lords, be deaf to the alarms of the people, when those alarms are founded on the infringement of their rights.—Let us not sit neuter and inattentive to the proceedings of the other House. We are, equally with that House, entrusted with the rights of the people, and we cannot conscientiously discharge our duties without our interference, whenever we find those rights trampled upon in any part of the constitution.

"I have, my Lords, trespassed on your patience at this late hour of the night, when the length of the debate must have fatigued your Lordships considerably. But I cannot apologize in a case so deeply interesting to the nation—no time can be too long—no time can be lost—no hardships can be complained of."

His Lordship then condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of asperity. He denominated the vote of that House, which had made Colonel Luttrell the representative for Middlesex, a gross invasion of the rights of election—a dangerous violation of the English constitution—a treacherous surrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honor. They had stript the statute-book of its brightest ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction and lawless domination. To gratify the resentments of some individuals, the laws had been despised, trampled upon, and destroyed—those laws, which had been made by the stern virtues of their ancestors, the iron barons of old, to whom we were indebted for all the blessings of our present constitution; to whose virtue and whose blood, to

whose spirit in the hour of contest, and to whose tenderness in the triumph of victory, the silken barons of this day, owe their honors and their seats, and both Houses of Parliament owe their continuance. These measures, he said, made a part of that unhappy system, which had been formed in the present reign, with a view to new-model the constitution, as well as the government. These measures originated, he would not say, with his Majesty's knowledge, but in his Majesty's councils. The Commons had slavishly obeyed the commands of his Majesty's servants, and had thereby exhibited, and proved to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of suspicion before—that ministers held a corrupt influence in Parliament—it was demonstrable—it was indisputable. It was therefore particularly necessary for their Lordships, at this critical and alarming period, so full of jealousy and apprehension, to stand forward, and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed, and perhaps speedy, intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his Majesty's ministers: that they might prevent licentiousness on the one side, and depredation on the other. Their Lordships were the constitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.

The House being in a committee, the question was put, Whether the speaker should resume the chair? This was decided in the affirmative by a majority of more than two to one.

The question being thus disposed of, the Earl of Marchmont, although it was past midnight, made the following motion: "That any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and tending to a general confusion."

Lord Marchmont, in recommending his motion to the House, made use of an expression, which was either perfectly unintelligible, or most injudicious and unwarrantable. He said, that if the opposition went one step farther, their conduct would justify the necessity of

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calling in foreign assistance. He was here called to order by the Duke of Richmond, who desired to know what was meant by the words *foreign assistance*. Lord Marchmont's explanation was neither clear nor satisfactory.

Lord Mansfield, in a long speech, insisted that their Lordships had no right to interfere in any decision of the House of Commons.

The Earl of Egmont said, that the late petitions which had been laid before the King were highly censurable—the people had no right to present such petitions—they were treasonable.

The Earl of Chatham thanked the noble Lord for his *lenity*, in permitting the petitioners to have their heads on one day longer: and said, the petitions were laudable and constitutional; and the right of the people to present them, undoubted. He then replied to Lord Mansfield, and argued the justice and necessity of the interference of the House of Lords in cases where the liberties of the people had been invaded, or in those of unconstitutional determinations of the House of Commons. He affirmed, that the case of the county of Middlesex fell under both those denominations. He then conjured them, by the noble blood which had run for so many ages in their veins, and by the noble struggles of their ancestors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a transaction so alarming; for his own part, he modestly said, he was hardly warm in his seat. He quoted Lord Somers and Chief Justice Holt in support of his law, and drew their characters very finely. He called them *honest men*, who knew and loved the English Constitution. Then, turning to Lord Mansfield, he said, "I vow to God I think the noble Lord equals them both—in abilities." Towards the conclusion of his speech he complained strongly of the suddenness of the motion; that it was made at midnight, and pressed the necessity of an adjournment of only *two days*. "If," said he, "the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey."

The question was carried in the affirmative. Against this and

the former decision two remarkably strong protests were entered, in the first case by forty-two, in the second by forty peers. In the latter protest, the Lords pledged themselves to the public to avail themselves of every right and of every power with which the constitution had armed them for the good of the whole, in order to obtain full relief for the injured electors of Great Britain.

Amongst the numerous petitions presented to the throne in the year 1769, that of the City of London was conspicuous for the presumptuous language in which it was expressed. This production not having received from his Majesty that attention which its authors expected, they thought proper to draw up another, entitled, "The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London." It was stated in this paper, that under a secret malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights; that they had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power, assumed by James the Second, —a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this Parliament, because the acts of the legislature itself can be no more valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal prince on the throne. "Representatives of the people," the remonstrance continued to state, "are essential to the framing of laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The House of Commons do not represent the people. We owe to your Majesty an obedience, under restriction of the laws, for the calling and duration of Parliaments; and your Majesty owes to us, that our representation, free from the force of arms or corruption, should be preserved to us in them. Had the Parliament under James the Second been as submissive to his commands as it is this day to the dictates of a minister, instead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its dissolution.——Since, therefore," the re-

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monstrance concluded, "the misdeeds of your Majesty's ministers, in violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble constitution of Parliaments, are notorious, as well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm, and since your Majesty, both in honor and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them according to the oath made to God and your subjects at your coronation; we, your Majesty's remonstrants, assure ourselves that your Majesty will restore the constitutional government and quiet of your people, by dissolving this Parliament, and removing those evil ministers for ever from your councils."

To this arrogant and extraordinary address the King returned the following temperate but reproving answer:

"I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of my subjects; but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution. I have made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend: and whilst I act upon these principles, I have a right to expect, and am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people."

Every unprejudiced Englishman, at the present day, will, I think, attribute this answer of the Sovereign to one simple cause—a just sense of offended dignity. The opposition, at that time, were of a very different opinion. We have seen in what strong terms Lord

Chatham indicated and condemned the influence of Lord Bute, and we shall find him asserting that the above answer of the King proceeded from the same secret source.

On the 2d March, 1770, a motion was made in the House of Lords by Lord Craven, for an Address to the King, requesting his Majesty to put his royal navy on such a footing as to secure respect to his Crown, and protection to the trade of his subjects.

On this occasion Lord Chatham[c] condemned the conduct of his Majesty's servants in almost every particular. He complained strongly of the secret influence of the Earl of Bute, which he affirmed still continued, and to which, he said, was owing that they had no original minister since the accession of his present Majesty. The Duke of Grafton, conceiving that he was himself implicated in this charge, said he did not know what the noble Earl meant by there having been no original minister; he could take upon himself to say, that while he was in office he was as much minister as any man could be. Lord Chatham ridiculed the idea of the noble Duke's having been minister, and seemed to laugh at his presumption in thinking himself so. He said, "he spoke of the secret influence of an invisible power;—of a favorite, whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and who, notwithstanding he was abroad, was at this moment as potent as ever;—he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office;—there was no safety, no security against his power and malignity;—he himself had been duped, he confessed it with sorrow;—he had been duped when he least suspected treachery, at a time when the prospect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were strong;—in particular, at the time when he was taken ill, and obliged to go to Bath for a short week;—he had, before he set out, formed, with great pains, attention, and deliberation, schemes highly interesting and of the utmost importance to this

[c] This speech is taken from the London Museum, vol. i. page 248. It is also to be found in Debrett, vol. v. page 173, and in subsequent collections of Parliamentary Debates.

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country;—schemes which had been approved in council, and to which the King himself had given his consent. But when he returned, he found that his plans had all vanished into thin air.

"The House of Savoy," continued he, "has produced a race of illustrious Princes; notwithstanding which, it must be confessed, that the Court of Turin sold you to the Court of France in the last peace. When I was earnestly called upon for the public service, I came from Somersetshire with wings of zeal. I consented to preserve a peace which I abominated;—a peace I would not make, but would preserve when made. I undertook to support a government by law, but to shield no man from public justice. These terms were accepted, I thought with sincerity accepted. I own I was credulous—I was duped, I was deceived; for I soon found that there was no original administration to be suffered in this country. The same secret invisible influence still prevailed which had put an end to all the successive administrations as soon as they opposed or declined to act under it."

Here the Duke of Grafton rose again, and said, "I rise to defend the King; though, if I understood rightly the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a distempered mind brooding over its own discontent."

To which Lord Chatham replied, "I rise neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away the words I have spoken. As for his Majesty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the closet; so amiably condescending as to promise, in every repeated audience, not only to forgive but to supply the defects of health by his cheerful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependants, &c. Instead of this, all the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure did not arise from those out of government; they were suggested, nourished, and supported by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependants; first by secret treachery, then by official influence, afterwards in public councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me that there is something

behind the throne greater than the King himself. As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled and agreed to by his Grace, both as to measures and to men, till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally launched. As to a distempered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs that my principles have never given way to any disease, and that I have always had sufficient vigor of mind remaining to support them, and, consequently, to avoid all those snares which from time to time have been so artfully laid to take advantage of my state of health [d]; his Grace can witness better than any other man, because he has himself the letters which sufficiently prove it."

[d] The author of Junius, writing in 1768, under the signature of Bifrons, says: "I will now do honor to the noble Duke, who from under the footstool of *gouty-legs* has crept into the elbow-chair; who, though green in years, is ripe in devices."

The following character of the Duke of Grafton appeared in 1768. It was written by the author of Junius's letters, under the signature of Atticus, and, although very severe, it is more just and less rancorous than his other notices of the same individual: "When the Duke of Grafton first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His Grace had honorably fleshed his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favorites, looked up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his Grace to enter into administration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the Treasury upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to Lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without Lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity or judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign. The next day he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friends that he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistency. The Stamp Act had been repealed, (no matter how unwisely,) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided when this young man thought proper to revive it. Without either plan or necessity he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law which has been repealed."

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The motion was negatived.

On the sixteenth of March, a motion was made, to appoint a committee to inquire into the state and expenditure of the civil list.

Lord Chatham spoke in support of the motion, "He said the civil list was appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the civil government; and in the next to the honor and dignity of the Crown. In every other respect, the minute and particular expenses of the civil list are as open to parliamentary examination and enquiry, in regard to the application and abuse, as any other grant of the people, to any other purpose; and ministers are equally or more culpable for incurring an unprovided expense and for running in arrears with regard to this service, as for any other. The preambles of the civil list acts prove this; and none but children, novices, or ignorant persons will ever act without proper regard to them; and therefore I can never consent to increase fraudulently the civil establishment, under pretence of making up deficiencies, nor will I bid so high for Royal favor. The minister who is bold enough to spend the people's money before it is granted, (even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives,) and thereby leaving the people of England no other alternative, but either to disgrace their Sovereign by not paying his debts, or to become the prey of every unthrifty or corrupt minister—such minister deserves death.

"The late good old King had much of humanity, and amongst other royal and manly virtues, he possessed justice, truth, and sincerity, in an eminent degree; so that he had something about him, by which it was possible for you to know whether he liked you or disliked you.

"I have been told that I have a pension, and that I have recommended others to pensions. It is true, and here is a list of them; you will there find the names of General Amherst, Sir Edward Hawke, and several others of the same nature; they were given as rewards for real services, and as encouragements to other gallant heroes. They were honorably earned in campaigns very different from those at Westminster; they were gained by actions, full of danger to them-

selves, of glory and benefaction to this nation; not by corrupt votes of baseness and destruction to their country. CHAP. XXIII. 1770.

"You will find no secret services there, and you will find that when the warrior was recompensed, the member of Parliament was left free. You will likewise find a pension of 1500*l.* a year to Lord Camden. I recommended his Lordship to be Chancellor; his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all; they made his station more precarious. I could not reasonably expect that he would quit the Chief-justiceship of the Common Pleas, which he held for life, and put himself in the power of those who were not to be trusted, to be dismissed from the Chancery, perhaps the day after his appointment. The public has not been deceived by his conduct. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more a poor and a private man; he was dismissed for the vote he gave in favor of the right of election in the people."

Here Lord Marchmont called Lord Chatham to order. Some Lords called out "to the bar, to the bar!" Lord Marchmont moved, "that Lord Chatham's words should be taken down."

Lord Chatham seconded the motion, and added, "I neither deny, retract, nor explain these words. I do reaffirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honor of every Lord in this House, whether he has not the same conviction."

Lord Rockingham, Lord Temple, and many other Lords, upon their honor, affirmed the same.

Lord Sandwich and Lord Weymouth would have withdrawn the motion, but Lord Marchmont, encouraged by Lord Mansfield, persisted, and moved that nothing had appeared to justify such an assertion.

Lord Chatham, "My words remain unretracted, unexplained, and reaffirmed. I desire to know whether I am condemned or acquitted; and whether I may still presume to hold up my head as high as the noble Lord, who moved to have my words taken down[e]."

[e] "In the course of the debate, the Earl of Chatham in his speech having said, 'that the late Lord Chancellor was dismissed for giving his vote in this House.' Which words the House taking exception to; and it being moved, 'that the said words might be read.' It was moved,

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To this no answer was given.

It was then objected to Lord Chatham, that he himself had recommended the Duke of Grafton; and that he had forced his Grace on the King as his first minister.

Lord Chatham replied, "I advised his Majesty to take the Duke of Grafton as first Lord of the Treasury, but there is such a thing as time, as well as tide; and the conduct of the noble Duke has convinced me, that I am as likely to be deceived as any other man, and as fallible as my betters. It was an expression of that great minister Sir R. Walpole, upon a debate on the army in the year 1737, 'those who gave the power of blood, gave blood.' I will beg leave to parodise the expression, and say, those who gave the means of corruption, gave corruption. I will trust no Sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people. When I had the honor of being the confidential keeper of the King's intention, he assured me, that he never intended to exceed the allowance which was made by Parliament; and therefore, my Lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in our King, at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies; that a request of an enquiry into the expenditure of the civil list should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the King of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants? Or does he mean by drawing the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people, to procure a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to

'to adjourn.' Which being objected to, after debate, the said motion for adjournment was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.—Then the words spoken by the Earl of Chatham were read by the clerk, and are as follow: 'That the late Lord Chancellor was dismissed for giving his vote in this House.' Then it was moved, 'to resolve that nothing has appeared to this House to justify that assertion.' Which being objected to, after debate, the question was put thereupon; it was resolved in the affirmative."—*Lords' Journals.*

acquit his ministers at all adventures. I do not say, my Lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but if any gentleman in England were to ask me, whether I thought both Houses of Parliament were bribed, I should laugh in his face and say, 'Sir, it is not so.' My Lords, from all that has been said, I think it must appear, that an enquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list revenue is expedient, proper, and just; a refusal of it at this time will only add ridicule to disgrace, and folly to enormity."

The motion was negatived.

On the 5th of April, Mr. Grenville's celebrated bill[f] for trying controverted elections was brought up to the House of Lords. Lord Chatham supported the bill, upon which he passed some elegant encomiums. He then said, "that as he had begun his life out of a court, he hoped he should end it out of a court. He had no view to interest. All he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of the constitution. He then desired that the House might be summoned after the holidays, for he designed to bring in a bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex Election. He declared, that his intention by this bill was to give the people a strong and thorough sense of the great violation of the constitution by those unjust and arbitrary proceedings.

On the 1st May, the Earl of Chatham presented to the House a Bill, of which the following is an authentic copy.

"A Bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq. has been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal representatives.

"Whereas the capacity of being elected a representative of the

[f] For an account of this excellent bill see Annual Register for the year 1770. Knox's Extra-Official State-papers, and Adolphus's History of England, vol. i. page 387, where an interesting fact is related of its framer. Mr. George Grenville died November 13th, 1770.

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Commons in Parliament is, under known limitations of law, an original inherent right of the subject; and forasmuch as to deprive the subject of this high franchise and birth-right, otherwise than by a judgment according to the law of the land, and the constant established usage of Parliament conformable thereto, and part thereof, is directly contrary to the fundamental laws and freedom of this realm, and in particular to the act, 'declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the Crown,' at the ever memorable period of the Revolution; when free election of members of Parliament was expressly vindicated and secured.

"And whereas John Wilkes, Esq. having been duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, was, on the 17th February, 1769, without being heard, adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, by a resolution of the House of Commons, as follows:

"'Resolved,

"'That John Wilkes, Esq. having been in this session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament.'

"And whereas on the same day the said House of Commons farther resolved as follows: 'That the late election of a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex is a void election.'

"And whereas the said John Wilkes, Esq. having been duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, the said House of Commons did, on the 17th March, 1769, resolve in the words following: 'That the election and return of John Wilkes, Esq. who hath been by this House adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, are null and void.'

"And whereas the said John Wilkes, Esq. having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex aforesaid, and having on the ori-

ginal poll-books eleven hundred and forty-three votes in his favor, against two hundred and ninety-six, in favor of Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq.; the House of Commons did, on the 15th April, 1769, without a hearing of parties, and in manifest violation of the indubitable right of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex to choose their representatives in Parliament, resolve as follows:

"'That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq. ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex;' and thereupon ordered the said return to be amended accordingly.

"And whereas, by another resolution, of the 8th May, 1769, the said House of Commons did, upon hearing the matter of the petition of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as far as the same related to the election of Henry Lawes Luttrell, farther resolve as follows:

"'That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq. is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex.'

"And forasmuch as all the resolutions aforesaid, cutting off the subject from his indubitable birth-right, by a vote of one House of Parliament, exercising discretionary power and legislative authority, under color of a jurisdiction in elections, are most arbitrary, illegal, and dangerous.

"Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all the adjudications contained in the abovementioned several resolutions are arbitrary and illegal, and the same are and shall be hereby revised, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

After the first reading, it was moved, that the bill should be read the second time on the following Thursday. This being strongly objected to, Earl Temple stood up and supported the motion. His Lordship dwelt much upon the illegal assumption of the House of

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Commons; he arraigned their adjudication in terms of warmth, and urged the repeal of a measure so manifestly aimed at the very vitals of liberty. Lord Temple was supported by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Lyttleton, who added, that as the mode of bringing on the question had before been reprobated, that objection was now removed by the introduction of the present bill.

Lord Denbigh replied in a speech of considerable length. He spoke much of the inherent, exclusive power of the House of Commons. He said, that although he had a high opinion of the spirit and abilities of the noble Lord who introduced the bill, he yet differed from him entirely upon the point. He thought the bill both unprecedented and illegal. It was wholly foreign to the powers and privileges of the House of Peers to sit in judgment upon the resolutions of the House of Commons. He observed that this was the only business of importance which they had transacted since the commencement of the session, and he was surprised to find that, notwithstanding every determination was carried against it, the same question was again and again brought forward. He said that he could not charge his memory with any similar interference on the part of the Lords; and for this, and numerous other reasons, he should decidedly oppose the bill.

Lord Chatham then rose, and spoke to the following purport: "The noble Lord who spoke last has been very loud against this motion, and very angry with those who supported it, but then he is angry in such a sort that none can be angry with him. I shall, therefore, waive replying to some reflections upon the faction, as he is pleased to call it, and take a short review of the cause of this motion. Here are 1143 legal, sworn freeholders, vote a gentleman their member of Parliament, against 296 who oppose him; with this apparent majority, he comes to take his seat so given him by the laws and constitution of his country. But what do the House of Commons? Why, they shut the door in his face, and by a new state-arithmetic, make 296 a greater number than 1143. Is not this, my Lords, flying in the face of all law and freedom? Is not this apparently robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of Englishmen's

birth-rights? It is very true, the House of Commons had a right, if petitioned by Colonel Luttrell, to enquire minutely into the qualifications of his opponent's electors; to admit none as such, but those duly qualified by law; and after making these deductions, then determine the majority. But this has not been even attempted. The seat of the legal representative has been wrested from him, and a violent outrage has been committed, that strikes at every thing that is dear and sacred to the liberties of Englishmen.

"It has been urged, my Lords, that there is no precedent for one House taking cognizance of the proceedings of the other. If my memory serves me right, I remember one nearly parallel, in the case of Titus Oates, where the Commons took cognizance of the proceedings of the Lords on that subject; so that it is no new thing for one House to be a check on the other, as it is not only established by precedent, but by the principles of our constitution.

"It is said, my Lords, that the spirit of discontent has gone abroad—I should be surprised if it had not; for how can it be otherwise, when, to use a familiar expression, Colonel Luttrell sits in the lap of John Wilkes; when a corrupt House of Commons invert all law and order, and deny the just privilege the electors claim by the constitution of these kingdoms?

"[g] When a majority in that House becomes a minister's state-engine, to effect the worst of purposes, and to produce such monstrous and unconstitutional acts, one cannot help exclaiming in the language of Shakspeare.

> 'Fie on it! oh fie!
> 'Tis an unweeded garden, things
> Rank and gross in nature possess it merely.'

"Though I will not aid the voice of faction, I will aid the just complaints of the people; and whilst I have strength to crawl, I will

[g] This part of Lord Chatham's speech has been differently reported by different persons. I have followed Debrett.—*Vol.* v. *pages* 180, 181.

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exert my poor abilities in their service; and I pledge myself to their cause, because I know it is the cause of truth and justice.

"I am afraid, my Lords, this measure has sprung too near the throne—I am sorry for it: but I hope his Majesty will soon open his eyes, and see it in all its deformity; (Here Lord Pomfret interrupted him, by calling him to order:) upon which Lord Chatham said, I do not retract my words;—I esteem the King in his personal capacity, I revere him in his political one; and on these principles I hope he will see it, and see it in such a light, that he will redress it, by the dissolution of a House that could adopt such a measure."

The motion to read the bill a second time was negatived.

Lord Gower moved to reject the bill; upon which the Lords divided, and the numbers were eighty-nine for, and forty-three against the motion.

Before the House adjourned, Lord Chatham desired that their Lordships might be summoned for the 4th of May, as he had to make a motion of great importance relative to the King.

On that day, Lord Chatham moved the following resolution [h]:

"That it is the opinion of this House, that the advice, inducing his Majesty to give the answer to a late humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common-Hall assembled, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as thereby the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject, namely, to petition the King for redress of grievances; to complain of violation of the freedom of election; to pray dissolution of Parliament; to point out mal-practices in administration; and to urge the removal of evil ministers, has, under pretence of reproving certain parts of the said remonstrance and petition, by the generality of one compendious word, *contents*, been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted citizens of London have heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remon-

[h] See Debrett's Debates, vol. v. page 187, &c.

strance, and petition, laying their complaints and injuries at the feet of the Sovereign, as father of his people, able and willing to redress them, cannot but be considered by his Majesty, as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution."

This motion being regularly read by the Speaker, Lord Chatham thus proceeded:

"I am to consider, in consequence of this motion, what it was the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery of the city of London requested, in order to discover the causes they gave, by their requisition, for such an answer—an answer so harsh, that it exceeds every thing in the history of this country. They requested, my Lords, very humbly, a restoration of the freedom of election, a dismission of unjust servants, and a dissolution of a Parliament that protected them; because they, (the citizens of London,) were not legally represented by such. Now, my Lords, I do aver the truth of this petition; and I do likewise aver, that the citizens of London, with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, have a right to petition, not only by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, but by a variety of acts of Parliament, numerous as they are expressive. No particular part of the petition is applied to, but the whole of the *contents* are at once disposed of. 'That this petition was disrespectful to himself, (the King,) injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution.' I am too well acquainted, my Lords, with his Majesty, to think him capable of giving such an answer—nor could he do it, with propriety, either in his regal or personal capacity. I must beg your patience, my Lords, to consider this a little more attentively: First, 'Disrespectful to himself.' How is a King to know this? Is he a judge of what is disrespectful to him? No, my Lords; the laws are to determine this for him, the just interpreters of offences. 'Injurious to my Parliament!' How injurious to Parliament? when the very nature or part of the petition refers to that freedom of election in the people, by which they became a House of Judica-

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ture; 'Irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution!' when the very essence of the constitution not only permits, but requires petitioning the throne, and which the Stuarts never dared to prevent in the zenith of their power. I repeat again, my Lords, the King could never give such an answer from himself; and indeed, my Lords, poor as my opinion is of administration, I can hardly think it was a joint official advice, but the opinion of one, or of a confidential few; for it is impossible, if many were consulted upon this measure, that some of them must not have seen its absurdity.

"When I mentioned the Livery of London, I thought I saw a sneer upon some faces; but let me tell you, my Lords, that although I have the honor to sit in this House, as a Peer of the realm, I am proud, coinciding as I do with these honest citizens in opinion, of the honor of associating my name with theirs. And let me tell the noblest of you all, it would be an honor to you. The Livery of London, my Lords, were respectable long before the Reformation: the Lord Mayor of London was a *principal* among the twenty-five Barons who received Magna Charta from King John, and they have ever since been considered to possess a principal weight in all the affairs of government. How then have these respectable characters been treated? They have been sent away sore afflicted from his Majesty's presence, and reprimanded for pursuing their undoubted rights.

"It was, my Lords, when Greece was losing her freedom, that Philip of Macedon figuratively said, she had lost an eye. This expression may well be applied to the stab our constitution has received in the election for Middlesex. I may well say that she has lost an eye—I may add, that the other eye is so contused and hurt in consequence, that I am afraid a total darkness will soon overspread the face of the constitution. Here, in my place, in this illustrious assembly, I do avow that Colonel Luttrell is no representative of the people. He is a mere nominee, thrust in by enemies to the laws of the land, and to the principles, the established principles of the constitution."

The motion was negatived.

On the 14th May, Lord Chatham made a motion for an Address to the Throne, to desire that his Majesty would dissolve the present Parliament. His Lordship stated the public discontents in England, Ireland, and America. He affirmed that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons, who, he said, had betrayed their trust. He pointed out the great necessity of having a Parliament in whom the people could place a proper confidence.

The question! the question! was here called for by numerous voices, and Lord Chatham's motion was negatived by a large majority.

Whatever might be the opinion of dispassionate men respecting Lord Chatham's approbation of the indecorous and violent remonstrance from the City of London, it was most gratefully received by the remonstrants. On the 1st June a committee of the Corporation waited upon his Lordship, when Alderman Sir W. Stephenson addressed him thus:

"My Lord,

"We have the pleasing satisfaction to deliver to your Lordship the grateful thanks of the Citizens of London, for your Lordship's most eminent public services; and we sincerely congratulate your Lordship on being equally distinguished in the direction of a glorious war, and in your endeavors to restore the principles of our most excellent constitution."

Alderman Stephenson then presented the thanks of the Corporation, which were as follow:

"BECKFORD, Mayor.

"A Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Monday, the 14th May, 1770.

"A motion was made, and the question put, 'That the grateful thanks of this Court be presented to the Right Hon. William Earl of Chatham, for the zeal he has shewn in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of

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petition; and for his wishes and declaration, that his endeavours shall hereafter be used, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation; an act which will render his name more honored by posterity than the memorable successes of the glorious war he conducted.' The same was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly.

"It is ordered, That the said resolution be fairly transcribed, and signed by the Town-clerk, and presented to his Lordship by Sir William Stephenson, Knt. Barlow Trecothick, Brass Crosby, Esqrs. Aldermen, and James Townshend, Esq. Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of this City; George Bellas, Esq. Mr. Deputy Thomas Cocksedge, Mr. Deputy William Judd, Samuel Freeman, Esq. Mr. Arthur Beardmore, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Deputy Richard Townshend, and Mr. John Anderson, Commoners.

"HODGES."

To this address his Lordship immediately delivered the following reply:

"GENTLEMEN,

"It is not easy for me to give expression to all I feel, on the extraordinary honor done to my public conduct by the City of London; a body so highly respectable on every account; but above all, for their constant assertions of the birth-rights of Englishmen, in every great crisis of the constitution.

"In our present unhappy situation, my duty shall be, on all proper occasions, to add the zealous endeavours of an individual to those legal exertions of constitutional rights, which, to their everlasting honor, the City of London has made in defence of freedom of election, and freedom of petition, and for obtaining effectual reparation to the electors of Great Britain.

"As to one point among the declarations which I am understood to have made, of my wishes for the public, permit me to say there

has been some misapprehension; for, with all my deference to the sentiments of the City, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend triennial Parliaments as a remedy against that canker in the constitution, venality in elections; ready to submit my opinion to better judgment, if the wish for that measure shall become prevalent in the kingdom [1].

"Purity of Parliament is the corner-stone in the commonwealth; and as one obvious means towards this necessary end is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of the shire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs. I have thrown out this idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I shall with better hope continue humbly to submit it to the public wisdom, as an object to be most deliberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digested.

"Having many times, when in the service of the Crown, and when retired from it, experienced with gratitude the favor of my fellow-citizens, I am now particularly fortunate that, with their good liking, I can offer any thing towards upholding this wisely-combined frame of mixed government against the decays of time, and the deviations incident to all human institutions; and I shall esteem my life honored indeed, if the City of London can vouchsafe to think that my endeavours have not been wanting to maintain the national honor, to defend the colonies, and extend the commercial greatness of my country, as well as to preserve from violation the law of the land, and the essential rights of the constitution."

[1] Mr. Horne, in his second letter to Junius, reflects severely upon Lord Chatham for making this declaration. He asserts that it was made with a view to conciliate the Rockingham party, who were known to be hostile to triennial Parliaments. We shall shortly find that Lord Chatham changed his opinion upon this subject.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1770.

Remarkable Declaration of Lord Chatham respecting a "blow of hostility" which had been struck against Great Britain—Account of the Falkland Islands—Violent Conduct of Buccarelli—Motion by the Duke of Richmond respecting the Spanish Insults and Outrages upon the British Flag and Possessions—Speech of Lord Chatham—His Lordship's Conduct is severely censured by Dr. Johnson.

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FEW subjects have given rise to greater discussion or to grosser misrepresentation than the expulsion of the English from the Falkland Islands by the Spaniards in the year 1770.

Great stress has been laid by several writers upon the inutility of those islands to the English, as a reason for our tamely abandoning them to Spain[a], but surely an insult upon a nation, as upon an individual, is not to be measured by the quantity of injury sustained. That country would soon become the scorn and the prey of others which did not watch over its rights and possessions in every quarter of the globe, and strictly guard them from the least infringement and invasion. Such were the sentiments which ever prevailed in the breast of Lord Chatham[b]. No man ever possessed a quicker sense of the dignity of the nation, or greater impatience of the least diminution of its honor. We have seen with what vigor he enforced those sentiments

[a] See, in particular, Dr. Johnson's "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands," published in 1771, from materials chiefly furnished by the ministry.

[b] Junius published a celebrated letter upon the transactions respecting Falkland's Islands. The metaphor with which it closes has been universally admired: it is much in the style of Lord Chatham:—"Private credit is wealth; public honor is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth." Letter XLII.

when in authority, and when he no longer possessed the power of a minister, he constantly maintained them by his strength as an orator. The following memorable passage concluded the speech which Lord Chatham delivered, just before the close of the session, in support of the motion for augmenting the number of seamen: "Although, my Lords, it seems to be undecided whether we shall put on the armour of defence;—a question at the worst, if carried in the affirmative, which cannot but be considered as an act of prudence;—I do now pledge myself to this honorable House for the truth of what I am going to assert: that at this very hour, that we are sitting together, a blow of hostility has been struck against us by our old inveterate enemies in some quarter of the world."

Although, like Lord Chatham, most statesmen have occasionally indulged in political prophecy, few have been so seldom mistaken. Much was, doubtless, owing to the pains he employed in obtaining intelligence, and much to that sagacity, without which he pronounced such intelligence to be useless. The declaration which he made respecting this *blow of hostility* during the time of the profoundest peace is one of the most extraordinary to be found in history. I shall briefly consider the probable grounds of the prediction and the manner of its fulfilment. Lord Chatham had, for some years, considered that his country no longer possessed that high name and character amongst the nations of the world which she had so pre-eminently enjoyed during his own administration. He thought, and surely with reason, that the apathy with which we had looked on whilst Corsica was transferred to France was calculated to tarnish the glory of Great Britain.

As the man who suspects that his property or his reputation has suffered unjustly, is rendered doubly watchful of those by whom he thinks the injury has been occasioned, so the great English patriot was impelled by his country's situation, most intently to observe the proceedings of surrounding nations.

Whilst he took a general survey of the political state of Europe, the united houses of Bourbon engaged his particular attention. He knew that the object of their compact had been the depression of

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England. He was intimately acquainted with the characters of the sovereigns and ministers of both countries. He knew their resources, and few of their great measures escaped him. Although neither Louis XV. nor Charles III. were ambitious princes, both Grimaldi [c] and Choiseul anxiously desired to efface the disasters and disgraces of the last war by the hand of victory in another. The sagacity and incessant industry of Lord Chatham, joined to the almost unprecedented power which he enjoyed during his first administration, had given him the clearest insight into the proceedings of the various countries of Europe. Although, when he ceased to be minister, that chain of intelligence was necessarily less extended, it was never broken. In receiving intelligence, his experience taught him to distinguish instantly and accurately between that which was specious and that which had reason and truth to recommend it. Some information he had doubtless obtained before he uttered the prediction. He had heard that warlike equipments were preparing in various sea-ports of Spain, and that the counsels of Grimaldi and Choiseul respected affairs of more than ordinary importance. Conscious of impending danger, he now came forward to urge the necessity of strengthening our great national bulwark—the navy. With the impressiveness of age, of eloquence, and wisdom, he uttered the solemn and signal declaration that a *blow of hostility* had been struck against us. It was not, indeed, in Europe, but in one of the most distant regions of the earth that this declaration was destined to receive its fulfilment.

The Falkland Islands, the object at which *the blow of hostility* at first was aimed, lie in nearly $51\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of south latitude, and are about 100 leagues distant from the Streights of Magellan. They were first discovered in the year 1592, by the English captain, Davies, who is suspected of having basely deserted the unfortunate Cavendish. Two years afterwards, they were visited by Sir Richard Hawkins, who, in honor of his mistress, Queen Elizabeth, called them Hawkins' Maiden-land. No settlement whatever being made upon the islands,

[c] Grimaldi had now become First Minister of Spain. See his character by the Earl of Bristol, Vol. I. p. 389.

the Dutch navigator, Sebald de Wert, when he touched at them in the year 1598, imagined himself the original discoverer, and designated them by his own name. For nearly a century these islands attracted so little attention, that their very existence was called in question; nor was it until the reign of King William the Third that they were known to the English as Falkland's Islands, being so denominated by the British navigator Strong. But although known, they were, and would have remained, wholly disregarded, had it not been for the importance subsequently attached to them by Lord Anson. It was he who first pointed out the advantages which might accrue to Great Britain from establishing a regular colony upon them. In accordance with his suggestions, the English government, soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, determined to send ships to extend the discoveries in the South Seas, and particularly to examine into the condition of Falkland's Islands. But the Spaniards, who had always been extremely jealous, not only of any settlements, but of any discoveries by other nations in this quarter of the world, were no sooner apprised of the design of the British government, than they made such earnest remonstrances against it, both at Madrid and in London, that it was, for the time, abandoned. After this, the Falkland Islands again seem to have been forgotten, until the conduct of our naval affairs was entrusted to Lord Egmont. Under the patronage of this ardent-minded nobleman, Commodore Byron was sent to the South Seas; and in the year 1765 formal possession of Falkland's Islands was taken in the name of the King of Great Britain. About the same, or perhaps at rather an earlier period, a body of Frenchmen, under Bourganville, made a settlement upon an opposite quarter of the island, but, upon the remonstrance of the Spaniards, they consented to relinquish their possession to the latter, and Port Soladad, (the name then given to this part of the island,) received a Spanish garrison. Upon Captain Byron's return to England, a narrative of his voyage was published, in which the new settlement was described as a great national acquisition. The main island was represented as six or seven hundred miles in circumference, destitute, indeed, of

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wood, but abounding in vegetables and wild fowl, and provided with excellent water. The harbour, which in honor of the first Lord of the Admiralty was called Port Egmont, was said to be secure and capacious, and all things seemed to encourage the minister to support and strengthen the settlement. Early in the year 1766, Captain M'Bride arrived from England at Port Egmont. But his subsequent account of the new possession was much at variance with that of Byron. The soil was represented by him as unproductive, the climate as unhealthy, and the island incapable of maintaining the colonists without constant supplies from Great Britain. But whatever were the expences and inconvenience attending the colony, it had continued in our possession for several years, when Captain Hunt, (the commander of a frigate, which, with a sloop, was upon this station,) fell in with a Spanish schooner, employed in taking a survey of the islands. Captain Hunt immediately warned the Spaniard to depart from the coast, as belonging to the King of England. This requisition was, for the time, complied with, but, two days afterwards, the schooner returned with letters for Captain Hunt from the governor of Port Soladad, complaining that the former had sent an imperious message to the Spaniards in the very dominions of their master. In reply to this and similar representations, Captain Hunt was content to repeat his warning. He claimed the island, in the name of his Sovereign, as an English possession, by right of discovery, in the first instance, and by that of settlement, in the second.

On the 10th December, 1769, the officer despatched by the governor of Port Soladad made a formal protest against the conduct of Captain Hunt. A succession of letters and protests reciprocally ensued. But measures were subsequently taken by the Spaniards, which indicated a determination to assert the right of their master by more decisive methods than those of protests and representations. On the 20th February, 1770, a Spanish frigate of considerable force arrived at Port Egmont under the pretext of wanting water. The commodore expressed his astonishment at seeing the British flag flying in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, but, at the same time, informed

Captain Hunt that he should adopt no compulsory measures to enforce the rights of his master until he had received farther instructions from Spain. Captain Hunt now anticipated the consequences which ensued, and justly conceiving that it was his duty to apprize the British government of these alarming transactions, sailed, without farther delay, to England. He arrived at Plymouth on the 3d June, and proceeded immediately to the Admiralty. The ministry received his statement with a very culpable indifference. Accounts of the transaction having appeared in the public papers were immediately contradicted by authority. It was asserted by the writers employed by government, that the Spanish frigate had touched at Port Egmont for the sole purpose of obtaining supplies of water, and that the officers had not even gone ashore. But the subsequent facts soon exposed the supineness and improvidence of the administration. By the departure of Captain Hunt, and by the subsequent loss of an armed ship called the Swift, the British force off Port Egmont was reduced to a single sloop of 16 guns. On the 10th June a naval and military armament of great strength was despatched by Don Francisco Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, with orders to take possession of Falkland's Islands in the name of the Catholic King. The English, with the usual spirit of the nation, at first made preparations of resistance, but, being conscious of their own weakness, and the overwhelming force of the Spaniards, were soon obliged to capitulate, and to engage to abandon the island. In the month of August this gross violation of the law of nations was made known to the British government by the Spanish ambassador, but it was concealed from the public until the 9th September, when advices were received from Spain, that the Falkland Islands were actually taken by the Spaniards. The same courier brought intelligence that the galleons of that nation had arrived at Cadiz. It may be supposed that the sensation now excited throughout the kingdom, by so flagrant an insult, was loud and indignant. War with Spain was supposed to be inevitable. England, however, was scarcely ever in a less warlike condition. The embarrassment of the administration in making the necessary naval

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and military preparations was greatly increased by the misrepresentations of disaffected men. The legality of press-warrants was publicly called in question, and owing to this cause, and to the general dissatisfaction which pervaded all classes of the community, the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining sailors. Although Lord North, supported by a prodigious majority, had hitherto triumphed over every effort of the opposition, he could not look forward to the approaching session of Parliament without much anxiety and apprehension. The death of Mr. George Grenville, indeed, and that of Mr. Beckford tended much to weaken the respective parties of those gentlemen in the House of Commons, but many members of great resolution and ability still remained who would omit no arguments or exertions to distress the minister. In the House of Peers, the Lords Chatham, Shelburne, and Temple, however they might differ from that strong body of Whigs denominated the Rockingham party, upon some particular points, took a general part with them upon most public occasions.

Parliament assembled on the 13th November. The following is that part of his Majesty's speech which relates to the recent outrage committed by the Spaniards:

"By the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, in seizing by force one of my possessions, the honor of my crown, and the security of my people's rights, were deeply affected. Under these circumstances I did not fail to make an immediate demand from the court of Spain of such satisfaction as I had a right to expect for the injury I had received. I directed also the necessary preparations to be made, without loss of time, for enabling me to do myself justice, in case my requisition to the court of Spain should fail of procuring it for me, and these preparations, you may be assured, I shall not think it expedient to discontinue, until I shall have received proper reparation for the injury, as well as satisfactory proof that other powers are equally sincere with myself in the resolution to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe."

On the 22d November, the Duke of Richmond[c] made the following motion in the House of Lords: "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before that assembly copies, or extracts, of all letters and other papers containing any intelligence received by any of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or any other of his Majesty's ministers, between the 12th September, 1769, and the 12th September, 1770, touching any hostilities commenced, or designed to be commenced, by the Crown of Spain, or any of its officers, against any part of his Majesty's dominions, expressing the times at which such intelligence was received."

Lord Weymouth[d] opposed the motion upon the general ground of the impropriety of calling for such papers whilst the matter in question was the subject of a negociation with the Spanish ambassador. His Lordship carefully avoided giving the least information whatever concerning the actual state or progress of such negociation, and expressed himself with much caution and reserve. He concluded by moving, that the previous question might be put.

The Duke of Richmond supported his motion by a train of facts, for the truth of which he repeatedly appealed to the ministry themselves. The main stress of his discourse rested upon the following facts: that on the 3d of the last June, the Tamur sloop arrived at Plymouth, bringing an account that a Spanish squadron had appeared off Falkland's Island, and had ordered our people to depart; that this was a clear commencement of hostilities:—that from the 3d June to the 12th September, (above three months,) when our garrison arrived

[c] Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond. His Grace, like most of his family, adopted the army as his profession, in which he eventually attained to the highest rank, being created a Field-marshal. His application was great, but he was more remarkable for the grace and dignity of his manners and address than for his abilities. He seems to have inherited the personal beauty of his great grandmother, Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, created Duchess of Portsmouth by Charles II. He died in 1806.

[d] Debrett's Debates, vol. v. pages 341, &c.

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on board the Favorite, it did not appear that the ministry had taken any step whatsoever to obtain redress, or to put the nation in a state of defence;—that the first orders for equipping a fleet were given on or after the 12th September;—that this armament, such as it was, had not yet produced one visible effect;—that since the 12th September, nearly three months had elapsed, and still they were told, "*that the affair was in negociation, the negociation was still depending;*"—in that time three messengers had arrived from Madrid, and particularly one on the last Monday; and although three days had since passed, no communication had yet been made to Parliament of the intelligence he brought, or what was the final answer of the Court of Spain. That the terms of the motion plainly obviated the objection made by Lord Weymouth, of its tending to impede a negociation now depending; since it did not call for any papers of a date subsequent to the notice received by the ministry of the hostility being actually committed; consequently could not reach to any letters written or received, or to any negociation entered into, after the receipt of that notice; that he meant only to obtain for the House some accurate information of circumstances leading to, and accounting for a fact, which was itself notorious and undisputed. His Grace went largely into the consideration of the disgrace and infamy of suffering the honor of the Crown and the rights of the people of England to be so long the subject of negociation;—the folly or treachery of the King's servants in not accepting the augmentation of seamen proposed and urged by the Lords in opposition, early in the last session, when a proposal for strengthening the hands of government had been rejected merely because it came from that quarter;—their supineness or treachery in not arming early in June, when they heard of our people being warned to quit the island by a military force threatening compulsion;—and lastly, the feebleness and slow progress of the armament they had made, and the disgraceful situation of the King, who stood with a public affront, and dishonor fixed upon his Crown, and without any attempt made in the course of almost six months, to wipe it away. His Grace observed, that the hostile in-

tentions of Spain were not only declared by the open hostility itself, but confirmed by two extraordinary facts, which he stated to the House, and which, after repeated appeals, stood uncontradicted by the ministry. He said, that after the Spaniards had taken possession of Port Egmont, they did not suffer the garrison to depart immediately, but took away the rudder of his Majesty's ship, and detained her by force for the space of twenty days;—that supposing they had a claim to the island, they had none to the King's ship; and detaining her was an express violation of treaty, by which, even in the case of an open rupture, six months are allowed to the subjects of each nation to remove their persons and property from the dominions of the other.—The other fact seemed, and was urged as still more important. He asserted, that he had intelligence, not to be doubted, that at that moment there were in the several Spanish prisons not less than three thousand British seamen, (particularly at Ceuta on the coast of Africa,) who had been taken out of our merchant ships by Spanish Guada Costas, and condemned to perpetual slavery or confinement. He then quoted a strong instance since the peace, and read the original letters relating to it, where five of our seamen had been demanded by one of our Admirals, and had been refused by a Spanish Admiral and Governor, who expressed a willingness to oblige him, but alleged that it would be a breach of their orders and instructions.

Lord Hillsborough took up the argument upon the same footing with Lord Weymouth, but carried it much farther than the latter had done. He informed the House that he knew the contents of the papers called for, therefore could assert upon his own knowledge, that the production of them at that time would tend greatly to embarrass a negociation already in a prosperous train, and which promised a happy conclusion. He insisted much upon the delicacy of Spanish honor;—that it was their natural characteristic;—that infinite regard and tenderness ought to be shewn to the punctilios of that court,—and begged of the noble Lords to consider how far those punctilios might unavoidably retard and embarrass a treaty of this nature;—

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that, as the messenger only arrived on Monday morning, the Spanish ambassador had probably not had time to make himself master of his despatches, nor to determine upon the form and manner in which he should execute his instructions. The remainder of his Lordship's speech was delivered in very high terms, and turned entirely upon the flourishing state of this country, and the prudence, vigor, and vigilance of his Majesty's servants.

The Earl of Chatham. "I rise to give my hearty assent to the motion made by the noble Duke; by his Grace's favor, I have been permitted to see it, before it was offered to the House. I have fully considered the necessity of obtaining from the King's servants a communication of the papers described in the motion, and I am persuaded that the alarming state of facts, as well as the strength of reasoning, with which the noble Duke has urged, and enforced that necessity, must have been powerfully felt by your Lordships;—what I mean to say, upon this occasion, may seem perhaps to extend beyond the limits of the motion before us. But I flatter myself, my Lords, that if I am honored with your attention, it will appear that the meaning and object of this question are naturally connected with considerations of the most extensive national importance. For entering into such considerations, no season is improper; no occasion should be neglected. Something must be done, my Lords, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country. If not to save the state, my Lords, at least to mark out, and drag to public justice those servants of the Crown, by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great flourishing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home, as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my Lords, and should be given to the world, for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my Lords, nor is it intended by the motion, to impede, or embarrass a negociation, which we have been told is now in a prosperous train, and promises a happy conclusion."

Lord Weymouth. "I beg pardon for interrupting the noble Lord, but I think it necessary to remark to your Lordships, that I

have not said a single word tending to convey to your Lordships any information, or opinion, with regard to the state, or progress of the negociation—I did, with the utmost caution, avoid giving to your Lordships the least intimation upon that matter."

The Earl of Chatham. "I perfectly agree with the noble Lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing said by his Lordship. He expressed himself, as he always does, with moderation, and reserve, and with the greatest propriety;—it was another noble Lord, very high in office, who told us he understood that the negociation was in a favorable train."

The Earl of Hillsborough. "I did not make use of the word *train*. I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it signifies protraction, and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the present negociation."

The Earl of Chatham. "This is the second time that I have been interrupted. I submit it to your Lordships whether this be fair and candid treatment. I am sure it is contrary to the orders of the House, and a gross violation of decency and politeness. I listen to every noble Lord in this House with attention and respect. The noble Lord's design in interrupting me is as mean and unworthy, as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and disorderly. He flatters himself that, by breaking the thread of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my argument. But, my Lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded, let him answer me if he can.—As to the word, which he has denied, I still affirm that it was the one he made use of; but if he had used any other, I am sure every noble Lord will agree with me, that his meaning was exactly what I had expressed it. Whether he said course or train is indifferent.—He told your Lordships that the negociation was in a way that promised a happy, and honorable conclusion. His distinctions are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My Lords,—I do not understand the exalted tone assumed by that noble Lord. In the distress and weakness of this country, my Lords, and conscious as the ministry ought to be how much they have contri-

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buted to that distress and weakness, I think a tone of modesty, of submission, of humility would become them better; *quædam causæ modestiam desiderant.* Before this country they stand as the greatest criminals. Such I shall prove them to be; for I do not doubt of proving, to your Lordships' satisfaction, that since they have been entrusted with the conduct of the King's affairs, they have done every thing that they ought not to have done, and hardly any thing that they ought to have done.

"The noble Lord talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honor, as if *they* had been the complainants, as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us, what care had been taken of the English honor. My Lords, I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far as it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonored by a comparison of the English good faith with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My Lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchant, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with their merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negociate, and never met with an instance of candor or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After long experience of their want of candor and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive tone. On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain. Your Lordships well know what were the consequences of not following that advice. Since, however, for reasons unknown to me, it has been thought advisable to negociate with the Court of Spain, I should have conceived that the great and single object of such a negociation would have been, to obtain complete satisfaction for the injury done to the Crown and people of England. But, if I understand the noble Lord, the only object of the present

negociation is to find a salvo for the punctilious honor of the Spaniards. The absurdity of such an idea is of itself insupportable. But, my Lords, I object to our negociating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negociate. A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in *statu quo?* If that had been done, it might then perhaps have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the Crown of England. But will you descend so low? will you so shamefully betray the King's honor, as to make it matter of negociation whether his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not? I doubt not, my Lords, that there are some important mysteries in the conduct of this affair, which, whenever they are explained, will account for the profound silence now observed by the King's servants. The time will come, my Lords, when they shall be dragged from their concealments. There are some questions which, sooner or later, must be answered. The ministry, I find, without declaring themselves explicitly, have taken pains to possess the public with an opinion, that the Spanish court have constantly disavowed the proceedings of their governor; and some persons, I see, have been shameless and daring enough to advise his Majesty to support and countenance this opinion in his speech from the throne. Certainly, my Lords, there never was a more odious, a more infamous falsehood imposed on a great nation—it degrades the King's honor—it is an insult to Parliament. His Majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an absolute falsehood. I beg your Lordships' attention, and I hope I shall be understood, when I repeat, that the court of Spain's having disavowed the act of their governor is an absolute, a palpable falsehood. Let me ask, my Lords, when the first communication was made by the Court of Madrid of their being apprised of their taking Falkland's Islands, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor? If it was not, they have adopted

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the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the King's dignity. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft; in vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

"If your Lordships will look back to a period of the English history, in which the circumstances are reversed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will see how differently *they* succeeded: you will see one of the ablest men, one of the bravest officers whom this or any other country ever produced, (it is hardly necessary to mention the name of Sir Walter Raleigh,) sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne to the vindictive jealousy of that haughty court. James the First was base enough, at the instance of Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against Sir Walter Raleigh, for another supposed offence, to be carried into execution almost twelve years after it had been passed. This was the pretence. His real crime was, that he had mortally offended the Spaniards, whilst he acted by the King's express orders, and under his commission.

"My Lords, the pretended disavowal by the Court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is false. If your Lordships want any other proof, call for your own officers who were stationed at Falkland's Island. Ask the officer who commanded the garrison whether, when he was summoned to surrender, the demand was made in the name of the governor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catholic Majesty? Was the island said to belong to Don Francisco Buccarelli, or to the King of Spain? If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764 or 1765. Will the ministry assert, that in all that time, the Spanish court have never once claimed them? that their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to our ministry? If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims. For five years they negociate; when that fails, they take the island by force. If that measure had arisen out of the general instructions constantly given to the governor of

Buenos Ayres, why should the execution of it have been deferred so long?

"My Lords, if the falsehood of this pretended disavowal had been confined to the Court of Spain, I should have admitted it without concern. I should have been content that they themselves had left a door open for excuse and accommodation. The King of England's honor is not touched till he adopts the falsehood, delivers it to his Parliament, and makes it his own. I cannot quit this subject without comparing the conduct of the present ministry with that of a gentleman[e] now no more. The occasions were similar.—The French had taken a little island from us called Turk's Island. The minister, then at the head of the Treasury, took the business upon himself, but he did not negociate: he sent for the French Ambassador and made a peremptory demand. A courier was despatched to Paris, and returned in a few days with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island but of every thing that the English subjects had lost[f].

[e] Mr. George Grenville.

[f] The state of the fact was as follows:—In the year 1764, when intelligence arrived in England that the French had seized Turk's Island, a debate arose in the British Council upon the measures necessary to be taken with France upon that occasion. The whole Council, with one exception, advised a remonstrance to the French Court, under the apprehension that more decided measures might precipitate us into a war. The one who ventured to differ from all the rest was the Right Hon. George Grenville. He urged the necessity of a spirited conduct as the only means of preserving the peace: he argued that France, who was unable to continue the late war, was equally incapable of beginning another: he contended that if we did not immediately shew a spirited and warm resentment of her behaviour on this occasion, she would certainly repeat her insults, and accompany them with language that her pride would oblige her to support, and thus silence or tameness on our side would infallibly lead to a rupture. Upon this, the two Secretaries of State, (Lord Halifax and Lord Sandwich,) committed the whole negociation to Mr. Grenville. He accordingly sent for Count Guerchy, the French Ambassador at the British Court. In a short conversation which immediately ensued upon the subject, Mr. Grenville told the Ambassador in plain terms, that the French forces which had invaded and seized Turk's Island must immediately depart, and restore it to the quiet possession of the English. The Ambassador, in excusing the conduct of his Court, said, that the King, his master, had claims upon the island, and that he was ready to enter into a negociation upon them. To which the English Minister peremptorily answered, "whatever claims you have, set them up, we will hear them. But first, the island must and shall be restored. We will not

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"Such, then, my Lords, are the circumstances of our difference with Spain; and, in this situation, we are told that a negociation has been entered into, that this negociation, which must have commenced nearly three months ago, is still depending, and that any insight into the actual state of it will impede the conclusion. My Lords, I am not, for my own part, very anxious to draw from the ministry the information which they take so much care to conceal from us. I very well know where this honorable negociation *will* end, where it *must* end. We may, perhaps, be able to patch up an accommodation for the present, but we shall have a Spanish war in six months. Some of your Lordships may, perhaps, remember the convention. For several successive years our merchants had been plundered—no protection given them—no redress obtained for them;—during all that time we were contented to complain and to negociate;—the Court of Madrid were then as ready to disown their officers, and as unwilling to punish them as they are at present. Whatever violence happened was always laid to the charge of one or other of their West India Governors. To-day it was the Governor of Cuba, to-morrow of Porto Rico, Carthagena, or Porto Bello. If in a particular instance, redress was promised, how was that promise kept? The merchant who had been robbed of his property was sent to the West Indies, to get it, if he could, out of

hear of any claims or negociation while the island is in the hands of the French King. It is preposterous to seize the island, and then talk of a negociation about claims. When the island is restored to his Britannic Majesty, then, and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or admitted." He concluded in a firm and determined manner to this effect. "Sir, I will wait nine days for your answer, in which time you may send and receive advice from your Court, whether the King will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turk's Island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the English or not: and if I do not receive your answer at the end of nine days, the fleet that is now lying at Portsmouth shall sail directly to the island and reinstate it in the possession of the King of Great Britain." The Ambassador took his leave, and soon after returned to shew the British Minister the despatches he had prepared upon the occasion. Mr. Grenville gave him leave to insert the conversation that had passed between them. On the sixth day, a copy of the orders signed by the French King, to restore the island to the English, arrived in London.

Similar to this was the measure, and the success of it, adopted by the same Minister towards the Spaniards, who had driven our settlers from Honduras.

an empty chest. At last the convention was made; but, though approved by a majority of both Houses, was received by the nation with universal discontent[g]. I myself heard that wise man (Sir Robert Walpole) say in the House of Commons, 'Tis true we have got a convention and a vote of Parliament; but what signifies it, we shall have a Spanish war upon the back of our convention.—Here, my Lords, I cannot help mentioning a very striking observation made to me by a noble Lord[h] since dead. His abilities did honor to this House and to this nation. In the upper departments of government he had not his equal; and I feel a pride in declaring, that to his patronage, to his friendship, and instruction, I owe whatever I am.—This great man has often observed to me that, in all the negociations which preceded the convention, our ministers never found out that there was no ground or subject for any negociation. That the Spaniards had not a right to search our ships, and when they attempted to regulate that right by treaty, they were regulating a thing which did not exist. This I take to be something like the case of the ministry. The Spaniards have seized an island to which they have no right, and his Majesty's servants make it matter of negociation, whether his dominions shall be restored to him or not.

"From what I have said, my Lords, I do not doubt but it will be understood by many Lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My Lords, I disclaim such counsels, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered—Let us have peace, my Lords, but let it be honorable, let it be secure. A patched-up peace will not do. It will not satisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by Parliament. I distinguish widely between a solid peace and the disgraceful expedients by which a war may be deferred, but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effusion of human blood as the noble Lord who dwelt so long

[g] See the speech of his Lordship (then Mr. Pitt) upon the Spanish convention, delivered thirty years before this time. Vol. I. Chap. 2.

[h] Lord Granville.

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upon the miseries of war. If the bloody politics of some noble Lords had been followed, England, and every quarter of his Majesty's dominions would have been glutted with blood—the blood of our own countrymen.

"My Lords, I have better reasons, perhaps, than many of your Lordships for desiring peace upon the terms I have described. I know the strength and preparation of the House of Bourbon; I know the defenceless, unprepared condition of this country. I know not by what mismanagement we are reduced to this situation; and when I consider, who are the men by whom a war, in the outset at least, must be conducted, can I but wish for peace?—Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence—they had intelligence: I know they had. If they had not, they are criminal; and their excuse is their crime.—But I will tell these young ministers the true source of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity to compare causes and effects; to judge of the present state of things, and discern the future by a careful review of the past.—Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every Prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived. In the present situation of affairs, I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumstances; and with respect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and useless. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakness of this country, as any of the King's servants.—This is no time for silence, or reserve. I charge the ministers with the highest crimes that men in their stations can be guilty of. I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having betrayed, and delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.

"Their utmost vigour has reached no farther than to a fruitless, protracted negociation. When they should have acted, they have contented themselves with talking *about it, Goddess, and about it*—If

we do not stand forth, and do our duty in the present crisis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I despise the little policy of concealments. You ought to know the whole of your situation. If the information be new to the ministry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouse, to alarm the whole nation—to rouse the ministry, if possible, who seem awake to nothing but the preservation of their places—to awaken the King.

"Early in the last spring, a motion was made in Parliament, for enquiring into the state of the navy, and an augmentation of six thousand seamen was offered to the ministry. They refused to give us any insight into the condition of the Navy, and rejected the augmentation. Early in June they received advice of a commencement of hostilities by a Spanish armament, which had warned the King's garrison to quit an island belonging to his Majesty. From that time to the 12th September, as if nothing had happened, they lay dormant. Not a man was raised, not a single ship put into commission. From the 12th September, when they heard of the first blow being actually struck, we are to date the beginning of their preparations for defence. Let us now enquire, my Lords, what expedition they have used, what vigour they have exerted. We have heard wonders of the diligence employed in impressing, of the large bounties offered, and the number of ships put into commission. These have been, for some time past, the constant topics of ministerial boast and triumph. Without regarding the description, let us look to the substance. I tell your Lordships that, with all this vigour and expedition, they have not, in a period of considerably more than two months, raised ten thousand seamen. I mention that number, meaning to speak largely, though in my own breast, I am convinced that the number does not exceed eight thousand. But it is said they have ordered forty ships of the line into commission. My Lords, upon this subject I can speak with knowledge—I have been conversant in these matters, and draw my information from the greatest and most respectable naval authority that ever existed in this country—I mean the late Lord Anson. The merits of that great man are not so universally known, nor his memory

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so warmly respected as he deserved. To his wisdom, to his experience, and care, (and I speak it with pleasure,) the nation owes the glorious naval successes of the last war. The state of facts laid before Parliament in the year 1756 so entirely convinced me of the injustice done to his character, that in spite of the popular clamors raised against him, in direct opposition to the complaints of the merchants, and of the whole city, (whose favor I am supposed to court upon all occasions,) I replaced him at the head of the admiralty; and I thank God that I had resolution enough to do so. Instructed by this great seaman, I do affirm that forty ships of the line, with their necessary attendant frigates, to be properly manned, require forty thousand seamen. If your Lordships are surprised at this assertion, you will be more so, when I assure you, that in the last war, this country maintained 85,000 seamen, and employed them all. Now, my Lords, the peace establishment of your navy, supposing it complete and effective, (which by the by ought to be known,) is sixteen thousand men. Add to these the number newly raised, and you have about twenty-five thousand men to man your fleet. I shall come presently to the application of this force, such as it is, and compare it with the services, which I know are indispensable. But first, my Lords, let us have done with the boasted vigour of the ministry. Let us hear no more of their activity. If your Lordships will recal to your minds the state of this country when Mahon was taken, and compare what was done by government at that time, with the efforts now made in very similar circumstances, you will be able to determine what praise is due to the vigorous operations of the present ministry. Upon the first intelligence of the invasion of Minorca, a great fleet was equipped, and sent out; and near double the number of seamen collected in half the time taken to fit out the present force, which pitiful as it is, is not yet, if the occasion were ever so pressing, in a condition to go to sea. Consult the returns, which were laid before Parliament in the year 1756. I was one of those who urged a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the ministry. That ministry, my Lords, in the midst of universal censure and reproach, had honor and virtue enough to

promote the enquiry themselves. They scorned to evade it by the mean expedient of putting a previous question. Upon the strictest enquiry it appeared, that the diligence they had used in sending a squadron to the Mediterranean, and in their other naval preparations, was beyond all example[i].

"My Lords, the subject on which I am speaking seems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occasion to declare my opinion upon a question, on which much wicked pains have been employed to disturb the minds of the people, and to distress Government.—My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myself clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the English navy will acknowledge, that without impressing it is impossible to equip a respectable fleet within the time in which such armaments are usually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the necessity of arming upon a sudden emergency should appear incontrovertible, what shall we think of those men, who, in the moment of danger, would stop the great defence of their country. Upon whatever principle they may act, the act itself is more than faction—it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to support any motion that may be made for bringing those aldermen, who have endeavoured to stop the execution of the Admiralty warrants, to the bar of this House. My Lords, I do not rest my opinion merely upon necessity. I am satisfied that the power of impressing is founded upon uninterrupted usage. It is the *consuetudo regni*, and part of the common-law prerogative of the Crown. When I condemn the proceedings of some persons upon this occasion, let me do justice to a man, whose character and conduct have been infamously traduced; I mean the late Lord Mayor, Mr. Trecothick. In the midst of reproach and clamor, he had firmness enough to persevere

[i] The strongest minds are sometimes warped by their feelings.—I must own that I think Lord Chatham's prejudices influenced him in making this declaration. The subject is considered in vol. i. Chap. X.

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in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magistrate, nor in private life a worthier man.

"Permit me now, my Lords, to state to your Lordships the extent and variety of the service which must be provided for, and to compare them with our apparent resources. A due attention to, and provision for, these services, is prudence in time of peace; in war it is necessity. Preventive policy, my Lords, which obviates or avoids the injury, is far preferable to that vindictive policy, which aims at reparation, or has no object but revenge. The precaution that meets the disorder is cheap and easy; the remedy which follows it, bloody and expensive. The first great and acknowledged object of national defence, in this country, is to maintain such a superior naval force at home, that even the united fleets of France and Spain may never be masters of the Channel. If that should ever happen, what is there to hinder their landing in Ireland, or even upon our own coast? They have often made the attempt: in King William's time it succeeded. King James embarked on board a French fleet, and landed with a French army in Ireland. In the mean time the French were masters of the Channel, and continued so until their fleet was destroyed by Admiral Russel. As to the probable consequences of a foreign army landing either in Great Britain or Ireland, I shall offer your Lordships my opinion when I speak of the actual condition of our standing army.

"The second naval object with an English minister should be to maintain at all times a powerful western squadron. In the profoundest peace it should be respectable; in war it should be formidable. Without it, the colonies, the commerce, the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the mercy of the House of Bourbon. While *I* had the honor of acting with Lord Anson, that able officer never ceased to inculcate upon the minds of his Majesty's servants the necessity of constantly maintaining a strong western squadron; and I must vouch for him, that while *he* was at the head of the marine it was never neglected.

"The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribu-

tion of our navy, is to maintain such a force in the Bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca. The ministry will not betray such want of information as to dispute the truth of any of these propositions. But how will your Lordships be astonished, when I inform you in what manner they have provided for these great, these essential objects! As to the first, I mean the defence of the Channel, I take upon myself to affirm to your Lordships, that, at this hour, (and I beg that the date may be taken down and observed,) we cannot send out eleven ships of the line so manned and equipped that any officer of rank and credit in the service shall accept of the command and stake his reputation upon it. We have one ship of the line at Jamaica, one at the Leeward Islands, and one at Gibraltar; yet, at this very moment, for aught the ministry know, both Jamaica and Gibraltar may be attacked; and if they are attacked, (which God forbid,) they must fall. Nothing can prevent it but the appearance of a superior squadron. It is true that, some two months ago, four ships of the line were ordered from Portsmouth, and one from Plymouth, to carry a relief from Ireland to Gibraltar. These ships, my Lords, a week ago were still in port. If, upon their arrival at Gibraltar, they should find the Bay possessed by a superior squadron, the relief cannot be landed; and if it could be landed, of what force do your Lordships think it consists? Two regiments, of four hundred men each, at a time like this, are sent to secure a place of such importance as Gibraltar! a place which it is universally agreed cannot hold against a vigorous attack from the sea, if once the enemy should be so far masters of the Bay as to make good a landing even with a moderate force. The indispensable service of the lines requires at least four thousand men. The present garrison consists of about two thousand three hundred; so that, if the relief should be fortunate enough to get on shore, they will want eight hundred men of their necessary complement.

"Let us now, my Lords, turn our eyes homewards. When the defence of Great Britain or Ireland is in question, it is no longer a

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point of honor; it is not the security of foreign commerce, or foreign possessions; we are to contend for the very being of the state. I have good authority to assure your Lordships that the Spaniards have now a fleet at Ferrol, completely manned and ready to sail, which we are in no condition to meet. We could not this day send out eleven ships of the line properly equipped, and to-morrow the enemy may be masters of the channel. It is unnecessary to press the consequences of these facts upon your Lordships' minds. If the enemy were to land in full force, either upon this coast or in Ireland, where is your army? where is your defence? My Lords, if the House of Bourbon make a wise and vigorous use of the actual advantages they have over us, it is more than probable that on this day month we may not be a nation. What military force can the ministry shew to answer any sudden demand? I do not speak of foreign expeditions or offensive operations. I speak of the interior defence of Ireland, and of this country. You have a nominal army of seventy battalions, besides guards and cavalry. But what is the establishment of these battalions? Supposing they were complete to the numbers allowed, (which I know they are not,) each regiment would consist of something less than four hundred men, rank and file. Are these battalions complete? Have any orders been given for an augmentation, or do the ministry mean to continue them upon their present low establishment? When America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Minorca are taken care of, consider, my Lords, what part of this army will remain to defend Ireland and Great Britain? This subject, my Lords, leads me to considerations of foreign policy and foreign alliance. It is more connected with them than your Lordships may at first imagine. When I compare the numbers of our people, estimated highly at seven millions, with the population of France and Spain, usually computed at twenty-five millions, I see a clear self-evident impossibility for this country to contend with the united power of the House of Bourbon, merely upon the strength of its own resources. They who talk of confining a great war to naval operations only, speak without knowledge or experience. We can no more command

the disposition than the events of a war. Wherever we are attacked, there we must defend.

"I have been much abused, my Lords, for supporting a war, which it has been the fashion to call *my* German war. But I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that that abuse has been thrown upon me by men, who were either unacquainted with facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting them. I shall speak plainly and frankly to your Lordships upon this, as I do upon every occasion. That I did in Parliament oppose, to the utmost of my power, our engaging in a German war, is most true; and if the same circumstance were to recur, I would act the same part, and oppose it again. But when I was called upon to take a share in the administration, that measure was already decided. Before I was appointed Secretary of State, the first treaty with the King of Prussia was signed, and not only ratified by the Crown, but approved of and confirmed by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. It was a weight fastened upon my neck. By that treaty, the honor of the Crown and the honor of our nation were equally engaged. How I could recede from such an engagement; how I could advise the Crown to desert a great prince in the midst of those difficulties, in which a reliance upon the good faith of this country had contributed to involve him, are questions I willingly submit to your Lordships' candor. That wonderful man might, perhaps, have extricated himself from his difficulties without our assistance. He has talents, which, in every thing that touches the human capacity, do honor to the human mind. But how would England have supported that reputation of credit and good faith, by which we have been distinguished in Europe? What other foreign power would have sought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us [k]?

"But, my Lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do

[k] These are the grounds upon which I have defended Mr. Pitt's conduct in the year 1757, see chapter XI.

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not admit that alliances with some of the German princes are either detrimental or useless. They *may be*, my Lords, not only useful, but necessary. I hope, indeed, I shall never see an army of foreign auxiliaries in Great Britain; we do not want it. If our people are united; if they are attached to the King and place a confidence in his government, we have an internal strength sufficient to repel any foreign invasion. With respect to Ireland, my Lords, I am not of the same opinion. If a powerful foreign army were landed in that kingdom, with arms ready to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholics, I declare freely to your Lordships, that I should heartily wish it were possible to collect twenty thousand German protestants, whether from Hesse, or Brunswick, or Wolfenbuttle, or even the unpopular Hanoverian, and land them in Ireland. I wish it, my Lords, because I am convinced, that, whenever the case happens, we shall have no English army to spare.

"I have taken a wide circuit, my Lords; and trespassed, I fear, too long upon your Lordships' patience. Yet I cannot conclude without endeavouring to bring home your thoughts to an object more immediately interesting to us than any I have yet considered; I mean the internal condition of this country. We may look abroad for wealth, or triumphs, or luxury; but England, my Lords, is the main stay, the last resort of the whole empire. To this point every scheme of policy, whether foreign or domestic, should ultimately refer. Have any measures been taken to satisfy or to unite the people? Are the grievances they have so long complained of removed? or do they stand not only unredressed, but aggravated? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body? My Lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independence, which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freeholders of England as in a common cause. Believe me, my Lords, we mistake our real interests as much as our duty, when we separate ourselves from the mass of the people. Can it be expected that Englishmen will unite

heartily in defence of a government, by which they feel themselves insulted and oppressed? Restore them to their rights; that is the true way to make them unanimous. It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the throne, that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That insipid annual opiate has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done.

"The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the rights of the constitution; it calls loudly for the interposition of Parliament. There is a set of men, my Lords, in the City of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless—upon that part of the community which stands most in need of, and best deserves the care and protection of legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change-alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honor of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *monied interest*; I mean that blood-sucker, that muckworm, which calls itself the friend of government—that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration—that advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of commissaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny that, even with these creatures some management may be necessary. I hope, my Lords, that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the honest, industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs that he prefers law and liberty to gold. I love that class of men. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose

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liberal commerce is the prime source of national wealth. I esteem his occupation and respect his character.

"My Lords, if the general representation which I have had the honor to lay before you of the situation of public affairs, has, in any measure, engaged your attention, your Lordships, I am sure, will agree with me, that the season calls for more than common prudence and vigor in the direction of our councils. The difficulty of the crisis demands a wise, a firm, and a popular administration. The dishonorable traffic of places has engaged us too long. Upon this subject, my Lords, I speak without interest or enmity. I have no personal objection to any of the King's servants. I shall never be Minister; certainly not without full power to cut away all the rotten branches of government. Yet, unconcerned as I truly am for myself, I cannot avoid seeing some capital errors in the distribution of the royal favor. There are men, my Lords, who, if their own services were forgotten, ought to have an hereditary merit with the House of Hanover, whose ancestors stood forth in the day of trouble, opposed their persons and fortunes to treachery and rebellion, and secured to his Majesty's family this splendid power of rewarding. There are other men, my Lords, *(looking sternly at Lord Mansfield,)* who, to speak tenderly of them, were not quite so forward in the demonstrations of their zeal to the reigning family; there was another cause, my Lords, and a partiality to it, which some persons had not, at all times, discretion enough to conceal. I know I shall be accused of attempting to revive distinctions. My Lords, if it were possible, I would abolish all distinctions. I would not wish the favors of the Crown to flow invariably in one channel. But there are some distinctions which are inherent in the nature of things. There is a distinction between right and wrong—between Whig and Tory.

"When I speak of an administration, such as the necessity of the season calls for, my views are large and comprehensive.—It must be popular, that it may begin with reputation.—It must be strong within itself, that it may proceed with vigor and decision. An administration formed upon an exclusive system of family connexions or

private friendships, cannot, I am convinced, be long supported in this country. Yet, my Lords, no man respects, or values more than I do, that honorable connexion which arises from a disinterested concurrence in opinion upon public measures, or from the sacred bond of private friendship and esteem. What I mean is, that no single man's private friendships or connexions, however extensive, are sufficient of themselves either to form or overturn an administration.—With respect to the ministry, I believe, they have fewer rivals than they imagine. No prudent man will covet a situation so beset with difficulty and danger.

"I shall trouble your Lordships with but a few words more. His Majesty tells us in his speech, that he will call upon us for our advice, if it should be necessary in the farther progress of this affair. —It is not easy to say whether or no the ministry are serious in this declaration; nor what is meant by the *progress* of an affair which rests upon one fixed point. Hitherto we have not been called upon. —But, though we are not consulted, it is our right and duty, as the King's great hereditary council, to offer him our advice.—The papers, mentioned in the noble Duke's motion, will enable us to form a just and accurate opinion of the conduct of his Majesty's servants, though not of the actual state of their honorable negociations. The ministry too seem to want advice upon some points, in which their own safety is immediately concerned. They are now balancing between a war which they ought to have foreseen, but for which they have made no provision, and an ignominious compromise.—Let me warn them of their danger.—If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads. If, by an ignominious compromise, they should stain the honor of the Crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their consciences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety."

The Duke of Richmond's motion was negatived by a great majority[1].

[1] By 65 against 21.

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The suspicion with which Lord Chatham, both as a senator and a minister, seems ever to have regarded the conduct of Spain, must be apparent to the reader. One of the most eloquent and animated speeches he ever delivered in Parliament is that upon the Spanish convention. In that speech are many expressions extremely similar to those he employed thirty years afterwards in the one which is before us. In both speeches we are struck by the impassioned language of a patriot burning with indignation at the thoughts of his country's dishonor. Both are masterpieces of their kind, and display the astonishing powers of the English Demosthenes: but the latter speech is not to be considered only as a brilliant specimen of eloquence. It is the luminous and forcible statement of the most successful minister that ever England possessed upon subjects of the most vital importance—the naval and military establishments of the country. Whatever change may have taken place in the situation of Great Britain within these last fifty years, the subjects considered in this speech must render it an object of consideration to present and succeeding statesmen.

The circumstances relative to the farther negociation with the court of Spain upon the subject of the Falkland Islands have been so amply detailed that I do not intend to repeat them [m]. I shall merely

[m] Annual Register for 1771. Adolphus's History of England, vol. i. page 421. See also Dr. Johnson's pamphlet. In this publication Dr. Johnson attacks, with more courage than force, the greatest orator, and the most popular writer of the day—Lord Chatham and Junius. After supporting, at some length, the conduct of administration with regard to the Falkland Islands he alludes to Lord Chatham in the following unworthy manner: "This surely is a sufficient answer to the feudal gabble of a man who is every day lessening that splendor of character which once illuminated the kingdom, then dazzled, and afterwards inflamed it; and for whom it will be happy if the nation shall at last dismiss him to nameless obscurity, with that equipoise of blame and praise which Corneille allows to Richelieu, a man who, I think, had much of his merit, and many of his faults.

"'Chacun parle à son gré de ce grand cardinal,
Mais pour moi je n'en dirai rien;
Il m'a fait trop de bien pour en dire du mal,
Il m'a fait trop de mal pour en dire du bien.'"

observe that the repugnance of Louis the Fifteenth to involve himself in a fresh war induced the King of Spain to comply with the requisitions of the British government; to disown the conduct of Buccarelli, and to restore the island [n]. Had Louis supported the pretensions of the court of Madrid, and entered into the designs of his own minister Choiseul, the declaration of Lord Chatham in November would certainly have been verified, and a Spanish war, within six months, would have ensued.

[n] It was however evacuated, three years afterwards, by the British forces.

CHAPTER XXV.

1770.

Lord Mansfield's directions to the Jury in the case of Woodfall—Lord Chatham makes another Motion relative to the Middlesex Election—Animadverts severely upon Lord Mansfield—Attack of Nerva *upon Lord Chatham—Defence by* Phalaris—*Tumultuous proceedings in the House of Lords—Protest of certain Peers against the Negociation with Spain—Proceedings of the House of Commons—Lord Chatham continues to bring forward Motions regarding the Middlesex Election—He is panegyrised by Junius—His Speech upon the Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters—His bodily Infirmities oblige him to withdraw from Public Life—His Domestic conduct—His Family—Poetical Invitation to, and Answer from, Mr. Garrick—Lord Chatham sends his second Son, the celebrated William Pitt, to Cambridge—His Letter to his Son—Death of Lord Lyttleton—Lord Chatham's eldest Daughter is married to Lord Mahon.*

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THE attention excited by the letters of Junius were by no means confined to the subjects discussed in those celebrated productions. They gave rise to other considerations of great national importance. In the summer of the year 1770, Woodfall, the editor of the Public Advertiser, and Almon, the editor of the London Museum, were respectively prosecuted, the first for printing, the second for republishing, the 35th letter, addressed to the King. The verdict against Woodfall was, *Guilty of printing and publishing only.* Two motions were made in this case: the first by the defendant, to stay the entering up of judgment upon the verdict; the second by the Attorney-General, for entering a verdict according to the legal import of the

finding by the jury. With respect to the latter motion, the jury were directed by Lord Mansfield, in terms which they must have had some difficulty in comprehending, "to consider whether all the innuendos, and all the applications to matter and persons, made by the information, were the true meaning of the paper. If they thought otherwise they were to acquit the defendant; but if they agreed with the information, and believed the evidence as to the publication, they were to find him guilty. Whether the paper was in law a libel, was a question of law upon the face of the record, for, after conviction, a defendant might move in arrest of judgment if the paper was not a libel. The epithets in the information were formal inferences of law, from printing and publishing. No proof of express malice was ever required, and it is, in most cases, impossible to be given. Where an act, in itself indifferent, if done with particular intent, becomes criminal, there the intent must be proved and found. But where the act is itself unlawful, as in this case, the proof of justification lies on the defendant, and, in failure thereof, the law implies a criminal intent." The court concurred with Lord Mansfield in this opinion, but from the doubtful meaning of the word *only*, in the verdict, a new trial was ordered.

The sentiments delivered by Lord Mansfield, upon this and similar occasions, were considered by Lord Chatham as highly dangerous; as encroaching upon the constitutional rights of juries; as contrary to law, repugnant to practice, and injurious to the liberties of the people. Lord Chatham was determined to seize the first proper opportunity of animadverting upon the opinion of the Chief Justice. On the 28th November, his Lordship, with his characteristic perseverance, again brought forward the, apparently hopeless, subject of the Middlesex election. He then moved, "That the capacity to be chosen a representative of the Commons in Parliament, being, under known restrictions and limitations of law, an original inherent right of the subject, may be cognizable by law, and is a matter wherein the jurisdiction of the House of Commons, (though unappealable as to the seat of their member,) is not final or conclusive."

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His Lordship[a] enlarged upon all the points of the Middlesex election. He urged the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, as a measure that would give universal satisfaction: that any possible quarrel between the two Houses of Parliament would produce no worse consequences than in the year 1704. It was a point he contended that ought to be determined: the liberty of the subject, the right of election, were invaded by an arbitrary vote of the other House, which, although only one branch of the legislature, had assumed the power of the whole. The people neither had, nor could have any confidence in a House of Commons which had committed so flagrant a violation of their dearest right. The present House of Commons were become odious in the eye of the present age, and their memory would be detested by posterity. The substitution of Colonel Luttrell for Mr. Wilkes, he insisted, demanded the severest punishment—required a dissolution.

"Towards the conclusion of his speech, his Lordship made a digression, to introduce another grievance, which, he said, he was informed prevailed in the courts of law, respecting juries in the case of libels, and the judgment of the court which followed. He conceived the direction of the judge, not formerly, but lately given to juries, to be dangerous and unconstitutional, and the judgment of the court, in many cases, to have been cruel and vindictive. The matter of libel—of public libel—was generally a *political* matter; and the question, whether a paper was a libel or not, was not a question of *law*, but a question of *politics*, in which ministers indulged their passion of revenge, and the courts of law became their instruments of gratification."

The speech assigned to Lord Mansfield in answer to Lord Chatham, is very cautiously expressed. His Lordship contended that directions to juries had never till now been called in question. He said that he had always directed a jury to judge of what appeared by the

[a] These and the following speeches in this chapter are taken from Debrett, some corrections being made resulting from a comparison with the report of them given in the "Anecdotes of the Life and Speeches of Lord Chatham," and the addition of the speech for the relief of Protestant Dissenters.—*See Debrett*, Vol. V. page 359.

evidence in court, both respecting the publication and respecting the justification of any libel. He concluded with paying a high compliment to Lord Chatham, for asserting, as he had lately done, the legality of press-warrants [b].

Lord Chatham replied, that if he conceived the noble Lord on the woolsack right, his doctrine was, "That a libel, or not a libel, was a matter of law, and was to be decided by the Bench; and the question to be left to the jury, to determine, was only the fact of printing and publishing:" to this Lord Mansfield assented. Lord Chatham then expressed his astonishment, declaring that he had never understood that to be the law of England, and expressed his wish, that a day might be appointed for an *enquiry* into the conduct of the judges who had advanced such a doctrine. His Lordship observed, that in a late case it was declared from the Bench, that if the verdict, instead of guilty of printing and publishing *only*, had been guilty of printing and publishing without the word *only*, the officer of the court would have entered it on the record *guilty*.

The observations of Lord Chatham, and those of several members of the House of Commons, upon the courts of law, respecting libels, occasioned Lord Mansfield to move, that the House of Lords might be summoned on Monday the 11th of December. It was universally supposed that Lord Mansfield then intended to enter fully upon the subject; but, when the day arrived, he merely told their Lordships that he had left a paper with the clerk for their perusal [c].

Upon this, Lord Chatham rose and said, "That the verdict of the jury, in the case to which the paper alluded, was 'guilty of printing and publishing *only*.' Two motions had been made in the court upon this verdict; one, in arrest of judgment by the defendant, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict—the other by the counsel of the Crown, to enter up the verdict according to the legal import.

[b] The reason, which Junius assigns to Lord Mansfield for bestowing this praise, is as ingenious as it is malignant.—*See Junius, letter 59.*

[c] This paper contained the judgment of the Court of King's Bench in the case of the King against Woodfall.

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On both motions a rule to shew cause was granted, and in a short time after the matter was argued before the Court. The noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of the Court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made from either side for a new trial; because either a verdict given contrary to *evidence*, or an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial: but when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict by entering it up according to the *legal* import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the record*; and the Court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the record, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record.* The noble Judge did travel out of the record. I affirm, therefore, that his conduct was irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented; and I am sure there is not a lawyer in England that will contradict me. His real motive for doing what he knew to be wrong was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public *extrajudicially*, that the other three Judges agreed with him in the doctrine laid down in the charge [d]."

Owing either to the shameful partiality of reporters to the opposition, in suppressing the speech, or to his actual silence, no answer is assigned to Lord Mansfield upon this occasion. Lord Camden enquired whether Lord Mansfield intended that his paper should be entered upon the journals. To which the latter answered that he merely wished it to be left with the clerk.

Thus ended the attempt to enquire into this most important question, much to the surprise, and greatly to the disappointment of the nation. It appears extraordinary and, indeed, inexplicable that Lord Mansfield, whose abilities and legal attainments were so profound,

[d] This speech is inserted by Junius in a note to the preface of his letters.

should have desired a call of the House upon such inadequate grounds. If the silence of the chief justice upon a subject so confessedly delicate were reasonable and becoming, similar motives ought surely to have suggested the imprudence of exciting the expectation of the country to a discussion in which he never intended to participate. The part which Lord Chatham took upon this occasion was consistent with his general conduct. He proved himself to be the manly asserter of what he believed to be right. However erroneous his opinions might be respecting the motives of Lord Mansfield, he boldly avowed them in the face of Parliament, and in the presence of the party whom he accused [e].

[e] His conduct, however, did not escape the most bitter animadversion. In a letter addressed to Lord Chatham, and inserted in the Public Advertiser by a writer who signed himself *Nerva*, the most violent attack was made upon his Lordship. The epithets *ignorant, malicious, brutal, and absurd* were repeatedly applied by *Nerva* to the illustrious Chatham. On the other hand, Lord Mansfield received, from the same writer, the most extravagant commendation. "To speak without a metaphor," says *Nerva*, in one part of his letter, "what demon, save the demon of malice, could inspire you with an objection to the fair, the equitable information which Lord Mansfield offered to the House? The proposal itself, the terms in which it was conceived, would have conciliated a barbarian; but your animosity is worse than a barbarian's, and betrays the principle from which it springs! In an *unprecedented, extrajudicial*, captious, and insidious manner, you had taken occasion to censure that great man's opinions in the court of justice where he presides. Though you endeavoured to take him by surprise, that you might catch at some unfair advantage from his answer, you were baffled and disappointed. He answered you with the noble simplicity of innocence, and the wisdom that never forsakes the *mens conscia recti*. He fairly stated his opinions, and the principles on which they were grounded, and, without recrimination, he threw down his glove to you, and to all, daring you to convict him of an error, upon fair and legal argument.

"He did more; to prevent that misrepresentation and misconstruction which might arise from words spoken, he delivered to the House the opinion given by him in court in the case alluded to, in writing; candidly and formally declaring that he meant to ground no motion upon it, but merely for the information of every member, that those who had not steeled their minds against conviction, might be convinced how falsely the censure had been made, and that your Lordship and your party might have a more open ground of objection to the doctrine which the writing contained.

"When I give this account of Lord Mansfield's reasons for submitting this paper to the House, I do wrong to the moderation of his expressions; but I speak to a man whose conscience tells him, that the distinction between him and those who are open to conviction, is but too well founded. Be that as it may, one would have thought you could wish for nothing more, than

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I have now to relate an occurrence in the House of Lords, by which a meeting at the lowest tavern would have been disgraced, and

that a person whose doctrines you arraigned should give them under his hand, and dare you to the trial of their truth. Instead of closing with the proposal, you rose up and objected to the delivery of the paper as informal; but it is no new thing with you, after you have made a malicious and groundless attack, when you see it likely to produce consequences, to shrink back, and shelter yourself under some pitiful evasion; catching at form, or any other twig, to save you from the effects of your own folly and ill-nature."

These and other assertions of *Nerva* were thus answered by *Junius*, under the signature of *Phalaris*, in a letter addressed to the printer of the Public Advertiser, in which Lord Mansfield is made to change places with Lord Chatham. "For what reason Lord Mansfield laid his paper upon the table, he best knows. He gave none to the House of Lords, except that he thought calling them together was the most compendious way of informing them where each Lord might, if he pleased, procure a copy of his charge to the jury in Woodfall's cause. This was the whole, for he made no motion whatsoever, nor did he pretend to say that in their corporate capacity as a House of Peers, they could take the least notice of the paper. Now, Sir, it remains with Lord Mansfield to give us an example, if he can, of any respectable Peer having ever moved for a call of the House, for so trifling, so nugatory, so ridiculous a purpose. I think it strongly deserves these epithets, and after much consideration I can find but one possible way of reconciling the fact with the cunning understanding of the man. When he summoned the House he never meant to do what he afterwards did. Some qualm, some terror intervened, and forced him hastily to alter his design, and to substitute a silly, absurd measure in the place of a dangerous one. As for his having dared Lord Chatham to a trial of his doctrines, I should be glad to know by whom the combat was refused. Lord Chatham attacked him directly upon the spot, and on the very next day it is known to the whole world, that the great Lord Camden addressed him in the following words: 'I consider the paper delivered in by the noble Lord upon the woolsack as a challenge directed personally to me and I accept it;—he has thrown down the glove, and I take it up. In direct contradiction to him, I maintain that his doctrine is not the law of England. I am ready to enter into the debate whenever the noble Lord will fix a day for it. I desire, and I insist that it may be an early one.' The devil's in it if this be declining the trial: but what was the consequence? Lord Mansfield, after an hour's shuffling and evasion, finding himself pushed to his last extremity, cried out in an agony of torture and despair—*No, I will not fix a day—I will not pledge myself.*

"As to Lord Chatham's declaration concerning the irregular production of Lord Mansfield's opinion in the court of King's Bench, I am sorry to say that your correspondent *Nerva* neither knows the fact, nor understands the argument. He talks of a judgment in a house where no judgment ever was given. Leaving, therefore, this poor man to his own unhappy reveries, let me state briefly to the public what was the fact, and what was the irregularity of the proceeding upon it. The verdict given at *Nisi Prius*, in the King v. Woodfall, was, *guilty of printing and publishing only*. A motion in arrest of judgment was made by the defendant's counsel grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict. At the same time a motion was made by the counsel for the Crown, for a rule upon the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not

which plainly proves that passion reduces men, whether clothed in ermine, or in the most abject garb of poverty, to the same disgraceful level.

The Duke of Manchester[f] having risen to make a motion relative to the state of the nation, spoke in strong terms of the supineness and inability of the administration. His Grace then adverted particularly to the state of Gibraltar and Minorca; the former of which, he said, was utterly defenceless—He was here interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the House might be cleared of all but those who had a right to sit there. There was a standing order of the House, he said, against the presence of every one who was not a Peer.

The standing order of the House was then read, when the Duke of Richmond rose, and defended what the Duke of Manchester had said, observing, that though it was very true that any Lord had a right to order the House to be cleared, yet that their doing it now would alarm the people, who would immediately suppose they were *afraid* their proceedings should be known. Immediately a violent outcry arose, and all became noise, clamour, and confusion.

Clear the House! Clear the House! were now the only sounds which were intelligible. Shocked at the indecency of the scene, and

be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both motions a rule to shew cause was granted, and soon after the matter was argued before the court of King's Bench. Lord Mansfield, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper had a motion been made on either side for a new trial, because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial; but when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the record;* and the court in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the record that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record.* Lord Mansfield did travel out of the record. I affirm, therefore, with Lord Chatham, that his conduct was *irregular, extrajudicial,* and *unprecedented,* and I am sure there is not a lawyer in England that will contradict me." See Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, vol. iii. p. 300. The latter part of this letter is almost a transcript from Lord Chatham's speech.

[f] George, fourth Duke of Manchester; born in 1737, died in 1788.

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hoping that some respect would be paid to his services and years, Lord Chatham now rose. But although his Lordship then presented the exact spectacle of what Virgil has described—the man illustrious and venerable addressing a furious assembly, the effect was far from corresponding with the poet's description. It could not be said:

> "Conspexere, silent, adrectisque auribus adstant;
> Iste regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet."

The form of the noble senator was beheld with indifference, and his words were uttered in vain. The tumult continued. Members of the House of Commons, as well as strangers, were compelled to withdraw by the personal interference of several of the younger peers. But Lord Chatham's nature was not easily to be overborne. After continuing to speak for some time without being able to command attention, he requested the Duke of Richmond to inform the Speaker that he desired to speak to the construction of the standing order. This appeal also was ineffectual. Not even the interposition of Lord Mansfield could restore order. The clamour and tumult increased. At length disgusted with the uproar, and wearied in attempting to subdue it, Lord Chatham declared that if he was to be denied the privilege of a Peer of Parliament in the exercise of free debate, his presence amongst them was unnecessary and absurd. He then, accompanied by about eighteen Lords, quitted the House with a dignity which never forsook him, and which was now heightened by the contrast which the conduct of others presented.

All restraint being removed by the retirement of Lord Chatham and his friends, the violence of the Lords soon reached its climax. A loud and general cry prevailed that the members of the House of Commons should instantly withdraw. Some of those members, however, firmly resisted this order, representing that they were then performing an act of duty, being in attendance with a bill. Notwithstanding this remonstrance they were obliged to retire, until their message was delivered. They then returned in a considerable body. But no sooner had they gone through the form of delivery than the

outcry for their departure was renewed, and without the option of quietly withdrawing being afforded, many were literally driven out of the House.

On the following day, a protest against these irregular proceedings was entered, and signed by sixteen of the seceding Lords, amongst whom was Lord Chatham. After much severe animadversion, the protest concluded thus: "We must consider this proceeding, (too manifestly premeditated and prepared,)to have been for no other purpose, than to preclude enquiry on the part of the Lords; and, under colour of concealing secrets of state, to hide from the public eye the unjustifiable and criminal neglects of the ministry, in not making sufficient and timely provision for the national honor and security.

"We therefore do now most solemnly protest against the whole of this irregular conduct, as tending to suppress that sober deliberation which ought to guide the proceedings of this House, and to substitute clamour and violence in the place of reason and argument."

The very day which gave rise to these tumults in the House of Lords, witnessed also similar proceedings, adopted by way of retaliation, on the part of the House of Commons. The misunderstanding between the Houses continued throughout the remainder of the session, preventing all intercourse between them, excepting upon necessary points of business, and effectually excluding the rest of the nation from both:

"—— Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

Of several speeches delivered by Lord Chatham upon the state of the nation, and upon the treaty with Spain relative to Falkland's Islands, no adequate reports have been preserved. His Lordship's name appears to a protest, signed by seventeen other Peers, against an address to the King relative to the Spanish negociation. This protest bears many marks of Lord Chatham's characteristic strength, and I have little doubt, that it was principally his own composition. The following extracts will, I think, confirm my remark:

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" Dissentient,

" I. Because it is highly unsuitable to the wisdom and gravity of this House, and to the respect which we owe to his Majesty and ourselves, to carry up to the Throne an address, approving the acceptance of an imperfect instrument, which has neither been previously authorised by any special full powers produced by the Spanish minister, nor been as yet ratified by the King of Spain. If the ratification on the part of Spain should be refused, the address of this House will appear no better than an act of precipitate adulation to ministers; which will justly expose the Peerage of the kingdom to the indignation of their country, and to the derision of all Europe."

* * * * * * * * * *

" VII. Because nothing has been had or demanded as a reparation in damage for the enormous expence and other inconveniences arising from the confessed and unprovoked violence of the Spanish forces in the enterprise against Falkland's Islands, and the long subsequent delay of justice; it was not necessary to this demand, that it should be made in any improper or offensive language, but in that style of accommodation which has ever been used by able negociators.

" VIII. Because an unparalleled and most audacious insult has been offered to the honor of the British flag, by the detention of a ship of war of his Majesty's for twenty days, after the surrender of Port Egmont, and by the indignity of forcibly taking away her rudder[g]; this act could not be supported upon any idea of being necessary to the reduction of the fort, nor was any such necessity pretended. No reparation in honor has been demanded for this wanton insult, by which his Majesty's reign is rendered the unhappy æra in which the honor of the British flag has suffered the first stain with entire impunity.

" IX. Because the Spanish Declaration, which our ministers have

[g] Captain Walsingham, in the House of Commons, said, with the blunt courage of an English seaman, " that if he had commanded the ship and Buccarelli himself had attempted to take off her rudder, he would have knocked off his head."

advised his Majesty to accept, does in general words imply his Majesty's disavowal of some acts on his part, tending to disturb the good correspondence of the two courts; when it is notorious, that no act of violence whatsoever had been committed on the part of Great Britain. By this disavowal of some implied aggression in the very declaration, pretended to be made for reparation of the injured dignity of Great Britain, his Majesty is made to admit a supposition contrary to truth, and injurious to the justice and honor of his Crown.

"X. Because in the said Declaration, the restitution is confined to Port Egmont, when Spain herself originally offered to cede Falkland's Islands; it is known that she made her forcible attack on pretence of title to the whole; and the restitution ought, therefore, not to have been confined to a part only, nor can any reason be assigned, why the restitution ought to have been made in narrower or more ambiguous words than the claims of Spain, on which her act of violence was grounded, and her offers of restitution originally made.

"XI. Because the Declaration, by which his Majesty is to obtain possession of Port Egmont, contains a reservation or condition of the question of a claim of prior right of sovereignty in the Catholic King to the whole of Falkland's Islands, being the first time such a claim has ever authentically appeared in any public instrument, jointly concluded on between the two Courts. No explanation of the principles of this claim has been required, although there is just reason to believe that these principles will equally extend to restrain the liberty, and confine the extent of British navigation. No counter claim has been made on the part of his Majesty to the right of sovereignty, in any part of the said island ceded to him; any assertion whatsoever of his Majesty's right of sovereignty has been studiously avoided, from the beginning to the accomplishment of this unhappy transaction; which, after the expense of millions, settles no contest, asserts no right, exacts no reparation, affords no security, but stands as a monument of reproach to the wisdom of the national councils, of dishonor to the essential dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and of disgrace to the hitherto untainted honor of the British flag.

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"After having given these reasons, founded on the facts which appeared from the papers, we think it necessary here to disclaim an invidious and injurious imputation, substituted in the place of fair argument, that they who will not approve of this Convention are for precipitating their country into the calamities of war: we are as far from the design, and we trust much farther from the act of kindling the flame of war, than those who have advised his Majesty to accept of the Declaration of the Spanish Ambassador.

"We have never entertained the least thought of invalidating this public act; but if ministers may not be censured, or even punished, for treaties which, though valid, are injurious to the national interest and honor, without a supposition of the breach of public faith in this House, that should censure or punish, or of a breach of the laws of humanity in those who propose such censure or punishment, the use of the Peers, as a control on ministers, and as the best, as well as highest, council of the Crown, will be rendered of no avail. We have no doubt but a declaration more adequate to our just pretensions, and to the dignity of the Crown, might have been obtained without the effusion of blood; not only from the favorable circumstances of the conjuncture, but because our just demands were no more than any sovereign power, which had injured another through inadvertence or mistake, ought, even from regard to its own honor, to have granted: and we are satisfied, that the obtaining such terms would have been the only sure means of establishing a lasting and honorable peace."

The period of which I am now treating is far from being one upon which the historian can dwell with satisfaction. The press poured forth torrents of abuse, as well upon the enemies as upon the adherents of government. Writers, who carefully concealed their own names, published those of the characters they attacked in the most open and shameless manner. But not only did individuals afford subjects of the coarsest censure and invective, the great branches of the legislation came in for their full share of abuse. Unhappily, the intemperate and vindictive conduct of the House of Commons

gave some colour to the reproaches with which it was assailed. We have seen in what strong language Lord Chatham condemned the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the Middlesex election, we shall find him equally severe upon their subsequent conduct. One frequent mode of party calumny, at this time, was the misrepresentation of parliamentary speeches in the newspapers, by which they were rendered either odious or absurd. A charge of this description was brought forward by Colonel Onslow against two printers, who were, in consequence, ordered to attend at the bar of the House of Commons. Refusing to comply with this order, directions were given to the Serjeant-at-Arms to take them into custody. That officer not being able to discover the delinquents, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward of fifty pounds for their apprehension. In the mean time, six other printers were commanded to appear before the House upon similar charges; five of them obeying, were reprimanded and dismissed, but the sixth, still disregarding the notice, was ordered to be taken into custody. Thompson and Wheble, the two printers who were first ordered to appear before the House, and Miller, the only one of the other six who had proved contumacious, being apprehended, were severally taken before the Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, and Brass Crosby, the Lord Mayor. Wheble was discharged by Alderman Wilkes, Thomson by Alderman Oliver, and the officers who had executed the warrants were required to give bail for their appearance at the next sessions, to stand their trial for assault and imprisonment. A similar line of conduct was observed by the Lord Mayor in the case of Miller. Intelligence of these transactions being brought by the Serjeant-at-Arms excited the indignation of the House of Commons. The question for the attendance of the Lord Mayor was carried by a great majority. Mr. Crosby defended his conduct upon the ground of his oath of office, which obliged him to defend inviolate the franchises of the city, one of which was, that by the charters, no citizen could have law process served against him, but by the city officers. Much delay now occurred, and frequent discussions arose upon the subject, both in Par-

CHAP. XXV. 1770. liament and amongst the people. The privileges of the House of Commons were every where debated, and very vague notions respecting them expressed. Mr. Trecothick's motion "that the Lord Mayor be heard by counsel," being rejected by a great majority, was again brought forward by the ministry, but so modified as to abrogate the indulgence which it professed to grant. At length, after much violent argument, in which the privilege of the House of Commons was advanced, even against chartered rights, and an act of Parliament by which they were sanctioned, the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver were committed to the tower. But whilst resentment, on the one hand, thus induced the House of Commons to overstep the bounds of a generous and sound policy, a want of firmness, on the other, be-

1771. trayed them into meanness and evasion. Whilst Crosby and Oliver were committed to the tower, the formidable Wilkes was allowed to escape with impunity. He was, in the first instance, summoned to repair to the House, but refused to attend in any other capacity than that of member for Middlesex. Apprehensive of exposing themselves by a farther contest with one whose previous opposition had occasioned them so much embarrassment and uneasiness, the ministry were induced to sacrifice the dignity of the House to their own particular convenience. They issued orders for Mr. Wilkes's appearance at the bar, on the 8th of April. Aware that he would not attend, they endeavoured to avert the insult by rendering his compliance impossible. They adjourned the House until the 9th of April, thus choosing to be absurd, rather than contemptible.

But with whatever justice Lord Chatham might condemn these proceedings, he laid himself open to a charge of inconsistency upon a question respecting that very House of Commons whose Conduct was the principal subject of his invectives. In his answer to the thanks presented to him by the City, he had pronounced his opinion to be adverse to triennial Parliaments, we shall now find that opinion completely reversed. Change of circumstances will certainly sometimes warrant a change of opinion, but when such changes occur within a very short period, and upon questions of great national importance,

they produce an unfavorable impression of the wisdom of the person by whom they are delivered, and they weaken the effect which his general sentiments would otherwise produce.

On the 30th of April, 1771, the Duke of Richmond made a motion to expunge the resolution of the House respecting the Middlesex election [h].

"Lord Chatham supported this motion in the strongest and warmest terms. He entered largely into the consideration of the state of the country; the depraved system of government, which had, in a very few years, reduced us from a most flourishing to a most miserable condition. He went through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in the late business of the Printers, and arraigned every part of it in the strongest terms. He warmly defended the City magistrates in the conscientious discharge of their duty, that the House, in committing them to prison without hearing their defence upon the point of privilege, had been guilty of a gross and palpable act of tyranny; that they had heard the prostituted electors of Shoreham in defence of an agreement to sell a borough by auction, and had refused to hear the Lord Mayor of London in defence of the laws of England; that their expunging, by force, the entry of a recognizance, was the act of a *mob*, not of a Parliament; that their daring to assume a power of stopping all prosecutions by their vote, struck at once at the whole system of the laws; that it was solely to the measures of government, equally violent and absurd, that Mr. Wilkes owed all his importance; that the King's ministers, supported by the slavish concurrence of the House of Commons, had made him a person of the greatest consequence in the kingdom; that they had made him an Alderman of the City of London, and representative of the county of Middlesex; and now they will make him Sheriff, and in due course, Lord Mayor of London; that the proceedings of the House of Com-

[h] Debrett and Almon differ somewhat from each other in their reports of Lord Chatham's speech upon this occasion. As his account appears to be most forcible as well as most simple I have followed the latter.

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mons, in regard to this gentleman, made the very name of Parliament ridiculous; that after repeated resolutions, by which they had declared him amenable to their jurisdiction, they had shamefully abandoned the point at last; and, in the face of the world, acknowledged him to be their master. That there remained but one possible remedy for the disorders, with which the government of this country was notoriously infected; that to save the name and institution of Parliaments from contempt, this House of Commons must be dissolved. This, he hoped, might restore good government on one side—good humour and tranquillity on the other; yet that this was rather a hope in him than any sanguine expectation. He feared that it might prove only a temporary and partial remedy; that to resist the enormous influence of the Crown, some stronger barriers must be erected in defence of the constitution. That formerly the inconveniences of shortening the duration of Parliaments had great weight with him; but now it was no longer a question of convenience; the *Summa Rerum* is at stake; your whole constitution is giving way; and therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn conviction of his understanding, he now declared himself a *Convert to Triennial Parliaments*[i]. His

[i] At a common council held in Guildhall on the 7th of April, 1780: a member presented to the court an extract of a letter from the Earl of Chatham, (then no more,) to the Earl Temple, dated April 17th, 1771, which was read, and ordered to be entered on the journals of the court, as follows:

"Allow a speculator, in a great chair, to add, that a plan for more equal representation, by additional knights of the shire, seems highly seasonable; and to shorten the duration of Parliaments not less so. If your Lordships should approve, could Lord Lyttleton's caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law. *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.*"

Signed by order of the Court, RIX.

Another anecdote of Lord Chatham upon this subject is given by the Earl of Buchan in his character of the poet Thomson: "Eighteen years after Thomson's death," says the Earl of Buchan, speaking of rather a fustian remark which he had himself made, "the late Lord Chatham agreed with me: and when I said, 'But, Sir, what will become of poor England, that doats on the imperfections of her pretended constitution?' He replied, 'My dear Lord, the gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the consequences of this infatuation. But before the end of this century, either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without.'"

Lordship concluded with desiring that the House might be summoned for the following day, declaring his intention to move an Address for the dissolution of the present Parliament."

The Duke of Richmond's motion was negatived.

On Wednesday, the 1st May [k], Lord Chatham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that under the late violations of the rights of the electors of Great Britain, in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict which has so unhappily arisen between the claims of the House of Commons on one side, and those of the people on the other, his Majesty will, in his paternal wisdom, deign to open the way to compose this alarming warfare; and that, in order to prevent the said House and the nation from being involved in intemperate discussions of undefined powers, which in the extreme may endanger the constitution, and tend to shake the tranquillity of the kingdom, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to recur to the recent sense of his people, by dissolving, after the end of this session, the present Parliament, and calling, with convenient despatch, a new Parliament."

Having gone through all the arguments which had been formerly used on this subject, his Lordship, towards the conclusion of his speech, said, "Although no man prides himself more on his attachments to his native country, yet the proceedings of those people who call themselves its governors, have rendered it so disagreeable to me, that were I but ten years younger, I would spend the remainder of my days in a country [l] which had already given such earnests of its independent spirit; nor should my advanced age even *now* prevent me, did not considerations of the last consequence, my bodily infirmities, interfere."

His Lordship's motion was lost by a large majority [m].

[k] The speech delivered by Lord Chatham on this, as on the former occasion, has been variously reported; I have followed Almon, as I consider the brief sketch which he has given of it preferable to the tautology of the other more copious reports.

[l] Alluding to America.

[m] 72 against 23.

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It was soon after this, that the personal attack of Junius upon a private individual raised up the most formidable antagonist whom he had yet encountered. In closeness of reasoning, and poignancy of repartee, the peculiar weapon of "the great *slanderous* unknown," Mr. Horne was decidedly his superior. In the second letter of Mr. Horne, in this celebrated correspondence, Lord Chatham's motives for declaring against triennial Parliaments, in his answer to the City, are canvassed and condemned. The defence of the illustrious statesman was thus exalted by Junius into a strain of the loftiest praise: "I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham; I well knew that unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion; and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem [n]. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honorable for himself with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honors shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned."

During the next three years Lord Chatham was rarely able to attend in Parliament. The only speech which has been assigned to him during this period is not calculated to augment his reputation.

[n] Lord Chatham was, during his administration in 1766, 1767, and 1768, one object of decided aversion to Junius, who then wrote under a different signature. This aversion lessened as the political views of the parties approximated, and was now converted into admiration and panegyric.

On the 19th May, 1772, the bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, which had passed the Commons, was read a second time in the House of Lords. The motion for committing the bill was supported by the Earls of Chatham and Shelburne, Lord Lyttleton, and the Duke of Richmond. It was opposed by Lord Bruce and Earl Gower, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Peterborough, Llandaff, Oxford, and London.

The Earl of Chatham spoke with much warmth and spirit in favor of the bill, which he attempted to defend and recommend upon the general principles of a liberal toleration. His Lordship is said to have shewn as much fire and eloquence in this speech [o] as at any period of his life; but there is a petulance towards certain members of the House of Peers much at variance with the professed liberality of his principles. In commenting upon the observations of one of the Bishops, who had laid much stress upon the dogmas of foreign colleges, Lord Chatham said, there was a college of much greater antiquity, as well as veracity, which he was surprised he never heard so much as mentioned by any of his Lordship's fraternity; and that was the college of the poor, humble, despised *fishermen*, who pressed hard upon no man's conscience, yet supported the doctrines of Christianity, both by their lives and conversations, in the most irreproachable and exalted manner. "But, my Lords," he concluded by saying, "I may probably affront your rank and learning, by applying to such simple, antiquated authorities; for I must confess that there is a wide difference between the Bishops of those and the present times."

The Bishops who took part in the debate appear to have little merited the animadversions of Lord Chatham. They were men of high integrity and learning. The Bishop of Llandaff [p] is said to have particularly distinguished himself upon this occasion [q]. In stating the reasons which induced him to oppose the bill, his Lordship thought it necessary to expose the principles of a living dissenter. He quoted

[o] See Parliamentary History of England, vol. xvii. p. 440.

[p] The Hon. Shute Barrington, late Bishop of Durham.

[q] See Parliamentary History of England, vol. xvii. p. 441.

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a variety of passages from the different publications of Dr. Priestley, which excited equally the wonder and abhorrence of his hearers. Lord Chatham was too sincere a Christian to hear such sentiments with indifference, and frequently interrupted the Bishop with the exclamations, "Monstrous! horrible! shocking!"

Upon a division of the House, the Bill was rejected by a very great majority.

Although, in the year 1770, Lord Chatham had come forward with the apparent determination, thenceforth, to take a regular share in the parliamentary deliberations, his high spirit was now compelled to yield to the encroachments of his inveterate malady. From his youth we have seen that he was the martyr to an hereditary gout. Few persons have been more frequently or more severely attacked by that painful distemper. Health, which the heathen poet well describes,

Υγεια πρεσβιστα Μακαρων,

had never been his portion. In addition to this, age was fast coming upon him, and his limbs, which had long been relaxed by pain, now began to totter with debility. The next two years of his life were spent in retirement. His children were now of an age to call forth his most earnest attention to their future prospects and expectations. Although he had received large bequests from private individuals, and was in the receipt of a considerable pension from the crown, he had not been able to make any suitable provision for his family. It was almost impossible that a mind employed, as his continually had been, upon public affairs, could enter into the minutiæ of private economy. His eldest daughter was now sixteen, and his eldest son fifteen years of age. His second daughter thirteen, his second son twelve, and his youngest son ten years old. The eldest son[r] was, I believe, destined for the army at an early age, and probably, at the

[r] The present Earl of Chatham.

time I speak of, had received his commission. The tender years and delicate health of the second son, William, forbade his parents to anticipate, with any confidence, his future profession. But the wonderful talents by which he was afterwards distinguished, were even, at this time, not unknown to his father, who cultivated them with the most anxious care. William Pitt, when about six years old, was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, afterwards Prebendary of Gloucester, and Canon of Windsor, who attended him at his father's house, and continued, for eight years, to superintend his education. Lord Chatham's youngest son, James, was a youth of the most amiable disposition and promising talents[s]. The daughters are said to have resembled their mother in their manners and acquirements. It is very gratifying to reflect, that the statesman, who had devoted his life to the severest application in the public cause, should have had so accomplished and interesting a family to soothe his declining years, and to exhilarate his hours of relaxation. Few men were able to enjoy these blessings with a juster sense of their value. Although, for nearly forty years, he had been accustomed,

"The applause of listening senates to command,"

he well knew how to appreciate the happiness of domestic life. Ambition had, perhaps, indurated some feelings of the heart in his intercourse with the political world; but his conduct, in every domestic relation, was through his life most exemplary and delightful[t]. The

[s] See a letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Pretyman, upon the death of this brother, in the year 1780. Bishop of Winchester's Life of Mr. Pitt.

[t] Lord Chatham's anxiety for his sister's health and comfort, even in the most arduous periods of his life, is thus acknowledged by Mrs. Anne Pitt in a letter to Lady Suffolk: "My brother continued as he began, as soon as the King had put him in the place he is in, by giving me the strongest and the tenderest proofs of his affection." * * * * * * "He has always seemed to guess and understand all I felt of every kind, and has carried his delicacy so far as never to put me in mind of what I felt more strongly than any other part of my misfortune, which was, how very disagreeable and embarrassing it must be to him to have me in France." *This was written in July, 1757, when Mr. Pitt was urging the war against France with the utmost vigor.* Of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Anne Pitt in the same letter, says: "Lady Hester's

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biographer of his son, says, that when Lord Chatham's health permitted, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children, and seldom without reading a chapter of the Bible with them [u]. Lady Chatham has described her noble husband as "excelling in what is most admirable, and adding to the exercise of the sublimest virtues, the sweet charm of refined sentiment and polished wit. By gay social converse rendering, beyond comparison, happy the course of domestic life, and bestowing a felicity inexpressible on her whose faithful love was blessed with a pure return, that raised her above every other joy but the parental one, and that still shared with him [x]." Lord Chatham was ever the promoter of cheerful and innocent recreations, and particularly encouraged them when they tended to improve the intellect of his children. The Bishop of Winchester says, that the Earl's son, William, occasionally wrote verses, and that before he went to the university he was concerned with his brothers and sisters in writing a play in verse, consisting of five parts, which they acted before Lord and Lady Chatham, and some friends of the family.

The extraordinary talents and vivacity of Mr. Garrick, added to the great respectablity of his private character, procured for him the esteem, as well as the admiration of all men. Being, at this time, upon a visit at Mount Edgcumbe, the great actor received the following poetic invitation from Lord Chatham:

"Leave, Garrick, the rich landscape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies, bright'ning all the bay:
To my plain roof repair, primæval seat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet,

behaviour has been upon that occasion, *(the appointment of Mr. Pitt to be Secretary of State,)* and upon every other since her marriage, beyond what I can give you any notion of, but by her own letters, which I have kept, and will show you, and which have given me a most sincere esteem and friendship for her." See another letter from Mrs. Anne Pitt to the Countess of Suffolk, in Appendix, No. II. Letter 7.

[u] Bishop of Winchester's Life of Mr. Pitt.

[x] Inscription upon a beautiful marble urn erected to her husband's memory by Lady Chatham. Such a tribute from such a wife is praise indeed!

Save, should you deem it wonderful to find,
Ambition cur'd, and an unpassioned mind;
A statesman without power, and without gall,
Hating no courtiers, happier than them all;
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for applause;
Vot'ry alone to freedom, and the laws.
Herds, flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our plain,
And, interspers'd, an heart-enliv'ning train
Of sportive children frolic o'er the green;
Mean time pure love looks on, and consecrates the scene.
Come, then, immortal spirit of the stage,
Great Nature's proxy, glass of ev'ry age!
Come, taste the simple life of Patriarchs old,
Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp or gold."

To this Mr. Garrick returned the following answer:

"When Peleus' son, untaught to yield,
Wrathful forsook the hostile field,
His breast still warm with heav'nly fire,
He tun'd the lay, and swept the lyre.

"So Chatham, whose exalted soul
Pervaded and inspir'd the whole,
Where far, by martial glory led,
Britain her sails and banners spread,
Retires, (though wisdom's God dissuades,)
And seeks repose in rural shades.
Yet thither comes the God confess'd;
Celestial form! a well-known guest.

"Nor slow he moves with solemn air,
Nor on his brow hangs pensive care;
Nor, in his hand th' historic page
Gives lessons to experienc'd age,
As when in vengeful ire he rose,
And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes,
While the wing'd hours obedient stand,
And instant speed the dread command.

"Cheerful he came, all blythe and gay,
Fair blooming like the son of May;

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Adown his radiant shoulder hung
A harp, by all the Muses strung;
Smiling he to his friend resign'd
This soother of the human mind."

In the year 1773, Lord Chatham, having fixed upon the law for the profession of his second son, sent him to Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge.[y] Earnestly desirous as he was to see this son distinguished by literary acquirements at the university, his cares were, at this time, more particularly directed to his health. The extreme delicacy of young Pitt's constitution induced his father to request Mr. Wilson to accompany his son to Cambridge, and to live with him, for some time, in the same college apartment. Lord Chatham wrote a letter to the master of the college, expressing his wish that the two public tutors, Mr. Pretyman and Mr. Turner, should respectively devote an hour each day to his son's improvement. Thucydides had ever been a favorite author with Lord Chatham, and, by his express desire, was the first Greek book which his son read after he came to the university. Having thus consigned his son to the care of those whom he thought fully capable of instructing him, his Lordship did not wish to interfere with their system of academical education. Polybius was the only other book which he requested Mr. Pretyman to read with William Pitt. It was almost impossible that a youth, upon whom Providence had bestowed such talents, and who had enjoyed the inestimable advantage of the conversation of such a father, should not be eminently distinguished from the general order of boys of fourteen years old. In sitting at table with the great Lord Chatham, in walking with him about his grounds, in attending him in his sick chamber, opportunities of profiting by his long experience and his mighty mind were offered, which were different from, and superior to, any knowledge to be acquired from books. Although nothing, probably, could have prevented the ascendancy of Mr. Pitt's genius

[y] The author of this work was himself of Pembroke-Hall, and, in the year 1812, occupied the rooms which had once been Mr. Pitt's.

from evincing itself in the course of life, I think the early display of his manly and astonishing qualities was mainly attributable to the conversation and example of his illustrious father. The public are indebted to the Bishop of Winchester for the preservation of several most delightful letters from Lord Chatham to his son. The following is so completely characteristic of the ardor of both parties, and is expressed in such glowing language, that I cannot help inserting it in this place.

Burton Pynsent, Oct. 30, 1773.

"With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr. Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday! I do not mean to address you as a sick man: I trust in heaven that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe; and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr. Glynn's acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical, attribute. But, though I indulge, with inexpressible delight, the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should make *more haste than good speed* to be well. Your mamma has been before me, in suggesting that useful proverb, *reculer, pour mieux sauter*, useful to all, but to the ardent, necessary. You may, indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one, practise this sage dictum, without any risque of being thrown out, (as little James would say,) in the chase of learning. All you want, at present, is *quiet;* with this, if your ardor ἀριστευειν can be *kept in*, till you are stronger, you will make *noise* enough. How happy the task, my noble, amiable boy, to caution you *only against pursuing too much*, all those liberal and praiseworthy things, to which less happy natures are perpetually to be spurred and driven! I will not teaze you with too long a lecture in favor of *inaction*; and a competent *stupidity*, your best tutors and companions at present. You have time to spare, consider there is but the *Encyclopedia*, and when you have mastered all that, what will remain? You will want,

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like Alexander, another world to conquer. Your mamma joins me in every word; and we know how much your affectionate mind can sacrifice to our earnest and tender wishes. Brothers and sisters are well; all feel about you, think and talk of you, as they ought. My affectionate remembrances go in great abundance to Mr. Wilson. Vive, Vale, is the unceasing prayer of your truly loving father,

"CHATHAM [z]."

That truly pious, accomplished, but eccentric nobleman, Lord Lyttleton, departed this life in July, 1773. He was the relative, and had been one of the earliest friends of Lord Chatham. But their characters were, in many respects, dissimilar, and a difference upon political questions had frequently interrupted their friendship. At length, however, they became reconciled, and lived upon terms of strict intimacy during the latter years of the life of Lord Lyttleton. The loss of our early associates, the inevitable consequence of old age, must ever painfully affect the mind, and melancholy is the condition of that man who is then destitute of domestic consolation. Happily it was otherwise with Lord Chatham. I have already said, that no man was ever more blessed with an affectionate and accomplished wife, or with a more dutiful and promising family. Their virtues and tender attachment ever interested and soothed his mind, during the many losses he sustained both in his political and in his personal friendships.

1774. On the 19th December, 1774, Lord and Lady Chatham had the satisfaction to see their eldest daughter, Lady Hester Pitt, married to Lord Mahon, a young nobleman of considerable talents and acquirements, the eldest son of their relative Earl Stanhope [a].

[z] Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. W. Pitt, by the Bishop of Winchester.

[a] James, first Earl Stanhope, married Lucy, youngest daughter of Governor Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1774.

Conduct of Administration with respect to America—Outrage at Boston, and Destruction of 342 Chests of Tea—Review of the part taken by Lord Chatham in American affairs—Lord Chatham reappears in Parliament—His Speech against the Bill for quartering soldiers in America—Against the Quebec Bill—Proceedings at Boston—General Gage—Corresponding Societies—A general Congress appointed—Address of Congress to the People of Great Britain—Parliament is dissolved—Letters of Lord Chatham to Mr. Sayre—Parliament reassembles—The King's Speech—Inconsistent Conduct of Administration—Lord Chatham's Opinions regarding America.

SINCE the death of Mr. Grenville, the administration had been relieved from a heavy weight of opposition. The Rockingham party, indeed, continued firm and unbroken both in strength and principle, but the same differences of opinion still prevented them from forming a strict union with the friends of Lord Chatham, whose retirement was another relief to the minister. The year 1772, which was so eventful upon the continent of Europe, produced no very striking incidents in England. Lord North's authority seemed firmly established. His excellent temper and conciliating manners enabled him often to parry, and always to blunt the weapons of opposition. No circumstances, indeed, had occurred to prove him a minister of any striking abilities, but as yet he had committed no capital error. The attention of Parliament, during the years 1772 and 1773, was principally directed to the affairs of India[a]: The Company had become so embarrassed in

[a] The attack upon Lord Clive in the House of Commons, and the very able and complete defence of that great, but calumniated man, are, in general, foreign to the purport of this work.

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their finances, as to be obliged to discontinue their annual subsidy to government, and even to demand the assistance of a considerable loan. Since the non-importation agreement in America, the colonies had been chiefly supplied with tea, smuggled from Holland. This was represented to have so lessened the demand for that article that an immense quantity had accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company. As the minister had adopted measures of extreme severity towards the Company, he considered them entitled to some compensation. With a view, therefore, to their relief, and, eventually, to the improvement of the revenue, they were empowered to export tea, free from duty, to every part of the world. The operation of this measure in America, may be considered as the spark thrown upon a mass of inflammatory matter, which kindled the flames of the lamentable war which afterwards ensued. Before I relate the immediate consequences of this measure, I shall briefly recapitulate those circumstances of alleged grievance in the colonies by which it was preceded.

The act of Parliament, which repealed the rest of those most injudicious duties suggested by Mr. Charles Townshend, by reserving the insignificant duty of three pence per pound on tea, in a great measure destroyed the effect of the concession. Whilst it encouraged the discontented to hope that their cause was gaining ground in England, it furnished them with arguments against the future intentions of the government. Other causes of complaint subsequently arose. One of the principal of these was the ministerial regulation of assigning liberal salaries to the judges and principal officers in Massa-

One circumstance of his defence is, however, in direct accordance with it. After exculpating himself from the charge of cruelty and injustice in the transaction with Omichund, Lord Clive spoke thus of Lord Chatham: "A late minister, whose abilities have been an honor to his country, and whom this house will ever revere, will, I am sure, come to your bar, and not only tell you how highly he thought of my services at the time, but also what his opinion is now." Although Lord Chatham was not afterwards called upon to bear this testimony, there is every reason to believe that the high opinion which he had formerly expressed of Lord Clive remained unaltered.

chusetts Bay, instead of the scanty annual allowances which they before received by a vote of the Assembly. It was loudly asserted that the British ministry, having in vain attempted to awe and intimidate the colonists, had now recourse to more insidious methods, and that their object was to undermine the very seat of justice by corruption. But the deepest complaints proceeded from the following cause. By means which have not been discovered, Dr. Franklin, the agent for several of the colonies, and amongst others for Massachusetts, obtained possession of certain letters addressed by the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of that province to official persons in England. These letters represented the state of affairs as very unfavorable; they alleged that a republican spirit prevailed which would oppose the most equitable measures of government, and they pointed out the necessity of adopting coercive measures, and of introducing a very considerable change into the constitution of the province. By a breach of confidence which no zeal for the interests of his country can excuse, Franklin immediately transmitted these letters to the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, then sitting at Boston.

The indignation excited by their perusal may easily be imagined. The Assembly unanimously resolved, "That the tendency and design of these letters were to overthrow the constitution of the government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." At the same time a petition to the King, praying him to remove Governor Hutchinson, and Lieutenant-governor Oliver, from the government of the colony, was transmitted to England and laid before his Majesty. Whilst this ferment prevailed in the province, intelligence was received that three ships, laden with tea, were on their passage to Boston, and that the consignees of the East India Company consisted, principally, of the nearest relatives and connexions of the obnoxious governor and his deputy. The deep feelings of rage and resentment which were now excited amongst the inhabitants may be well imagined. They saw that a crisis had arrived; they saw that the conduct of the colonies, in this precise point of time, was to determine whether they would submit to be taxed by the British Parliament, or meet the

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consequences of the enforcement of their own opinions. Should the tea be landed, they knew that it would be sold; the duties would consequently be paid, and thus a precedent for taxing them would be established. Their resolution was at once taken—they determined that the hateful cargo should not reach their shores. Every species of tumult and violence were practised to terrify and deter the consignees from the performance of their duty. Fearing that these proceedings, lawless and riotous as they were, might prove ineffectual, and that the captains might be enabled to land their cargoes, an immense multitude assembled, the most resolute of which, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, broke open 342 chests of tea[b], and discharged their contents into the ocean.

Whoever considers the outrages occasioned by the stamp act in 1765, and by Mr. Charles Townshend's act in 1768, will be amazed that any ministry, eight years after the first, and five years after the second, when the feeling against taxation in America had strengthened into a principle, should venture upon an experiment which, naturally, must have ended in some similar catastrophe. Such conduct literally was, in the language of Burke, "consulting their invention, and rejecting their experience." Surely if experience is ever to be a monitor, it should at this time have been consulted. The Americans appear to have been the only party who availed themselves of its dictates. The very treatment which they had experienced subsequent to their violence in 1765, and, in 1768, was an encouragement to them to pursue a similar system in 1773. By the first outrage, notwithstanding some acts of severity on the part of Great Britain, they obtained a redress of the alleged grievance—the stamp act was repealed; by the second outrage, they obtained the abrogation of all the duties imposed by Charles Townshend's bill, with one single exception, and they might well suppose that this exception would itself give way to their present violence against it. Having so often seen the English ministry compelled "to sneak out of difficulties into which they had

[b] The whole value of the tea destroyed was estimated at 18,000*l*.

proudly strutted[c]," they might reasonably expect a similar escape for themselves upon the present occasion. We shall find that they argued aright, and that the event justified their expectations. As in former instances of American outrage, the measures of administration, which in general were slow and indecisive, were, in the commencement, stubborn and precipitate. In their eagerness to punish the refractory Americans, they altogether forgot one grand consideration—had they the power? With a fatuity as remarkable as it was fatal, they formed their ideas of American strength and of American union from the misrepresentations of ignorant or of interested men. They despised the Americans as soldiers. They doubted the ties by which they were united as fellow-countrymen, and they forgot what they were capable of performing as men. They considered the Americans as more in the *gristle of childhood*, than as a race who were fast strengthening into the *bone of manhood*[d]. The measures which they adopted against Boston were proofs of this. Their conduct upon this occasion was a bad imitation of the schoolmaster who punishes a ring-leader to terrify and silence the rest of his refractory scholars[e]. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the majority of the English nation now took part with administration. Eager to discharge a portion of their own burthens upon the shoulders of their American brethren, they saw not the immense addition to the load which they were thus preparing for themselves. But the people might well "screen themselves behind the want of intelligence,"—it ought to have been otherwise with their rulers. A severe and exemplary punishment was now denounced against the principal offenders in America.

On the 28th March, a bill "for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandizes at Boston, or the harbour thereof, and for the removal of the custom-house and its dependencies

[c] See Burke's speech upon American taxation, in 1774.

[d] The reader will readily recognise this metaphor as Mr. Burke's.

[e] Very frequently were the Americans compared by the ministry and their friends to children. General Burgoyne said, "He regarded America as the child of Great Britain, whom the parent had spoiled by too much indulgence."

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to the town of Salem," passed both Houses of Parliament. Other measures of equal severity were soon afterwards adopted. A bill was brought in for the better regulation of the government of Massachusetts Bay, by which the charter was subverted, and the nomination of counsellors, and of all magistrates and officers vested in the Crown. A third act was passed for the impartial administration of justice in the same province. By this act it was provided, "that in case any person should be indicted for murder or any other capital offence, and it should appear by information, given on oath to the governor, that the fact was committed in exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried."

A bill was also passed for quartering soldiers on the inhabitants; and the system was completed by an act for the settlement of the government in the province of Quebec. By this last act the limits of Canada were so extended as to include the territory between the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi: the inhabitants of the province were secured in the free exercise of their religion; the Roman Catholic clergy were confirmed in their rights; the ancient laws without a trial by jury were restored; and a legislative council, at the appointment of the Crown, was established.

It may well be supposed that these measures were not allowed to pass without much animadversion. Some of them, that relative to Quebec in particular, were, I think, expedient and wise. The spirit of party, however, induced the opposition to include them all under one common sentence of condemnation. In reviewing the conduct of different statesmen upon the tremendous question of American policy, we shall find that Lord Chatham was almost the only person who explicitly stated, and who strictly adhered to his opinions. His celebrated speech upon the stamp act contained doctrines which it was impossible to misunderstand. Whatever doubts there may be as to the propriety of his distinction between the right to legislate and the right to tax, there can be none as to the manliness and consistency

with which it was asserted. The principle of policy, which he recommended towards America in 1766, was precisely similar to that which he urged in 1774 and in following years. Had his advice with regard to the total exemption of America from taxation been at first adopted; had a firm and consistent policy then been observed, it is probable that the calamities of the subsequent war might have been averted, and the separation of the colonies from the parent country have been deferred to a distant day. But, having bestowed this tribute of applause upon the original proposal of Lord Chatham, I am far from thinking, that the subsequent methods of conciliation suggested by his Lordship in the House of Peers, or by Mr. Burke in the House of Commons, would have been attended with the happy consequences which their framers expected. The measures, which would have been satisfactory and healing in 1766, would, eight years afterwards, have been wholly inefficient. The time for conciliation had passed away. Canute could no more by his mandate arrest the progress of the wave, than Lord Chatham could prevent the extension of that principle which he had himself been foremost to inculcate. The Americans heard the illustrious Pitt pronounce that Great Britain had no right to tax them. At first, they might have been contented, and even grateful for such an acknowledgement. But the half concessions, and the irresolute system of the English government produced disappointment, whilst they encouraged resistance. Taxation, to use the words of Lord Chatham, was "the father of American sedition," but, unhappily, his offspring had now strengthened into an independent maturity, and was not to be annihilated by the extinction of its parent. The lapse of eight years had made casuists of the Americans. If England has no right to tax, what right has she to legislate? This was the corollary to Lord Chatham's proposition which was almost universally adopted. Several questions of immense importance present themselves here. The first is, whether, allowing the strong language of Lord Chatham to have been instrumental in exciting the Americans, not only to resist the claim of the mother country to tax them, but also to emancipate themselves altogether from its control, we must not, as Englishmen, severely condemn it? To this it must be

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answered, that the language of Lord Chatham upon this, as upon every other occasion, was characteristic of the man. It was scarcely possible for him to feel, without expressing his feelings with emphasis and impetuosity. It is often the fate of advice, when neglected, to produce the most dangerous effects upon those for whose benefit it was originally intended. The friend who remonstrates in strong terms to a guardian against his ill-treatment of a ward, may sometimes see his advice rejected by the one party, whilst it stimulates the other to the deepest revenge. In such cases, if the advice be in itself salutary, we must, notwithstanding the unhappy consequences which have attended its suggestion, lament rather than condemn it. The next question is, whether, supposing Lord Chatham had been called to the helm, and had unsuccessfully proffered his measures of conciliation to the Americans, he would have been able to force their submission? Although the issue of events is known to the Almighty alone, it may be allowable to conjecture that had Lord Chatham undertaken the management of the war in an early stage he would, by the energy of his councils and the promptitude of his measures, have soon compelled them to acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain. I say not that he would have been able to preserve their eventual allegiance, but I think he might have deferred the day of their alienation until the next generation.

It was towards the close of the session, the principal acts of which I have already described, that Lord Chatham again appeared within the walls of Parliament. On the 27th of May, 1774, he attended the House of Lords, on the third reading of a bill for quartering soldiers in America. He said, "[f] My Lords, the unfavorable state of health, under which I have long laboured, could not prevent me from laying before your Lordships my thoughts on the bill now upon the table, and on the American affairs in general.

"If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored

[f] This speech is taken from the Parliamentary History of England, vol. xvii. p. 1353. It was originally reported by Almon.

regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles, which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery, and spirit of despotism; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I cannot help condemning, in the severest manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots of Boston. But, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their parent state, has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy, that individuals, possessed of common understanding, must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Boston, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed your merchandize; and instead of making a well-concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbour, and punish the crime of a few lawless depredators and their abettors upon the whole body of the inhabitants.

"My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this tea tax. The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, any interest but that of the mother country; there seemed an emulation among the different provinces, who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty to their real benefactor; as you will readily per-

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ceive by the following letter from Governor Bernard to a noble Lord then in office.

"'The House of Representatives, (says he,) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to avoid all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire. They have acted, in all things, with temper and moderation; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation.'

"This, my Lords, was the temper of the Americans; and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavours to tax them without their consent: but the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I sincerely believe the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair.

"But, my Lords, from the complexion of the whole of the proceedings, I think that Administration has purposely irritated them into those late violent acts, for which they now so severely smart; purposely to be revenged on them for the victory they gained by the repeal of the stamp act; a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies. For what other motive could induce them to dress taxation, that father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then so happily subsisted between them and the mother country?

"My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble Lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America; for the day is not far distant, when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also. It is an established fact, that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble Lords

who are now in office; and, consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights.

"This observation is so recently exemplified in an excellent pamphlet, which comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British Parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view.

"'The High Court of Parliament,' says he, 'is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire; in all free states the constitution is fixed; and as the supreme legislature derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it, without destroying its own foundation. The constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance: and therefore his Majesty's American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the English constitution; and that it is an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm—that what a man has honestly acquired, is absolutely his own; which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent.'

"This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave, *that this country had no right under heaven to tax America.* It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, which neither the exigencies of the state, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could justify upon any occasion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet their wished-for success; and, instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your

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fond and affectionate arms; and, I will venture to affirm, you will find them children worthy of their sire. But should their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent! a parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greatest, and most pleasing consolation. This declaration may seem unnecessary; but I will venture to declare, the period is not far distant, when she will want the assistance of her most distant friends: but should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare—*Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honor; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace!*"

The bill passed by a great majority.

I have said that I considered the Quebec bill both expedient and wise. Its provisions were well adapted to the nature and situation of the inhabitants of the province, who were not yet ripe for the blessings of the English constitution. Lord Chatham thought otherwise, and, on the 17th of June, thus expressed his opinions against it:

"He said, it would involve a large province in a thousand difficulties, and in the worst of despotism, and put the whole people under arbitrary power; that it was a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots; that by abolishing the trial by jury, together with the Habeas Corpus, he supposed the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding most satisfactory; whilst every true Englishman was ready to lay down his life sooner than lose those two bulwarks of his personal security and property. The merely supposing that the Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, because they had been used to arbitrary power, was an idea as ridiculous as false. He said, the bill established a despotic government in that country,

to which the royal proclamation of 1763 promised the protection of the English laws. Here the noble Lord read part of the proclamation; and then entered into the power vested in the Governor and Council; the whole mode of which, he said, was tyrannical and despotic. He dwelt particularly upon the bad consequences that would attend the great extension of that province. The whole of the bill appeared to him to be destructive of that liberty, which ought to be the ground-work of every constitution. Ten thousand objections, he was confident, might be made to the bill; but the extinction of the mode of trial above mentioned was a very alarming circumstance, and he would pronounce him a bold man who proposed such a plan.

"When his Lordship came to the religious part of the bill, he directed his discourse to the bench of Bishops, telling them, that as by the bill the Catholic religion was made the established religion of that vast continent, it was impossible they could be silent on the occasion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and desired and asked if any of that reverend Bench would hold it out for baptism. He touched again on the unlimited power of the Governor in appointing all the members, and who might consist of Roman Catholics only.

"He also took notice of an amendment which had been made in the House of Commons, which was a new clause, repealing so much of the Act of Reformation of the first of Elizabeth as relates to the oath of supremacy, and substituting a common oath of allegiance in its place. This act of Elizabeth, he said, had always been looked upon as one that the legislature had no more right to repeal, than the Great Charter, or the Bill of Rights."

The Duke of Gloucester[e] divided with Lord Chatham in the minority against the bill.

This most important session of Parliament terminated on June 22.

The nations of Europe appeared at this time to suspend the prosecution of the particular hostilities in which they were engaged, more

[e] His Royal Highness, Prince William Henry, second brother to George III.

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intently to observe the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies. Those who had been most envious of our vast possessions and of our growing strength in America, and who had exerted themselves most to restrain and reduce them, were, more especially, interested in the event. In anticipation of the losses of Great Britain in America, France began to console and almost to congratulate herself on account of her own disasters in that quarter of the globe.

In the mean time, intelligence of the late acts of Parliament arrived at Boston. It was expected in England that, by particularly directing measures of punishment against that place, not only the union of the colonies would be broken, but that the province of Massachusetts would itself be divided. Had not the Americans been actuated by feelings far more powerful than those of individual advantage, such consequences might have ensued. The other sea-ports of the province might have profited by the moment, and have raised themselves upon the ruins of Boston. This, it must be confessed, was a critical juncture: the event proved the ignorance of the British ministry as to that union which prevailed amongst the Americans. The first feelings of the inhabitants of Boston, when informed of the measures about to be enforced against them, were those of alarm and consternation. The act for shutting up their port struck not only at their prosperity as a maritime and commercial people, but even at their very means of subsistence. Although they had every reason to suppose that the conduct which had brought down this vengeance upon them was approved almost throughout America, they could not but feel the greatest anxiety as to the first movements of their countrymen in this their hour of calamity; but their courage soon revived. The neighbouring towns disdained to avail themselves of the misfortunes of their sister. Instead of attempting to profit by her distress, they did every thing in their power to comfort and assist her. The other colonies were equally warm in their assurances of condolence and commiseration. It was at this period that General Gage, who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Hutchinson in the government of the province, arrived at Boston. Few men have ever been placed in a

more arduous situation. Hitherto much respected by the Americans, General Gage knew that he must soon forfeit their esteem by the active discharge of his duty towards his sovereign and his country; but he held that duty to be paramount to every other human consideration. It is only to be lamented that, in performing it, he sometimes allowed his zeal to overcome his judgment. The situation of General Gage, at this time, resembled much that of several of the royalist leaders in the days of Charles the First. He had not immediately to combat the force of arms, but the still stronger force of opinion. Nor were there wanting amongst the Americans many who, in point of resolution and address, might be compared to Cromwell. The puritanical cant of the seventeenth century was now adopted by the inhabitants of Boston, and with a success equal to that which attended it upon the former occasion. An agreement was framed by the Committee of Correspondence, entitled "A solemn League and Covenant," by which the subscribers bound themselves in the most awful manner, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston Port Bill and the other late obnoxious laws should be repealed. They also bound themselves, in the same manner, neither to consume nor purchase goods which should arrive after a time specified, and to cease from all commerce with those who should continue to do so. To counteract the effects of this measure, General Gage issued a proclamation, declaring the covenant to be illegal and traitorous, contrary to the allegiance due to the King, and subversive of the authority of Parliament; but the proclamations of governors had now lost their weight, and the penalties in the power of the Committees of Correspondence were much more regarded than those which could be inflicted by the civil magistrate [f].

What a wonderful engine had the projector of corresponding societies prepared for the Americans in their struggle with the parent country! Its effects on the mind may be compared to the action of

[f] Stedman, Marshall, Annual Register, &c.

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steam on matter. Principles, before supposed to be inefficient or at variance, were now concentrated, and directed to one point, expanded with a force which was almost irresistible. No jarring interests, no partial resentments, feuds, or jealousies, were allowed to impede the success of a cause which the colonies felt to be common to them all. It was now determined that a general congress should be formed for the purpose of uniting and guiding the councils, and directing the efforts of North America. The Committees of Correspondence selected Philadelphia for the place, and the beginning of September for the time, of this most important assembly[g]. The papers drawn up by this congress are expressed with striking force and ability. The address to the people of Great Britain, in particular, is a most masterly production[h]. Indeed, upon perusing it, one cannot help wondering that America should have been subsequently so little distinguished in the field of literature[i]. Much, doubtless, of the vigor and ability of the papers I have mentioned may be attributed to the occasion. The fable relates that love metamorphosed the peasant, and inspired him with thoughts and language quite foreign to his former habits and nature. Such seems to have been the effects produced by strong national feeling, which fired the imaginations and elevated the tone of the Americans.

The following passage in the "Address to the People of Great Britain," is illustrative of the feelings of the Americans towards Lord Chatham, and towards Lord Bute: "At the conclusion of the late war —a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame, at the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a minister, of principles, and of a family, unfriendly to the Protestant cause, and inimical to liberty;— we say, at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan

[g] Marshall's Life of Washington.

[h] It was written by Mr. Jay.

[i] It was not until more than forty years after this time that Mr. Irving's work, "The Sketch Book," appeared.

for enslaving your fellow-subjects was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution."

I shall give one more specimen of the sentiments and tone of this address: "We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory, and our greatest happiness. We shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire. We shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

"But, if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood, nor drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.

"Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

I have already stated my opinion that if Great Britain had, at this time, positively and totally renounced all right to tax the Americans, they would not have been contented with the concession. The language of the foregoing address does not, I think, contradict my assertion. They there ask to be placed in the same situation in which they were left at the close of the last war. But to place them in that state was now wholly beyond the power of Great Britain. Acts of Parliament might, indeed, be repealed, but the *moral* situation of America was changed, and nothing could restore it. The Americans, to use a familiar metaphor, had outgrown their former habits. The man of thirty might as easily attempt to resume the pursuits and the dress of his childhood, as the Americans to return to their former obedience. There is a stubbornness, common to the brute and the

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human species, which impels both to resist the authority of those whom they have once overcome. The horse which has once prevailed against his rider will scarcely ever after yield him a prompt and willing obedience. For twelve years the Americans had been engaged in contesting the acts of the British Parliament, and in resisting the authority of their provincial governors. Their leaders had become legislators, and the desire of being independent of the parent country, although not openly professed, and, perhaps, scarcely understood by themselves, was the feeling which predominated in every bosom. I recollect no instance where a people, after taking steps so decided and so bold, have returned to a willing obedience to those from whom they have extorted such extraordinary concessions. Whilst the Americans were thus intently and actively employed, the English nation was far from being duly impressed with the immense importance of the subjects in dispute. Administration had, in fact, contrived to inspire the people with a strong confidence in its vigor and its wisdom. The struggle with America, if such it should eventually prove, was represented as extremely unequal, and the submission of the colonies as the speedy and inevitable consequence of a resolute and coercive system. Parliament was now in the seventh year of its existence. Almost throughout the former reign, and during the first years of the present, it had continued its full term. To the many, therefore, who argued from precedent, the dissolution of Parliament, on the 30th of September, six months before its natural demise, was a matter of great surprise and conjecture. The most probable cause of this abridgment is to be found in the state of America. Whether it should become necessary to adopt new and conciliatory measures, or to persevere in the enforcement of the former severe ones, the minister judged it necessary to obtain permanent support.

The following letters addressed by Lord Chatham to Mr. Sayre[k], one of the Sheriffs of London, evince his anxiety upon the great subject of America. The three first were written during the recess of Parliament.

[k] The dangerous character of this man was not at this time known.

"*Hayes, Saturday evening, July* 9, 1774,

"SIR,

"I am honored with a very obliging packet by your servant, containing such marks of your kind and flattering attention to me, and my son, as command more thanks and acknowledgments than this short note, wrote in haste, can possibly convey. Such as they are, which I present in abundance, I beg you will accept, for the sincerity with which they are offered. Nothing can be so interesting in the present critical moment, as authentic information relating to America. I therefore esteem it a particular favor, to receive such communications from you in any way most convenient to yourself.

"I am,

"With great regard and consideration,

"Sir, your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

"*To Mr. Sheriff Sayre,*
Stratford-place, Oxford-road."

"*Hayes, August* 15, 1774.

"DEAR SIR,

"Inclosed I return to you the letter from your correspondent at New York, for the perusal of which I beg you will accept a thousand thanks. The bearer is a person of trust, and will convey it safely to your hands. What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of war! Every step on the side of government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of liberty in that vast continent, at one successful blow; but millions must perish there before the seeds of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favorable a soil; and in the mean time, devoted England must sink herself, under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction.

"I wait with extreme impatience for the next accounts; the pro-

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clamation for seizing the covenanters; denouncing an immediate issue. Perhaps the streets of Boston have already run with blood. If you receive any interesting intelligence, I shall esteem it a great favor to hear from you by the same method. I am,

"With great esteem and consideration,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

"*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*
Stratford-place, Oxford-road."

"*Hayes, August* 28, 1774.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is impossible to leave the very kind marks of your remembrance unacknowledged; and I acquit myself of this pleasing duty, with the real sentiments such flattering attentions must command. The royal venison, which is extremely fine, will have the better flavor by coming through the city to Hayes, and from the friendly hand of Mr. Sheriff Sayre. Many thanks for the communication of your honest correspondent's letter, returned herewith. It is plain, that Maryland cannot wear chains! Would to Heaven it were equally plain, that the oppressor, England, is not doomed, one day, to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

"————————Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem."

Happily, beyond the Atlantic, this poison has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated administration begin to fear that freedom they cannot destroy, and which they don't know how to love? Delay is fatal, when repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut off for ever. Devoted England will then have seen her best days, which nothing can restore again.

"I am sorry to conclude with so gloomy a foreboding, in a case, where the most vulgar understanding may venture to prophesy.

"I am, with great esteem and consideration,
"My dear Sir,
"Your most obedient,
"And obliged humble servant,
"CHATHAM."

"*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*
Stratford-place, Oxford-street."

"*Hayes, Saturday night, Oct.* 8, 1774.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am but just able to hold a pen, after a severe fit of the gout, or the favor of your former kind letter would not have been so long unacknowledged. That of the 6th instant, which reached me only this evening, adds not a little, (both from what it says, and what it does not say,) to all the anxious forebodings which filled my mind on that most interesting object of all public concerns, the fate of America. What the late accounts are, I know not; surely not less momentous for being so industriously withheld.

"The very kind and friendly share you have taken at the *Standard*[1], can never be forgot; what the events will be, I do not conjecture, because I do not understand the times. If there be a public cause and true friends of liberty, can a genuine son of freedom, and votary of public good, pure from the taint of any faction, suffer a repulse, where every elector has liberty in his mouth? In the present state of Westminster, should Mr. Cotes demand a poll, it cannot be to serve the cause, or indeed, himself; for various reasons, however, I do not think it proper to trouble Lord Temple on the occasion. The true friends of liberty, are able to carry through the work of liberty if they please. If little manœuvres can defeat great and generous purposes, it is more than time for virtue to retire. But I will not

[1] A tavern in Leicester-square, at which several of the electors of Westminster, at this time, occasionally held meetings.

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suppose Lord Mahon would lose his election in Westminster[m], even if Mr. Cotes should demand a poll. I write with some difficulty; so allow me to bid you adieu without ceremony.

"My dear Sir,

"Your most faithful and obliged,

"CHATHAM."

"*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*
Stratford-place, Oxford-street."

"*Hayes, December, 24, 1774.*

"DEAR SIR,

"Soon after I had the pleasure of seeing you, I received the extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Congress, printed and published by order at Philadelphia, and which had been withheld from me, as the letters to others had been. I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as does the highest honor to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercouse as heretofore.

"I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and, that it will be found impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America.

"I am, with great esteem, dear Sir,

"Your most faithful,

"And obedient servant,

"CHATHAM."

"*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*
Stratford-place, Oxford-street."

[m] The members returned in the new Parliament for Westminster were Lord Thomas P. Clinton, second son of the Duke of Newcastle, and Earl Percy.

On the 30th November the new Parliament met. Seldom, if ever, have objects of higher interest and importance engaged its attention; and not frequently have men of greater ability been assembled within its walls.

His Majesty's speech commenced in the following manner:

"It gives me much concern that I am obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to inform you, that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevails in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. These proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in other of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations. I have taken such measures, and given such orders, as I judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late Parliament, for the protection and security of the commerce of my subjects, and for the restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of my Crown; the maintenance of which I consider as essential to the dignity, the safety, and the welfare of the British empire: assuring myself that, while I act upon these principles, I shall never fail to receive your assistance and support." *

Although the new Parliament manifested the same disposition respecting America with that which had prevailed in the last, and great majorities in both Houses strenuously recommended the propriety of coercive measures, no regular plan was yet adopted by the minister. The conduct, indeed, of Lord North was, at this period, marked by great indecision; he appeared less than usual in the House of Commons, and studiously avoided all explanation upon the subject

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of America. The conjectures as to the cause of this irresolution were various and contradictory. Many persons supposed that the minister himself was adverse to the coercive system, but that his opinion was overruled by a junto in the cabinet. Others conceived that, notwithstanding the assurances which he had already received, Lord North durst not yet calculate upon the co-operation of Parliament in supporting those burthens which a war would necessarily impose. Whatever might be the occasion of this extraordinary hesitation,—this apparent *halting between two opinions*,—a considerable interval elapsed before the momentous question respecting America was again discussed. The first measures of Government seemed to contradict their declared resolutions: the national estimates were entirely formed upon a peace-establishment; instead of increasing, it was proposed to diminish the forces by sea and land; seventeen, instead of eighteen, thousand troops, and nineteen, instead of twenty, thousand seamen, were required. It may be easily imagined that such strange inconsistencies were severely stigmatized by the opposition. In answer to some strong remarks upon this subject in the House of Lords, the minister at the head of the naval department asserted, that the low establishment proposed was fully adequate to reduce the colonies to obedience. He spoke with the greatest contempt both of the power and the courage of the Americans; he maintained that they were neither disciplined nor capable of discipline; and that, being thus indisposed, and indeed unequal to the severe exertions of war, their very numbers would add to the facility of their defeat. The majority of the nation, indeed, "appeared to consider the thunder of British vengeance as infallibly sure to strike to the earth a contumacious spirit of resistance; but few had the magnanimity, like Lord Chatham, to record their opinion of its expediency[n]," should the Americans attempt to cast off their dependency upon Great Britain. The profound knowledge which Lord Chatham had acquired of the state of the colonies during his own administration; the frequent communication which

[n] Adolphus's History of England, Vol. II. p. 150.

he subsequently held with Governor Pownall, Dr. Franklin, and others intimately conversant with the subject, had impressed him with the deepest conviction, that a struggle between Great Britain and America would be attended by the most tremendous consequences to both. This opinion is expressed in language of fire in all his speeches upon the subject. But, although he vehemently deprecated a war for the enforcement of a claim which he considered unjust, there were certain points beyond which he considered concession cowardice, and on no account to be extended. We shall find him asserting, with an ardor peculiar to himself: "In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honor of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it[o]." Upon another occasion, he thus asserted what he considered the just authority of Great Britain over its Colonies: "No regard for popularity—no predilection for my country—not the high esteem I entertain for America, on the one hand, nor the unalterable, steady regard I entertain for the dignity of Great Britain, on the other, shall at all influence my conduct; for, although I love the Americans, as men prizing and setting a just value on that inestimable blessing, Liberty, yet, if I could once persuade myself that they entertain the most distant intention of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British Legislature, I should myself be the very person who would first, and most zealously, move to secure and enforce that power, by every exertion this country is capable of making[p]."

I have deemed it necessary to make these remarks upon, and these extracts from, the recorded sentiments of Lord Chatham, that the reader may more clearly understand and appreciate the arguments contained in those most eloquent and impassioned speeches contained in the following chapter.

[o] See his Lordship's Speech, 18th November, 1777.

[p] See his Lordship's Speech, 1st February, 1775.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1775.

Dr. Franklin accompanies Lord Chatham to the House of Lords—Speech of Lord Chatham—Dr. Franklin's high admiration of Lord Chatham's eloquence—Lord Chatham presents a Bill to settle the troubles in America—Has an interview and discussion with Dr. Franklin at Hayes—The policy of the Bill considered—Debate in the House of Lords—Lord Chatham pronounces a tremendous philippic against the whole administration—Inconsistent policy of Lord North—Causes which were favorable to the Americans—The Duke of Grafton resigns the Privy-seal.

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I SHALL commence the present chapter with the following interesting extract from the memoirs of Dr. Franklin.

"On the 19th of January, I received a card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting me that Lord Chatham having a motion to make on the morrow in the House of Lords concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the House, into which Lord S. would endeavour to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the House, that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning, his Lordship let me know by another card, that if I attended at two o'clock in the lobby, Lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, 'Certainly, and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your presence at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine;' and so taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed, and acquainted him that by the order, none were to be car-

ried in at that door, but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, 'This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House;' when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known that there was any communication between his Lordship and me, this, I found, occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the House, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance[a]."

It was upon this occasion, (after Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for America, had produced the official papers,) that Lord Chatham delivered the following speech:

"[b] He began with inveighing against the dilatoriness of administration, but, said he, as I have not the honor of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. I congratulate your Lordships, that the business is *at last* entered upon, by the noble Lord's[c] laying the papers before you. As I suppose your Lordships too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in submitting to you my present motion.

"'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire and beseech his Majesty, that in order to open the way

[a] Memoirs of the Life of Benjamin Franklin, pp. 255, 256.

[b] This speech, and that of the 18th of November, 1777, were taken by Mr. Hugh Boyd; both contain very strong and peculiar marks of accuracy. They were published in 1779, in a pamphlet entitled "Genuine Abstracts of Two Speeches of the late Earl of Chatham, with a Preface and Notes." See Miscellaneous Works of Hugh Boyd, Vol. I. pp. 196. 215. 255.

[c] Lord Dartmouth.

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towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his Majesty that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable.'

"I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America, may produce years of calamity: for my own part, I will not desert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger.

"When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the present plan of misadministration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances, and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property.* As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here; I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

"When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston,

I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity. It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

"Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince, or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature, or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

"The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Indeed I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage, and the troops under his command; thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy; penned up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt: and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

"But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that ministers censure General Gage's inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honor*.—I mean not to censure his inactivity; it is a prudent and necessary inaction: but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war, might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

"I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships immediately to adopt this conciliating measure; I will pledge myself for its immediately

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producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well-timed; but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconcilement, or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious, hostile cause—obnoxious and unserviceable, for their merit can be only in inaction; *Non dimicare et vincere*,—their victory can never be by exertions. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts;—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit the sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history, or description of poetry: *Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque*, AUDITQUE. So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician.—But our ministers say, *the Americans must not be heard*. They have been condemned *unheard*; the indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town[d], and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

"But his Majesty is advised, that the union in America cannot last! Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but, with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it—an union solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America: they are *not* commercial; they

[d] Boston.

are your packers and factors: they live upon nothing—for I call commission nothing. I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for Government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union: even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade, indeed, increases the wealth and glory of a country; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land: in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true, genuine sons of the earth are invincible: and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies: even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British *nation;* (for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described)—of this spirit of independence, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle—their confirmed persuasion; it is their nature and their doctrine.

"I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the Stamp-Act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity, on that subject; and he assured me, with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America:—that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniencies, of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my Lords?—their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably [a].

"If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in Ame-

[a] It was Dr. Franklin.

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rica, prepare the way—open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction; but proceed not to such coercion—such proscription: cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies: you irritate them to unappeaseable rancor. What, though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valor, liberty, and resistance?

"This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen: it was obvious, from the nature of things and of mankind; and, above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England: the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution: the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.*

"This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themselves.* And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is

involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration: it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation: there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property.* Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle, is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. 'Tis liberty to liberty engaged,' that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven.

"To such united force, what force shall be opposed?—What, my Lords?—A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home!—The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordships' time. Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger: it must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads. They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles which they avow, but cannot defend; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They

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cannot, my Lords, they cannot stir a step; they have not a *move* left; they are *check-mated.*

"But it is not repealing this act of Parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo;* they will not be the sound honorable passions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible; and when I hear General Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French General in the civil wars of France—Monsieur Condé opposed to Monsieur Turenne: he was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him; 'J'ai peur,' replied Condé, very honestly, 'J'ai peur qu'il ne me prenne;'—*I'm afraid he'll take me.*

"When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucidydes, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general Congress of Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract;* let us retract while we can,

not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts[f]: *they must be repealed;—you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it:—I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.*—Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

"So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity; the friend of Mecænas, and the eulogist of Augustus.—To him, the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity:

> "'Tuque prior, tu parce; genus qui ducis Olympo;
> Projice tela manu.'

"Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boston—by a repeal of your acts of Parliament—and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures:—foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread,—France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors,—with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

"To conclude, my Lords: If the ministers thus persevere in

[f] The Acts of Parliament passed in the preceding session, for shutting up the port of Boston, altering the charter of Massachusetts Bay, &c. The noble speaker's prediction was strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was *at last*, after three years' fruitless war, sent out as a peace offering to the Congress of America; by whom it was treated with contempt.

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misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing*:—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*"

After the Earls of Suffolk and Shelburne, the Lords Lyttleton [g] and Camden, had spoken on different sides of the question, Lord Chatham rose to reply. He said [h], "that if the noble Lord (Lyttleton) should prove correct in suggesting that the views of the Americans were ultimately directed to abrogate the Act of Navigation and the other regulatory acts, so wisely calculated to promote a reciprocity of interests, and to advance the grandeur and prosperity of the whole empire, no person present, however zealous, would be readier than himself to resist and to crush their endeavours: but to arrive at any certain knowledge of the real sentiments of the Americans, it would first be proper to do them justice—to treat them like subjects, before we condemned them as aliens and traitors. He entirely acquiesced in the sentiments of his noble friend, (Lord Camden,) that the present was not a subject adapted to minute metaphysical discussion. Property was a simple subject, distinct, unconnected with the variously complex ideas in which other political questions were inevitably involved. He maintained, and said he ever should maintain, that the right which God, nature, and the constitution, had given a British subject to his property, was invariably inalienable, without his own consent, and that no power under heaven could touch it without that consent either implied or expressly and directly given. He treated the idea, that taxation was included in legislation, as ridiculous and absurd. He contended that they were two operations, totally distinct from each other; that the *latter* evidently originated from the power vested in the legislative great council, to control, direct, and superintend the interests of the whole society, for the

[g] Thomas, second Lord Lyttleton.

[h] This speech is taken from the Parliamentary History, Vol. xviii. p. 165.

benefit of all; whilst the *former* was inseparably connected with property, and must for ever adapt itself to the true nature and disposition of property in general."

After a debate of more than ordinary length the question was rejected by an immense majority. One extraordinary circumstance attended the division—a Prince of the blood royal, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland [i], voted with the minority.

In commenting upon this debate, Dr. Franklin says, "I was quite charmed with Lord Chatham's speech in support of his motion. He impressed me with the highest idea of him as a great and most able statesman. Lord Camden, another wonderfully good speaker and close reasoner, joined him in the same argument, as did several other Lords, who spoke excellently well, but all availed no more than the whistling of the winds. Full of the high esteem I had imbibed for Lord Chatham, I wrote back to Lord Stanhope the following note:

"'Dr. Franklin presents his best respects to Lord Stanhope, with many thanks to his Lordship and Lord Chatham, for the communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. F. is filled with admiration of that truly great man. He has seen in the course of life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; in the present instance he sees both united, and both, as he thinks, in the highest degree possible.

"'*Craven-street, Jan.* 23, 1775 [k].'"

Not discouraged by the rejection of his introductory motion, Lord Chatham persevered in prosecuting his plan of conciliation. On the first of February he laid before the House the outlines of a bill entitled "A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America; and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." His Lordship's introductory speech was short.

[i] His Royal Highness Prince Henry Frederick, third brother of King George III.

[k] Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, p. 257.

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He said "that he offered it as a *basis* for averting the dangers which now threatened the British empire; and he hoped, he said, that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the House. He proceeded to state the urgent necessity of such a plan: as, perhaps, the delay of a few hours might for ever defeat the possibility of any such conciliatory intervention. He represented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and destruction must be the inevitable consequence to both parties. He wished, he said, from a principle of duty and affection, to act the part of a mediator. He said, however, that no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct; for though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, Liberty; yet, if he could once bring himself to be persuaded, that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power by every possible exertion this country was capable of making. He recurred to his former arguments, on the great constitutional question of taxation and representation; insisted they were inseparable, and planted so deeply in the vital principles of the constitution, as never to be torn up, without destroying and pulling asunder every band of legal government and good faith, which formed the cement that united its several constituent parts together. He entreated the assistance of the House to digest the crude materials which he presumed to lay before it, and to reduce his bill to that form which was suited to the dignity and the importance of the subject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exercise their candor on the present occasion, and deprecated the effects of party, or prejudice; of factious spleen, or

blind predilection. He avowed himself to be actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatever; for though the present bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess at the same time that it was a bill of assertion."

The following is an authentic copy of the bill.

"A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies.

"Whereas, by an act 6 Geo. III. it is declared, that Parliament has full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the people of the Colonies in all cases whatsoever: and whereas reiterated complaints and most dangerous disorders have grown, touching the right of taxation claimed and exercised over America, to the disturbance of peace and good order there, and to the actual interruption of the due intercourse from Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies, deeply affecting the navigation, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom and of Ireland, and announcing farther an interruption of all exports from the said Colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in America: Now, for prevention of these ruinous mischiefs, and in order to an equitable, honorable, and lasting settlement of claims not sufficiently ascertained and circumscribed, May it please your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the Colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependant upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament, and that the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British Colonies in America, in all matters touching the

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general weal of the whole dominion of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distinct colony; and, most especially, an indubitable and indispensable right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; the deep policy of such prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole British empire; and that all subjects in the Colonies are bound in duty and allegiance duly to recognize and obey, (and they are hereby required so to do,) the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain, as aforesaid. And whereas, in a petition from America to his Majesty, it has been represented, that the keeping a standing army within any of the Colonies, in time of peace, without consent of the respective Provincial Assembly there, is against law: Be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that the Declaration of Right, at the ever-glorious Revolution, namely, 'That the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be by the consent of Parliament, is against law,' having reference only to the consent of the Parliament of Great Britain, the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the Crown, to send any part of such army, so lawfully kept, to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, as his Majesty, in the due care of his subjects, may judge necessary for the security and protection of the same, cannot be rendered dependant upon the consent of a Provincial Assembly in the Colonies, without a most dangerous innovation, and derogation from the dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. Nevertheless, in order to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, be it hereby declared, That no military force, however raised, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. Moreover, in order to remove for ever all causes of pernicious discord, and in due contemplation of the vast increase of possessions and popula-

tion in the Colonies; and having a heart to render the condition of so great a body of industrious subjects there more and more happy, by the sacredness of property and of personal liberty, of more extensive and lasting utility to the parent kingdom, by indissoluble ties of mutual affection, confidence, trade, and reciprocal benefits, Be it declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority of the same, That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied, from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of Provincial Assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. And it is hereby further declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet in general Congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th day of May next ensuing, in order then and there to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies, as aforesaid. And moreover, may it please your most Excellent Majesty, that the said delegates, to be in Congress assembled in manner aforesaid, may be required, and the same are hereby required, by the King's Majesty sitting in his Parliament, to take into consideration, (over and above the usual charge for support of civil government in the respective Colonies,) the making a free grant to the King, his heirs, and successors, of a certain perpetual revenue subject to the disposition of the British Parliament, to be by them appropriated as they in their wisdom shall judge fit, to the alleviation of the national debt: no doubt being had but this just free aid will be in such honorable proportion as may seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing Colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burdens, which, in no inconsiderable part, have been willingly taken

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upon ourselves and posterity, for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the Colonies. And to this great end, be it farther hereby declared and enacted, that the general Congress, (to meet at Philadelphia as aforesaid,) shall be, and is hereby authorised and empowered, (the delegates composing the same being first sufficiently furnished with powers from their respective provinces for this purpose,) to adjust and fix the proportions and quotas of the several charges to be borne by each province respectively, towards the general contributory supply; and this in such fair and equitable measures, as may best suit the abilities and due convenience of all: provided always, that the powers for fixing the said quotas, hereby given to the delegates from the old provinces composing the Congress, shall not extend to the new provinces of East and West Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada; the circumstances and abilities of the said provinces being reserved for the wisdom of Parliament in their due time. And in order to afford necessary time for mature deliberation in America, be it hereby declared, That the provisions for ascertaining and fixing the exercise of the right of taxation in the Colonies, as agreed and expressed by this present act, shall not be in force, or have any operation, until the delegates to be in Congress assembled, sufficiently authorised and empowered by their respective provinces to this end, shall, as an indispensable condition, have duly recognised the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain over the Colonies aforesaid: always understood, That the free grant of an aid, as heretofore required and expected from the Colonies, is not to be considered as a condition of redress, but as a just testimony of their affection. And whereas divers acts of Parliament have been humbly represented, in a petition to his Majesty from America, to have been found grievous, in whole or in part, to the subjects of the Colonies, be it hereby declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts in America shall be restrained

within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury in all civil cases, where the same may be abolished, restored: and that no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province wherein such offence shall be alleged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor shall it be lawful to send persons, indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. And be it hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the said acts, or so much thereof as are represented to have been found grievous, namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5th Geo. III. ch. 25.—6th Geo. III. ch. 52.—7th Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8th Geo. III. ch. 22.—12th Geo. III. ch. 24.—with the three acts for stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, An act for the better administration of justice, &c.; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, shall be, and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act. And be it moreover hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the before-recited acts, or the parts thereof complained of, shall be and are, in virtue of this present act, finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies shall have been made on the part of the said Colonies.

"And for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the Colonies, be it declared and enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That his Majesty's judges in courts of law in the Colonies of America, to be appointed with salaries by the Crown, shall hold their offices and salaries as his Majesty's judges in England, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. And it is hereby further declared, by the

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authority aforesaid, That the Colonies in America are justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So shall true reconcilement avert impending calamities, and this solemn national accord between Great Britain and her Colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people, of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valor, and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal Colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them."

It is clear that Lord Chatham intended this bill [1] more as prepa-

[1] "As in the course of the *(former)* debate, some Lords in the Administration had observed, that it was common and easy to censure their measures, but those who did so proposed nothing better, Lord Chatham mentioned that he should not be one of those idle censurers, that he had thought long and closely upon the subject, and proposed soon to lay before their Lordships the result of his meditation, in a plan for healing our differences, and restoring peace to the empire, to which his present motion was preparatory: I much desired to know what his plan was, and intended waiting on him to see if he would communicate it to me; but he went the next morning to Hayes, and I was so much taken up with daily business and company, that I could not easily get out to him. A few days after, however, Lord Mahon called on me, and told me Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing me; when I promised to be with him the Friday following, several engagements preventing my going sooner. On Friday, the 27th, I took a post-chaise about nine o'clock, and got to Hayes about eleven, but my attention being engaged in reading a new pamphlet, the postboy drove me a mile or two beyond the gate. His Lordship, being out on an airing in his chariot, had met me before I reached Hayes, unobserved by me, turned and followed me, and not finding me there, concluded, as he had seen me reading, that I had passed by mistake, and sent a servant after me. He expressed great pleasure at my coming, and acquainted me, in a long conversation, with the outlines of his plan, parts of which he read to me. He said he had communicated it only to Lord Camden, whose advice he much relied on, particularly in the law part; and that he would, as soon as he could get it transcribed, put it into my hands, for my opinion and advice, but should show it to no other person before he presented it to the House; and he requested me to make no mention of it, otherwise parts might be misunderstood and blown upon beforehand, and others, perhaps, adopted and produced by ministers as their own. I promised the closest secresy, and kept my word; not even mentioning to any one that I had seen him. I dined with him, his family only present, and returned to town in the evening. On the Sunday following, being

ratory to the farther discussion of conciliatory measures with America, than as of itself calculated to ensure that great object. The bill

the 29th, his Lordship came to town, and called upon me in Craven Street. He brought with him his plan transcribed, in the form of an Act of Parliament, which he put into my hands, requesting me to consider it carefully, and communicate to him such remarks upon it as should occur to me. His reason for desiring to give me that trouble, was, as he was pleased to say, that he knew no man so thoroughly acquainted with the subject, or so capable of giving advice upon it; that he thought the errors of ministers in American affairs had been often owing to their not obtaining the best information: that, therefore, though he had considered the business thoroughly, in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment, but that he came to set it right by mine, as men set their watches by a regulator. He had not determined when he should produce it in the House of Lords; but, in the course of our conversation, considering the precarious situation of his health, and that, if presenting it was delayed, some intelligence might arrive which would make it seem less seasonable, or in all parts not so proper, or the ministry might engage in different measures, and then say, if you had produced your plan sooner, we might have attended to it, he concluded to offer it the Wednesday following; and therefore wished to see me upon it the preceding Tuesday, when he would again call upon me, unless I could conveniently come to Hayes. I chose the latter, in respect to his Lordship, and because there was less likelihood of interruptions; and I promised to be with him early, that we might have more time. He staid with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door; and being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man, on so important a business, flattered not a little my vanity; and the honor of it gave me the more pleasure, as it happened on the very day twelve months that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the privy council.

"I applied myself immediately to the reading and considering the plan, of which, when it was afterwards published, I sent you a copy, and therefore need not insert it here. I put down upon paper, as I went along, some short memorandums for my future discourse with him upon it, which follow, that you may, if you please, compare them with the plan; and if you do so, you will see their drift and purpose, which otherwise would take me much writing to explain.

"*Tuesday, Jan.* 31, 1775.

"*Notes for discourse with Lord Chatham on his plan.*

"Voluntary grants and forced taxes not to be expected of the same people at the same time.

"Permanent revenue will be objected to; would not a temporary agreement be best, suppose for 100 years?

"Does the whole of the rights claimed in the Petition of Rights relate to England only?

"The American Naturalization-act gives all the rights of natural-born subjects to foreigners residing there seven years. Can it be supposed that the natives there have them not?

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seems to be framed upon the principle suggested in the address transmitted from Congress to the people of Great Britain, and aims to

"If the King should raise armies in America, would Britain like their being brought hither? as the King might bring them when he pleased.

"An act of Parliament requires the Colonies to furnish sundry articles of provision and accommodation to troops quartered among them; this may be made very burthensome to Colonies that are out of favor.

"If a permanent revenue, why not the same privileges in trade with Scotland?

"Should not the lands conquered by Britain, and the Colonies in conjunction, be given them, (reserving a quit rent,) whence they might form funds to enable them to pay?

"Instructions about agents to be withdrawn.

"Grants to be for three years, at the end of which a new Congress—and so from three to three years.

"Congress to have the general defence of the frontiers, making and regulating new settlements.

"Protection mutual.

"We go into all your wars.

"Our settlements cost you nothing.

"Take the plan of union.

"'Defence, extension, and prosperity of,'—The late Canada Act prevents their extension, and may check their prosperity.

"Laws should be secure as well as charters.

"Perhaps, if the legislative power of Parliament is owned in the Colonies, they may make a law to forbid the meeting of any Congress, &c.

"I was at Hayes early on Tuesday, agreeably to my promise, when we entered into consideration of the plan; but though I staid near four hours, his Lordship, in the manner of, I think, all eloquent persons, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned, that there was not time to go through half my memorandums; he is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him, that I found little inclination to interrupt him; therefore, considering that neither of us had much expectation that the plan would be adopted entirely as it stood; that in the course of its consideration, if it should be received, proper alterations might be introduced; that before it would be settled America should have opportunity to make her objections and propositions of amendment; that to have it received at all here, it must seem to comply a little with some of the prevailing prejudices of the legislature; that if it was not so perfect as might be wished it would at least serve as a basis for treaty, and in the mean time prevent mischiefs, and that as his Lordship had determined to offer it the next day, there was not time to make changes and another fair copy:—I therefore ceased my querying; and though afterwards many people were pleased to do me the honor of supposing I had a considerable share in composing it, I assure you, that the addition of a single word only was made at my instance, viz. '*Constitution*,' after 'Charters;' for my filling up at his request a blank with the title of acts proper to be repealed, which I took from the proceedings of the Congress, was no more than might have been done by any copying clerk.

"On Wednesday, Lord Stanhope, at Lord Chatham's request, called upon me and carried me

place the Americans, as nearly as possible, in the state in which they were left at the conclusion of the last war. It is, as his Lordship

down to the House of Lords which was soon very full. Lord Chatham, in a most excellent speech, introduced, explained, and supported his plan. When he sat down, Lord Dartmouth arose, and very properly said, it contained matter of such weight and magnitude as to require much consideration, and he therefore hoped the noble Earl did not expect their Lordships to decide upon it by an immediate vote, but would be willing it should be upon the table for consideration. Lord Chatham answered readily that he expected nothing more. But Lord Sandwhich rose, and in a petulant, vehement speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion that it ought to be immediately rejected, with the contempt it deserved. That he could never believe it to be the production of any British Peer. That it appeared to him rather the work of some American; and turning his face towards me, who was leaning on the bar, said he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known. This drew the eyes of many Lords upon me; but as I had no inducement to take it to myself, I kept my countenance as immoveable as if my features had been made of wood. Then several other Lords of the administration gave their sentiments also for rejecting it, of which opinion also was strongly the wise Lord Hillsborough. But the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and others, were for receiving it, some through approbation, and others for the character and dignity of the House. One Lord mentioning with applause, the candid proposal of one of the ministers, Lord Dartmouth, his Lordship rose again, and said, that having since heard the opinions of so many Lords against receiving it to lie upon the table for consideration, he had altered his mind, could not accept the praise offered him for a candor of which he was now ashamed, and should therefore give his voice for rejecting the plan immediately. I am the more particular in this, as it is a trait of that nobleman's character, who, from his office, is supposed to have so great a share in American affairs, but who has in reality no will or judgment of his own, being, with dispositions for the best measures, easily prevailed with to join in the worst.

" Lord Chatham, in his reply to Lord Sandwich, took notice of his illiberal insinuation, that the plan was not the person's who proposed it: declared that it was entirely his own, a declaration he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their Lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckoned his vice not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare, that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation, for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature! I found it harder to stand this extravagant compliment than the preceding equally extravagant abuse; but kept as well as I could an unconcerned countenance, as not conceiving it to relate to me."—*Memoirs of the Life of Benjamin Franklin*, p. 257, &c.

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described it, a bill of assertion as well as of concession, for it clearly states "that the Colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament," &c. and it condemns, in terms of dignified rebuke, a passage in the petition to his Majesty from America which tended to infringe an unquestioned prerogative of the Crown. But in passing this judgment upon the declaration of the Congress, Lord Chatham has introduced a clause into his bill of which I cannot approve. I allude to the following: "Nevertheless, in order to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, be it hereby declared, that no military force, however raised, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people."

This sentence, although it contains an undoubted truth, is unwisely inserted in the bill. It affords arguments both for and against the maintenance of any military force; because the employment of such force may, by different persons, be defended or condemned; in the former case, as upholding the lawful authority of the Sovereign; in the latter, as violating the just rights of the people.

Although I have stated my opinion that this bill was not calculated to produce the beneficial effects anticipated by its noble framer, I cannot but admire the manly terms in which it is expressed, the strength and perspicuity with which its proposals are stated, and the earnest desire which it manifests to heal the differences between Great Britain and her Colonies. Replete as it was with such a variety of matter, and recommending measures so decidedly hostile to those upheld by the minister, it was to be expected that the bill would meet with an overwhelming opposition. In fact, the reception it experienced was every way unworthy of the candor and discrimination of those to whose consideration it was proposed. It is not usual to reject in Parliament, upon the first proposition, a bill which promises, however remotely, to effect any great national advantage. Upon the present occasion the ordinary practice was reversed. The bill, separately and altogether, was unreservedly condemned. The ministerial lords, with

one exception, were extremely violent in manifesting their disapprobation.

The Earl of Dartmouth having expressed a wish that the bill might lie on the table, to be taken into consideration after the adoption of some resolutions relative to the papers already communicated, Lord Sandwich insisted that any concession was an abandonment of the cause of government. The Americans, he said, had formed the most hostile and traitorous designs, and were guilty of actual rebellion in seizing the King's forts and ammunition, with an avowed intention of employing them against him. The mode of introducing the bill was unparliamentary and unprecedented. The stale pretence of preserving our commercial interests by concessions was a device which could impose on none but those who were wilfully blind, and resolved to contradict the plainest evidence of facts. The Americans were not disputing about words but realities; their aim was to be freed from commercial restrictions; they courted the trade of other nations, and he possessed letters which would undeniably prove that ships were then lading at L'Orient, Havre-de-Grace, and Amsterdam, with East India and European commodities for America. He therefore moved the immediate rejection of the bill.

Lord Sandwich was supported by the Duke of Grafton, Earl Gower, and the Earl of Hillsborough. The Duke of Grafton stigmatized the manner in which the bill was hurried into the House as unparliamentary. He had, he said, had the honor of sitting in that House longer than the noble Earl, and he remembered no similar instance of precipitation.

Lord Chatham was not of a disposition to allow himself to be attacked with impunity. He now retorted the sarcasms which had been levelled against him, from different quarters, with the most pointed severity.

"He descanted with the keenest satire upon the very extraordinary logic employed by the noble Duke, his *quondam* colleague in office, and very humble servant. The noble Duke, says his Lordship, is extremely angry with me, that I did not previously consult him on the

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bringing in the present bill: I would ask the noble Duke, does he consult me? or do I desire to be previously told of any motions or measures he thinks fit to propose to this House? His Grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been hurried. I am certain he could not be serious, if he gave himself a minute to consider how the case really stands. Here we are told, that America is in a state of actual rebellion, and we are now got to the 1st February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion: yet, such being the case, I am charged with hurrying matters; but whether my conduct may be more justly charged with hurrying this business into, or his Grace with hurrying it out of the House, I believe requires no great depth of penetration to discover. As to the other general objections, I presume it will be recollected, that the last day I submitted the proposition about withdrawing the troops, I then gave notice that I would present, in a few days, a plan of general reconciliation. Eleven days have since elapsed, and nothing has been offered by the King's servants. Under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when, perhaps, a single day may determine the fate of this great empire; and such a shameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done? No other alternative, in my opinion, remained, but either to abandon the interests of my country, and relinquish my duty, or to propose some plan, when ministry, by their inaction and silence, owned themselves incapable of proposing any. But even now let them speak out, and tell me, that they have a plan to lay before us, and I will give them an example of candor they are by no means deserving of, by instantly withdrawing the present bill. The indecent attempt to stifle this measure in embrio may promise consequences the very reverse of what I am certain will be the case. The friends of the present motion may flatter themselves that the contents of the bill will sink into silence and be forgotten, but I believe they will find the contrary. This bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America; it will, in such a course, undergo a deal of cool observation and investigation; and whatever its merits or demerits

may be, it will rise or fall by them alone; it will, I trust, remain a monument of my poor endeavors to serve my country; and however faulty or defective, will at least manifest how zealous I have been to avert the impending storms which seem ready to burst on it, and for ever overwhelm it in ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished, I am not surprised, that men who hate liberty, should detest those that prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves, should endeavor to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate, that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests: in that view you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms: but sure I am, such are your well-known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situations, who should wonder that you can put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and Nature designed you?"

The bill was rejected by a majority of sixty-one against thirty-two, and not even allowed to lie upon the table of the House. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland again voted in the minority [m].

[m] Lord Chatham did not obtain the cordial support of any party in support of his bill; the various feelings which prevailed at the time, are well described in the following passage.

"The Opposition was composed of such discordant parts, as were not likely to unite firmly and strenuously in any one point, but in endeavouring to disconcert the present system of politics; so that whenever it became a question, 'what should be substituted in its stead?' many adopted the sentiment of the Roman poet, *nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*. Lord

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Lord Chatham's Bill was a sort of challenge by which the ministry were compelled to bring forward their own plan: accordingly, they declared that a rebellion actually existed in Massachusetts Bay; an increase of the army was voted, and reason was given to expect that a greater number would be required in the course of the session. Whilst preparations were making to enforce obedience by arms, other expedients to effect the same purpose were also adopted. On the 10th of February, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut, and Rhode Island, &c. to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. These coercive measures were yet under discussion, when Lord North, to the astonishment of the Opposition and that of most of his own friends, brought forward, in a committee, propositions for conciliating the differences with America; but neither the time nor the measures proposed were suited to the dispositions of the colonists. The standard of civil war was already unfurled, and the battle of Lexington taught the British that men, although not equipped in all the paraphernalia of war, are formidable when they fight in a cause which is common to all. The action of Lexington, although in itself unimportant, was most momentous in its consequences: it was the commencement of a long and most obstinate war, which it considerably influenced, by increasing the confidence of the Americans, and by being hailed by them as an augury of their ultimate success. Although the courage and conduct of the British troops were eminently displayed at Bunker's Hill, and upon many other occasions, the ardor and union of the Americans opposed a resistance which was not to be overcome by any

Chatham's plan was not cordially relished by many who wished a reconciliation with America; and, indeed, independent of the particular views and private interests of the several leaders, (a source of disagreement sufficiently fruitful,) nothing could be more complicated than the business of adjusting a practical plan of reconciliation," &c.—*History of Lord North's Administration.*

superiority in military discipline. The Americans were most active in availing themselves of every advantage which they possessed, and in their endeavours to supply and remedy every defect and deficiency. Their skill as marksmen, in some measure, compensated for their comparative ignorance in military tactics; and their zealous attention was no weak substitute for experience. Whilst the general feeling was so favorable to their cause, the exertions of two individuals in different departments operated most powerfully in determining the success of the Americans. The reader will, at once, perceive that I allude to General Washington and Dr. Franklin. The shrewdness of Franklin, and the steadfastness of soul which distinguished Washington, beside the great services which it enabled each, respectively, to perform in Europe and in America, inspired their countrymen with confidence, excited their energies, and cemented their union. The successes of the English were purchased at a monstrous price[n].

Parliament met on the 25th of October. His Majesty's speech, which was of considerable length, turned chiefly upon the state of affairs in America, and upon the vigorous measures, with regard to that country, which he was advised to pursue. The Duke of Grafton, whom we have recently seen so strenuously opposing the councils of Lord Chatham, had now become a convert to his opinions: "He condemned the proceedings with respect to America during the last twelve months, and apologized for having supported them, by declaring that he had been misled and deceived. He had concurred," he said, "when he could not approve, from a hope that, in proportion to the strength of Government, would be the probability of amicable adjustment. He recommended the repeal of all acts relative to America, which had been passed since the year 1763. He did not expect that his proposition would obtain immediate approbation; but

[n] Franklin, in a letter to a friend, says, "Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed 150 Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000*l.* a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time, 60,000 children have been born in America: from these data may easily be calculated the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer the whole territory."

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he thought that it would daily grow in esteem, and ultimately gain universal assent. If even his sentiments were contrary to those which he had expressed, he could not," he said, "assent to an address which sanctioned measures of unknown extent and expense, whilst the King's speech was unaccompanied by the slightest information. He mentioned the bad state of his health, and, imitating Lord Chatham, declared his intention to come, in a litter, to express his full and hearty disapprobation of the measures of administration [o]." If the conduct of Lord Chatham can derive any lustre from the approbation of the Duke of Grafton, the declaration of his Grace upon the present occasion must be considered as a valuable testimony to his wisdom. Such being the opinions of the Duke of Grafton upon so momentous a question, it may be well imagined that he did not remain in the administration. Resigning the privy-seal, his Grace was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth, who, relinquishing the American secretaryship, was himself succeeded in that department by Lord George Germaine. If the reader has not already been impressed with an adequate idea of the promptitude and vigor which characterized the administration of Lord Chatham, when Mr. Pitt, I would recommend him to contrast the public measures adopted in 1759 with those pursued in 1775, and in subsequent years. The flight of the ball, when discharged from the cannon, is scarcely more rapid, or more effective, when compared to the stone hurled by some puny arm, than was the system of Pitt to that of Lord North's administration. I mean not to say that the campaign of 1776 was unattended by many successes: wherever a number of British troops have an opportunity of exerting themselves, many splendid actions must necessarily be performed. The Americans were frequently defeated; but their cause was like the spreading plant, which, by being sometimes cut down, shoots forth with greater boldness and vigor.

[o] Adolphus's History of England, Vol. ii. p. 261.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1776.

Declaration of Independence by the American Congress—Lord Chatham's feeling towards America—His Speech and Motion on the 30th May, 1777—Speeches of Lord Lyttleton, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Camden, and the Earl of Weymouth, on the same occasion—General Burgoyne and his whole Army are compelled to surrender themselves Prisoners of War—Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Celebrated Speech and Motion of Lord Chatham—The Duke of Richmond's Motion—Speech of Lord Chatham on this occasion—His Speech and Motion relative to General Burgoyne's Instructions—Speech of Lord Lyttleton in Answer—Lord Chatham's Motion respecting the Employment of the Indian Nations in America.

UNTIL the summer of the year 1776, the war had been carried on by the Americans under the plea of obtaining redress of their grievances. The majority of the people, and the most able of their leaders, had disavowed and reprobated the idea of attempting to establish an independency; but by degrees their minds became not only reconciled to, but anxiously desirous of a formal separation from Great Britain. The war had exasperated their feelings; and the progress of human passion, and various other causes, all concurred to effect an entire alienation. On the 4th of July, 1776, the *Declaration of Independence* was solemnly promulged by Congress. The effects produced by this celebrated declaration, in England and in America, were extremely violent, and of the most opposite description. In America, the idea of being emancipated from the parent-country—of erecting a new and magnificent empire upon the pillars of freedom, was well calculated to kindle the fire of ambition in every breast. In England, the indignation of many persons, who before considered the

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Americans as oppressed fellow-subjects, was now strongly excited against them. "They have renounced," it was said, "their connexion with this country, and declared hostility against us: we, as Britons, must oppose the enemies of Britain." It is singular, that whilst the majority of his countrymen adopted this language, Lord Chatham should still have brought forward proposals of conciliation. It is singular, that he who had declared that "if he could once bring himself to be persuaded, that the Americans entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional power and control of the British Legislature, he should himself be the very first person most zealously to move for securing and enforcing that power, by every possible exertion this country was capable of making," should still recommend negociating with a people who had openly renounced allegiance to Great Britain. The fact appears to be, that Lord Chatham, true Englishman as he was, had felt a partiality for the Americans from the time that his first administration had rendered his name so illustrious amongst them. He knew that his name was revered in America, and possibly imagined it to be so, even more than reality allowed. He was unwilling to exchange the character of the exalted hero—the magnanimous friend of America, for that of her deadly enemy. He still hoped to act the part of a mediator, and that if he could once obtain a remission of those grievances against which the Americans had petitioned, he might still restore the connexion between them and the mother-country. It was not until near the close of the session that Lord Chatham was enabled to attend in Parliament. During the greater part of the year 1775, and throughout the whole of 1776, the shattered state of his health had compelled him to be absent. He was now extremely infirm; but the sense of personal inconvenience, of health, of life, was absorbed in the consideration of his country's danger. On the 30th of

1777.

May, 1777, his Lordship attended in his place, to make another motion deprecating hostilities with America: he came wrapped in flannels, and supported upon crutches. His speech, in the vigor and brilliancy which it displayed, was a strong instance of the triumph of

the mind over the infirmities of the body. He commenced in the following manner[a]:

"My Lords, this is a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for Government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health: this is the judgment of my better days—the result of forty years' attention to America. They are rebels; but for what? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights! What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisbourg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great: I do not mean their panegyric; but must observe, in attenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed—the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. [*Referring to their petition.*] I state to you the importance of America: it is a double market—the market of consumption, and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage—you cannot conquer; it is impossible: you cannot conquer the Americans. You talk of your numerous friends to annihi-

[a] I have taken this speech from the 19th volume of the Parliamentary History of England, with the addition of the celebrated sentence in Lord Chatham's speech: "*I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch,*" which is mentioned by several writers as one of the most emphatic and effective which were ever pronounced.

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late the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army: *I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch!* But what would you conquer—the map of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. [*Looking at Lord Amherst.*] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises: I know what ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war: they are apt scholars; and I will venture to tell your Lordships, that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there, are too many to make peace—too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth: you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you. If ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left; the point of honor is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America, at the expense of twelve millions a year: the intercourse has produced every thing to France; and England, Old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable: the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home: it will give America an option; she has yet made no option. You have said, lay down your arms; and she has given you the Spartan answer: 'Come, take.'"

[*Here he read his motion.*]

"'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully representing to his royal wisdom, that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the

continuation of an unnatural war against the British Colonies in America; and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enter upon this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and despatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British Colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of these valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and to redress, will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and freeborn subjects, than the rigors of chastisement, and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end in finally dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the Colonies.' "

His Lordship rose again. "The proposal," he said, "is specific. I thought this so clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will shew Parliament sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of France; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for unconditional submission: try what can be gained by unconditional redress. Less dignity will be lost in the repeal, than in submitting to the demands of German chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish Armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the King where he ought

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to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

"In making his motion for addressing the King, he insisted frequently and strongly on the absolute necessity of immediately making peace with America. Now, he said, was the crisis, before France was a party to the treaty. This was the only moment left before the fate of this country was decided. The French court, he observed, was too wise to lose the opportunity of effectually separating America from the dominions of this kingdom. War between France and Great Britain, he said, was not less probable because it had not yet been declared: it would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gave full employment to our arms, and was pouring into her lap her wealth and produce; the benefit of which she was enjoying in peace [b]. He enlarged much on the importance of America to this country, which, in peace and in war, he observed, he ever considered as the great source of all our wealth and power." He then added, [*raising his voice,*] "Your trade languishes, your taxes increase, your revenues diminish. France, at this moment, is securing and drawing to herself that commerce, which created your seamen, fed your islands, &c. He reprobated the measures which produced, and which have been pursued in the conduct of the civil war, in the severest language; infatuated measures giving rise, and still continuing a cruel, unnatural, self-destroying war. Success, it is said, is hoped for in this campaign. Why? Because our army will be as strong this year as it was last, when it was not strong enough. The notion of conquering America he treated with the greatest contempt."

A very animated discussion now took place [c].

[b] "The people of this country are, almost unanimously, in our favor. The government has its reasons for postponing a war, but is making daily the most diligent preparations; wherein Spain goes hand in hand."—*Letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Winthrop, dated Paris, May 1, 1777.*

[c] In this debate a very warm altercation arose between the Duke of Grafton and the Archbishop of York: the former having animadverted upon a passage contained in a sermon published by the latter.

Lord Gower, and other Lords in administration, condemned the motion in the severest terms. The Duke of Grafton after hailing the return of Lord Chatham to the House, as a national event of the highest importance, entered into a long vindication of his propositions. The Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Hinchcliffe, also expressed himself in favor of the motion.

Lord Lyttleton [d], after acknowledging the eminent services which Lord Chatham had performed for his country, said, that whatever notice the motion itself was deserving of, the moderate and respectful terms in which it was conveyed, and the remarkable propriety and decorum in which the arguments in support of it were urged, called for the utmost candor and moderation. He, however, confessed himself surprised at the desponding tone, (relative to the views and conduct of foreign powers,) now adopted by the noble Earl, whose fire, spirit, and zeal for the honor and dignity of his country had once carried terror and conquest amongst surrounding nations. He asked the noble Lord whether it were reconcileable to his former conduct, now to hold out to us, when we were asserting our undoubted rights, the terrors to be apprehended from a resistance in America? He remembered the time when the noble Lord held a far different language; when he inspired himself, then very young, and the nation at large, with the most exalted and heroic sentiments [e]; when he called upon the people to assert their honor, and do themselves justice, though every power in Europe should combine against them. Lord Lyttleton next adverted to the state of America; to the anarchy that then prevailed there; to the acts of violence, treachery, cruelty, and injustice, which, he said, were daily committed in that country by our rebellious subjects upon their loyal brethren, who would not join in their diabolical schemes of overthrowing all just and legal government. After condemning, in the strongest language, the proceedings

[d] Thomas, second Lord Lyttleton. This eccentric nobleman possessed great abilities, and his vices are much to be lamented. He died a premature death in 1779.

[e] The effect of Lord Chatham's eloquence upon the mind of Lord Lyttleton when a boy, is most forcibly described in a letter written by the latter upon the subject. See Chap. XXX.

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of the Americans, Lord Lyttleton reminded his opponents of their predictions concerning the conduct of France, and their repeated assertions that America had never entertained any thoughts of independence. Experience had verified the language of administration on both these points. The noble Lord who made the motion had laughed at the absurdity of such an idea, as any interference on the part of France, and that the Congress should declare the United Colonies independent states. The other noble Lords, on the same side, denied the least probability of any such event, and pledged themselves, should it ever happen, to be the first and most zealous in endeavouring to compel them to a return to their duty. The event has actually taken place, and what is their conduct? Instead of recommending vigorous measures, we are told that France does not mean to interfere [f]; but, lest she should, it is now proposed to open a treaty with declared and open rebels. Our rights are to be abandoned or conceded, lest France should go to war when our strength and resources are weakened and exhausted.

Lord Lyttleton, in continuation, imputed the present state of affairs to the mistaken lenity of ministers in the early stages of the contest. He reminded their Lordships of the part which he had himself taken, and how frequently he had pressed administration on the subject. He was confident, he said, that if vigorous measures had been earlier adopted, the rebellious colonies would now be in a state of peace and obedience. He took great pains to prove that the measures of government were popular, and he praised the abilities of the minister in devising taxes which would be productive, without being in the least oppressive. He spoke of the country gentlemen as supporting, almost unanimously, the present war; he passed high encomiums upon their weight and integrity, and affirmed, that whilst measures were thus strongly supported by such a decided majority of opinions, we had every reason, not only to expect a happy issue to

[f] Lord Lyttleton seems here to have misunderstood Lord Chatham and the other Peers who supported his motion. They had given their opinions that France *would* take part in the war.

the present rebellion, but that we should be able to defend ourselves against any powers who should venture to interrupt us, and cause them to repent of their rashness.

The Duke of Manchester attributed the declaration of independence, on the part of the Americans, chiefly to the neglect and contempt with which their petition to the King had been treated by Parliament; to the repeated refusals of redress, in any form or through any channel; and to the inflammatory addresses presented to the throne previous to the session of Parliament, in 1775. His Grace pressed the propriety of Lord Chatham's motion upon several grounds, and predicted the happiest consequences, should it be agreed to. It was not pretended that the present campaign would be decisive; indeed the contrary was already acknowledged. Taking the motion in that light, as neither prolonging the war, nor defeating the objects of the campaign, he begged leave to assure their Lordships, that an account of the success of this motion reaching America, would more effectually tend to stop the farther effusion of blood, and to the attainment of what we were entitled to demand, or ought to wish to obtain, than any advantages we could possibly derive from the most successful exertion of our arms. The noble Earl who made the motion had, on former occasions of singular importance and difficulty, evinced his ability to save his country by equal proofs of vigor and of wisdom; by vigor, where the cause required action, and by wisdom, where it depended more upon management and deliberation. His years, his character merited respect: his motion itself was a proof of his wisdom, and he hoped their Lordships would adopt it, promising as it did a happy relief in the hour of danger—a fortunate resource in our present distressed situation.

Lord Camden, after paying the highest compliments to Lord Chatham, proceeded to review the conduct of Great Britain to America, from the commencement of the quarrel. He asserted that we had been the aggressors. Upon that principle he grounded the propriety of our being the first to shew a disposition to make peace with the injured Americans. He contended that nothing of that sort

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had yet been done, and that the commission given to Lord and Sir W. Howe, for granting pardon to the Americans, was far from deserving to be considered pacificatory, and was necessarily ineffectual. It was, indeed, an insult to their understandings. A herald with a trumpet would have done just as much as commissioners going forth with such incompetent authority. It was so considered by the Congress, and that it would be so, was foreseen by many. *Now*, he contended, was the moment, perhaps the latest moment, to make peace, and to recover, in any degree, our losses. Were this business delayed but for a few weeks, America and France might be in alliance, our commerce with the former of these countries would then be irretrievably lost to us, and, in the moment of our being apprised of that evil, another would arise with it—the necessity of a war with France, for the recovery, (however hopeless might be the endeavour,) of our lost commerce and possessions. His Lordship, after a speech of considerable length, concluded by a statement of the nature of trade, and of its importance to this country. He said that trade was its vital blood, diffusing itself through all its members, and animating the whole with life and vigor. In respect to American trade, he recalled the attention of the House to what this country had been before it was known, to what it had grown whilst that trade flourished, and what we were likely to become when it had departed from us. He viewed the notion of conquest, and of success in arms, in the same light as Lord Chatham, and stated the final, the irreparable loss of America, as the inevitable consequence of a continuance of the war.

Lord Weymouth objected to the motion, as inadequate to the purpose which it was declared calculated to effect; as ill-timed, because it could not, if adopted by their Lordships, be of any present service. After noticing some particular statements in the speech of Lord Camden, his Lordship observed, that the motion before them held out nothing specific. It was for an address to his Majesty; to do what? The noble Earl, he presumed, did not mean to enter into specific terms for relinquishing the rights of Parliament. An act of Parliament had already appointed a commission; commissioners were

now acting by virtue of that appointment. This address was not, he hoped, intended to cause his Majesty to supersede that commission, or to supersede the provisions of an act of Parliament. Such a proceeding was wholly impracticable. What good purpose, therefore, the present motion, however well intended, could answer, was more than he could imagine. In its present shape he could not, consequently, speak to it, until the objects, to the attainment of which it was ultimately directed, were first pointed out.

The Earl of Chatham. "I perceive the noble Lord neither apprehends my meaning, nor the explanation given by me to the noble Earl[g] in the blue ribbon, who spoke early in the debate.

"I will, therefore, with your Lordships' permission, state shortly what I meant. My Lords, my motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to be amended by your Lordships. I did not dare to point out the specific means. I drew the motion up to the best of my poor abilities; but I intended it only as the herald of conciliation, as the harbinger of peace to our afflicted colonies. But as the noble Lord seems to wish for something more specific on the subject, and through that medium seeks my particular sentiments, I will tell your Lordships very fairly what I wish for. I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act which your Lordships have passed since 1763. I would put our brethren in America precisely on the same footing they stood at that period. I would expect, that being left at liberty to tax themselves, and dispose of their own property, they would, in return, contribute to the common burthens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your Lordships for a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arrest that approaching destruction which threatens to overwhelm us.—My Lords, I shall no doubt hear it objected, 'Why should we submit or concede? Has America done any thing on her part to induce us to agree to so large a ground of concession?' I will tell you, my Lords, why I think you should. You have been the aggressors from the beginning. I shall not trouble your

[g] Earl Gower.

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Lordships with the particulars; they have been stated and enforced by the noble and learned Lord, who spoke last but one, (Lord Camden,) in a much more able and distinct manner than I could pretend to state them. If, then, we are the aggressors, it is your Lordships' business to make the first overture. I say again, this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm, my Lords, that instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress. We have injured them; we have endeavored to enslave and oppress them. Upon this ground, my Lords, instead of chastisement, they are entitled to redress. A repeal of those laws, of which they complain, will be the first step to that redress. The people of America look upon Parliament as the authors of their miseries; their affections are estranged from their Sovereign. Let, then, reparation come from the hands that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed chastisement; and I do maintain, that Parliament will again recover its authority; that his Majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his American subjects; and that your Lordships, as contributing to so great, glorious, salutary, and benignant a work, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire."

Lord Weymouth expressed himself obliged to the noble Earl for his explanation. But as every thing adduced by his Lordship was founded on the supposition that Great Britain was the aggressor, and that not appearing to himself to be the case, the arguments built upon such a supposition must fall to the ground. So far was this country from being the aggressor, that we had too long procrastinated measures of force, in hopes of an amicable adjustment. He denied that if the present motion were rejected, all future hopes of reconciliation would be precluded. The contrary was much the more probable supposition, and though it were otherwise, it was impossible to prevent the evils deprecated by the present or any resolution taken at

this season of the year. The campaign would be begun, before any accounts of the present motion could reach America.

The motion was rejected by a large majority [g].

The session ended on the sixth of June, 1777.

The campaign of this year decided the fate of the war. Notwithstanding two very brilliant victories obtained by General Howe, notwithstanding the enemy were driven before him from the field, and the seat of their government taken, the British cause was evidently declining. Our victories in the south were unproductive, whilst our arms in the north were utterly defeated and overthrown.

The appointment of General Burgoyne to the command of the northern force had given offence to Sir Guy Carleton, a very meritorious officer, who resigned his government in disgust. It was at this time that several nations of savages were regularly employed in the British service. Although I believe it to be an established fact, that the Americans first associated Indians with their own forces in attacking the English, the practices of these savages were so utterly revolting to humanity, that no precedent could justify their employment.

In pursuance of a vague plan which had been previously concerted between Lord George Germaine and himself, General Burgoyne proceeded with his fine army through the wilds of America. His catastrophe was less tragical, but to a soldier more painful than that which Braddock had experienced three and twenty years before. On the 16th of October, 1777, General Burgoyne was compelled to surrender his whole army prisoners of war.

Intelligence of this calamity had not reached England when Parliament met. It was, indeed, anticipated by men of discernment, and we shall find Lord Chatham alluding to it as an event which had probably occurred. The accounts from Sir William Howe extended no farther than his preparations of advance towards Philadelphia;

[g] Not-contents 76, Proxies 23=99
Contents 26, Proxies 2=28
71 Majority against the motion.

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with the situation and apparent design of the enemy to impede his progress. In Europe, the decided partiality of the Court of Paris to the revolted Colonies, formed a principal subject of the public attention. The naval preparations that were carrying on in the ports of France were, to the last degree, alarming. The projects of that country against England seemed daily ripening into execution. Never was there a session of Parliament more teeming with events than that which assembled on the 18th of November, 1777. The following was his Majesty's speech from the throne.

"It is a great satisfaction to me that I can have recourse to the wisdom and support of my Parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our most serious attention. The powers which you have entrusted me with, for the suppression of this revolt, have been faithfully exerted; and I have a just confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, be attended with important success; but as I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels may render expedient, I am, for that purpose, pursuing the proper measures for keeping my land forces complete to their present establishment; and if I should have occasion to increase them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and public spirit to enable me to make them good.

"I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions. My own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my dominions in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects; and, as on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe shall not be disturbed by me, so, on the

other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honor of the Crown of Great Britain. CHAP. XXVIII. 1777.

"I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The various services which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large supplies, and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they must bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are necessary for the welfare and the essential interests of my kingdom.

"I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which, with the blessing of God, I will maintain through the several parts of my dominions: but I shall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war. And I still hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what they have lost, and the feelings of what they now suffer under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a spirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother-country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and support of my Parliament, to accomplish what I shall consider as the greatest happiness of my life, and the greatest glory of my reign, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to my American Colonies."

Earl Percy having moved the Address, Lord Chatham, soon afterwards, rose and delivered the following speech, one of the most forcible and brilliant ever uttered in Parliament:

"I rise, my Lords," he said[h], "to declare my sentiments on

[h] This speech was taken by Mr. Boyd, who, I have stated, took that of the 20th January, 1775.

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this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavor its alleviation, by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments.

"In the first part of the Address, I have the honor of heartily concurring with the noble Earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do; none can offer more genuine congratulation on every accession of strength to the Protestant succession: I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of her Majesty. But I must stop here; my courtly complaisance will carry me no further: I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace: I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavors to sanctify, the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us—that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is no time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelope it; and display, in its full danger and true colors, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

"This, my Lords, is our duty; it is the proper function of this noble assembly, sitting, as we do, upon our honors in this House, the hereditary council of the Crown: and *who* is the minister—*where* is the minister, that has dared to suggest to the Throne the contrary unconstitutional language, this day delivered from it?—The accustomed language from the Throne has been application to Parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance: as it is the right of Parliament to give, so it is the duty of the Crown to ask it. But, on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels! no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of Parliament! But the Crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures—and what measures, my Lords?—The measures

that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

"Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support, and in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one, and the violation of the other?—To give an unlimited credit and support for the *steady* perseverance in measures—that is the word and the conduct—proposed for our Parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt!—*But yesterday, and* England *might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.* I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honor, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honor, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people, whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility: this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect.

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Is this the honor of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, 'but yesterday,' gave law to the House of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest Prince that perhaps this country ever saw, filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish General, on a similar subject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place: and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

"My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honor, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known: no man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honor the English troops: I know their virtues and their valor: I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, you CANNOT conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general [i], now a noble Lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer America.* What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the Northern force [k]; the best appointed army that ever took the field commanded

[i] Lord Amherst.

[k] General Burgoyne's army. The account of this *total loss*, as the noble speaker's political prescience expressed it on the 18th November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; *he was obliged* to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impossible. —You may swell every expence, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German Prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign Prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never.

"Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it—and notwithstanding what the noble Earl, who moved the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; whilst our strength and discipline are lowered, theirs are rising and improving.

"But, my Lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment: unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the constitution—I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength

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and character of our army are thus impaired: infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, 'that make ambition virtue!' What makes ambition virtue?—the sense of honor. But is the sense of honor consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers—what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gypsies?* Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

"The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address. My Lords, no man wishes more for the due dependence of America on this country than I do: to preserve it, and not confirm that state of independence into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots: but, contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us, and we reaped from her the most important advantages: she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for, in their negociations with France, they

have, or think they have, reason to complain: though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humor with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations: let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England—to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the established sentiment of all the Continent; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part—the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails; and there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces: some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature, and those constitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, by a conduct so just and humane, we shall confirm the favorable, and conciliate the adverse. I say, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England, can claim; reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother-country, the due constitutional dependency of the Colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state, in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

"The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests. America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless

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banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions; many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest:—the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year: and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts—our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

"As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted to be pacific and friendly, let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested assertions. The uniform assistance, supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion:—The most important interests of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments. The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition, and our own danger. Not five thousand troops in England!—hardly three thousand in Ireland! What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of!—The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers!—Our channel torn to pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed;—where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face.

"You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures—you cannot *subdue* her by your present, or by any measures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can *address;* you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into

an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honor of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat; let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

"My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long: let us now stop short: this is the crisis—may be the only crisis, of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries and 'confusion worse confounded.'

"Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction?—I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits, and presumptuous imaginations—that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavored to

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redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since, not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of Parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a Princess: to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This, my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy, and, perhaps the only opportunity. By the establishment of irrevocable law, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your Lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconnection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

"My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as consideration of interest—to restore that favorable disposition into a permanent and powerful reunion with this country—to revive the mutual strength of the empire;—again, to awe the House of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice, and Spanish punctilio—to re-establish our commerce—to re-assert our rights and our honor—to confirm our interests, and renew our glories for ever, (a consummation most devoutly to be endeavored! and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America,)—I have the honor of submitting to you the following

amendment; which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address.

"'And that this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty, to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war; and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty, that they will, in due time, cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for the ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her Colonies.'"

A long and animated discussion now ensued, in which many of the Peers took part.

In the course of the debate, Lord Suffolk, Secretary of State for the Northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that "it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that *God and Nature put into our hands.*" This last expression rekindled the flame of Lord Chatham's indignation, and occasioned one of the sublimest bursts of eloquence which history has recorded.

"I AM ASTONISHED!" exclaimed his Lordship, suddenly rising from his seat, "shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country:—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!

"My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon

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your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. 'That God and nature put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. —What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honor; they shock me as a lover of honorable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity[1].

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *Right Reverend* Bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* Bench to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution:—I call upon the honor of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own:—I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character:—I invoke the genius

[1] A nature so noble as Lord Chatham's was naturally averse to cruelty. But although he never sanctioned the employment of Indians in the field during his own administration, he certainly knew that they had been in alliance with us. In a letter, dated October 24, 1760, he desires General Amherst to acquaint "his Majesty's faithful Indian allies, under Sir William Johnson, with the just sense the King entertained of the spirit and perseverance they had exerted on all occasions in his service; and that his Majesty had learnt, with sensible pleasure, that by the good order kept by Sir William Johnson among the Indians, no act of cruelty had stained the lustre of the British arms." See Chapter XVI. p. 482.

of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord [m] frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honor, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion*, of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us; to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage —against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war!—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war!* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

"My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honor, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual enquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this House and this country from this sin.

"My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my

[m] Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, was eminent for his services against the Spanish Armada; the destruction of which is represented in the tapestry. Howard, Earl of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who commanded the fleet upon that glorious occasion, was another of Lord Suffolk's ancestors, and to him Lord Chatham more especially refers.

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head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles."

The amendment was rejected by a large majority[n].

On the 2d December, the Duke of Richmond, in a speech of some length, stated the reasons which induced him to move for an enquiry into the state of the nation. In times like those, he said, the country had a right to be informed of the true state of affairs, and it was the duty of Parliament to afford such information. He wished that the country should be apprized of what the war, so far as it had gone, had cost us in blood and treasure. He wished to enquire into the conduct of that war, and the measures which had been taken for the restoration of peace. For these purposes he should move that several accounts and papers be laid before the House. And that there might be time to weigh them, he now moved their Lordships to resolve that the House should take into consideration the state of the nation on Monday the 2d February next.

After some observations from the Earl of Suffolk, the Duke of Richmond said that he wished for no information involving disclosures dangerous to the country. His proposed motions were of a retrospective nature, calculated to call forth matter which was already known to our enemies. They were these: 1st, For returns of the several military corps and marines serving on shore which have suffered by death, &c., from the 1st January, 1774, to 1st August, 1777, in America. 2d, For a list of ships, and the number of men who suffered by death, &c. 3d, For the last returns from the hospitals, of the sick, wounded, and dead. 4th, For a list of the ships employed as convoys. 5th, For an account of the ships of war employed as cruisers, &c. &c. 6th, For the last accounts of the state of the army in Great Britain. 7th, For the state of the army in Ireland. 8th, For the state of the army in America.

These motions being all agreed to, the Earl of Chatham rose and said:

[n] By 97 against 28.

said, "I most cheerfully testify my approbation of the motions now made by the noble Duke: and am firmly persuaded, that they have originated in the most exalted motives; nor am I less pleased with the very candid reception they have met with from your Lordships. I think they will draw forth a great mass of useful information; but as to those respecting the state of our military strength, there appears something yet wanting to render them complete. Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us of the actual state of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, those two very important fortresses, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them, (Gibraltar,) situated on the very continent of Spain, the best proof of our naval power, and the only solid check on that of the House of Bourbon; yet those two important fortresses are left to chance, and the pacific dispositions of France and Spain, as the only protection; we hold them but by sufferance. I know them to be in a defenceless state. None of your Lordships are ignorant that we lost Mahon at the commencement of the last war. It was indeed a fatal disaster, as it exposed the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean to the ravages of our inveterate and then powerful enemies. My Lords, such was the light the acquisition of that fortress was looked upon when it was first taken, that the Duke of Marlborough, who was no great penman, but who employed a secretary to draw up his despatches, in answer to the letter from the able general and consummate statesman who conquered it, (the father of my noble relation now in my eye, Earl Stanhope,) trusted the despatch to the secretary, but added a postscript in his own handwriting, where he recommended particularly to the victorious general, to by no means neglect putting that fortress in the best possible state of defence, and to garrison it with natives, and not foreigners. When I had the honor, soon after it fell into the hands of the French, to be called into the councils of the late King, I never lost sight of that circumstance. Gibraltar still remained in our hands: and the war in Germany, which Parliament thought fit to engage in, and bind themselves to, before I came into office; though we were carrying on the

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most extensive operations in America; though the coast of Africa, and the West India islands, required a suitable force to protect them; and though these kingdoms called for a proportionate army, not only to act defensively, but offensively on the coasts of our enemies; notwithstanding all those pressing services, my Lords, having the counsel of that great man constantly in view, it determined me, that whatever demands, or how much soever such troops might be wanting elsewhere, that Gibraltar should never want a full and adequate defence. I never had, my Lords, less than eight battalions to defend it. I think a battalion was then about eight hundred strong. So that, my Lords, I affirm that Gibraltar was never trusted to a garrison of less than six thousand men. My Lords, this force was, as it were, locked up in that fortress during the whole of the late war; nor could any appearance of the most urgent necessity induce me to weaken it. My Lords, I know that the very weak and defenceless state of these islands does not seem to admit of any troops being spared from the home defence; but, my Lords, give me leave to say, that whatever reluctance or disgust there may have appeared in several veteran and able Generals to the service, where the tomahawk and scalping-knife were to be the warlike instruments employed as the engines of destruction, I am convinced there are many, some of whom I have in my eye [o], who would, with ardor and alacrity, accept of any command, where the true honor, interest and safety of their country were concerned. My Lords, the moment is arrived when this spirit should be exerted. Gibraltar is garrisoned by Hanoverians. I am told, if any accident should happen to the present commanding officer there, that the care of the fortress, and the command of the troops, would devolve on a foreigner. I do not recollect his name, but this is my information; and if I do not hear it contradicted, I must take it for granted. I am well authorised to say, my Lords, that such is the present defenceless state of Gibraltar, that there is not a second relief in case of an attack; not men sufficient to man the works, while

[o] His Lordship was supposed to allude to the Lords Townshend and Amherst.

those fatigued with service and watching go to refresh, eat, or sleep; though Germany and the wilds of America have been ransacked for the purpose.

"My Lords, we should not want men in a good cause; and nothing ought to be left untried to procure them. I remember, soon after the period I shall take the liberty to remind your Lordships of, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguished in the northern part of this island, men not fighting for liberty, or the constitution of their country, but professedly to annihilate both, as advocates for popery, slavery, and arbitrary power; not like our brethren in America, Whigs in principle, and heroes in conduct: I remember, I say, my Lords, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means; they fought our battles; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before. What, then, does your Lordships imagine would be the effect of a similar conduct towards the Whigs and freemen of America, whom you call rebels? Would it not, think you, operate in like manner? They would fight your battles; they would cheerfully bleed for you; they would render you superior to all your foreign enemies; they would bear your arms triumphant to every quarter of the globe. You have, I fear, lost the affection, the good will of this people, by employing mercenary Germans to butcher them; by spiriting up the savages of America to scalp them with a tomahawk. My Lords, I would have you consider, should this war be pushed to extremities, the possible consequences. It is no farther from America to England than from England to America. If conquest is to be the issue, we must trust to that issue, and fairly abide by it.

"The noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, the last night I had the honor to address your Lordships, contradicted me when I asserted we had not above twenty ships of the line fit to proceed to sea, (on actual service,) at a short warning. I again repeat the assertion, though I gave it up at that time, on account of the plausibility and confidence with which the fact was asserted. I now say, there are

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not above twenty ships of the line, on which any naval officer of eminence and skill in his profession would stake his credit. The noble Earl in office said, there were thirty-five ships of the line fit for sea; but acknowledged, that there was a deficiency of near three thousand of the complements necessary to proceed upon actual service. How did the noble Earl propose to fill up that deficiency?—By supernumeraries, by transfers, by recruits, &c. Will the noble Earl say, that twenty-one thousand is a full war complement for thirty-five ships of the line? or will he undertake to assure this House, (even allowing for those odds and ends,) that the ships will be properly manned by the numbers now actually on board? But if every particular fact, stated by the noble Earl, be precisely as he would persuade your Lordships to believe; will his Lordship pretend to affirm, that thirty-five ships of the line, or even forty-two, (the highest number that his Lordship ventured to affirm,) would, in case of a rupture with the House of Bourbon, be sufficient for all the purposes of offence, defence, and protection? I am sure his Lordship will not. A fleet in the channel; one in the Western sea: another in the West Indies; and one in the Mediterranean; besides convoys and cruizers, to protect our commerce and annoy our enemies. I say, my Lords, that thirty-five ships of the line would be necessary for the protection of our trade and fortresses in the Mediterranean alone. We must be equal to the combined force of France and Spain in that sea, or we need not send a single ship there. Ships must be stationed to command respect from the powers on the coast of Barbary, and to prevent their piracies on our merchant vessels. We must have a superior fleet in the Western sea likewise, and we must have one in the Channel equal to the defence of our own coast.

"These were the ideas which prevailed, when I had the honor of assisting in the British councils, and at all other preceding periods of naval hostility since the revolution. My Lords, if Lord Anson was capable of the high office the noble Earl now presides in, the noble Earl is certainly mistaken in saying, that thirty-five or fifty-five ships of the line are equal to the several services now enumerated. That

great naval commander gave in a list, at one time, of eighty-four thousand seamen actually on the books. It is well worthy your Lordships' enquiry, to know what are the present number. The motion made by the noble Duke leads to that enquiry, and meets my warmest approbation; but that we may have every necessary information, I recommend to my noble friend to amend his motion by extending it to Gibraltar and Mahon. I do not wish to have any thing disclosed at present, which may tend to expose the weak state of those fortresses; but I think it is incumbent on your Lordships to learn their strength, in point of numbers of men; and to know how the fact stands, relative to the possibility of the command of Gibraltar devolving on a foreigner, in case of any accident happening to the officer who now commands there."

After the Earl of Sandwich and Viscount Townshend had spoken in answer to Lord Chatham, the Duke of Richmond, adopting the recommendation of his Lordship, moved for "Copies of the last monthly returns of his Majesty's forces, as well foreign as British, in Gibraltar and Minorca." This renewed the debate, which, after a fresh motion had been brought forward and withdrawn by the Duke of Bolton, ended in the concurrence of the Peers in a motion of the Duke of Grafton for "Such papers as relate to the fulfilling that part of the Capture Act, so far as it empowered certain persons to declare any colony, province, &c. at the peace of his Majesty; with a return of such colony, &c. which, since the passing of the above act, may be declared at the peace of his Majesty."

The arrival of intelligence from America soon proved the state of the nation to be even more calamitous than the sagacity of Lord Chatham had predicted. The truth was not to be concealed—General Burgoyne and his army were prisoners of war.

On the 5th of December, Lord Chatham went to the House of Lords to make a motion upon that subject. He then said: "That the King's speech at the opening of the session conveyed a general information of the measures intended to be pursued; and looked for-

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ward to the probable occurrences which might be supposed to happen and affect the great bodies to whom they were addressed: and, of course, the nation at large, who were finally interested. He had the last speech from the throne now in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. They would both co-operate to enforce and justify the measure he meant to propose. He was sorry to say, the speech contained a very unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs. This assertion was unquestionable; not a noble Lord in administration would dare rise, and even so much as controvert the fact. The speech held out a specious outside—was full of hopes; yet it was manifest, that every thing within and without, foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. His Lordship hoped that this sudden call for their Lordships' attention would be imputed to its true motive, a desire of obtaining their assistance in such a season of difficulty and danger; a season in which, he would be bold to maintain, a single moment was not to be lost. It was customary, he said, for that House to offer an address of condolence to his Majesty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation on any public success. If this was the usage of Parliament, he never recollected a period, at which, such an address became more seasonable or necessary than at present. If what was acknowledged in the other House was true, he was astonished that some public notice was not taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster.—The report was, the fact was acknowledged by persons in high authority, (Lords Germaine and North,) that General Burgoyne and his army were surrounded, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the Provincials. He should take the account of this calamitous event, as now stated, and argue upon it as a matter universally allowed to be true. He then lamented the fate of Mr. Burgoyne in the most pathetic terms; and said, that gentleman's character, the glory of the British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of ministers. Appearances, he observed, were indeed dreadful; he was not sufficiently

informed to decide on the extent of the numerous evils with which we were surrounded, but they were clearly sufficient to give just cause of alarm to the most confident or callous heart. He spoke with great candor of General Burgoyne; he might, or might not, be an able officer; but by every thing he could learn, his fate was not proportioned to his merit: he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. Neither should he condemn ministers; they might have instructed him wisely; he might have executed his instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried. There are many events which the greatest human foresight cannot provide against; it was on that ground, therefore, he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged; the General had miscarried. It might not have been his fault; it might not be that of his employers or instructors. To know where the fault lay, he was desirous of having the orders given to General Burgoyne laid before the House. So much of the plan at home had, however, transpired, as justified him in affirming that the measures were founded in weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species. Was this honorable war? Was it the means which God and nature, *(alluding to what had fallen from Lord Suffolk on the opening of the session,)* put into the hands of Englishmen, to assert their rights over our colonies, and to procure their obedience, and conciliate their affection? His Lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of the system introduced within the last fifteen years at St. James's; of breaking all connection, of extinguishing all principle. A few men had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy, by the executive powers of the state being at their command; they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This brought pliable men, not capable men, into the highest and most responsible situations; and to such men was the government of this once glorious empire now entrusted. The spirit of delusion had gone forth; the ministers had imposed on the people;

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Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; false lights had been held out to the country gentlemen: they had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression, that the Land Tax would be diminished, by the means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish. He condemned the contents of the speech in the bitterest terms of reproach. He said it abounded with absurdity and contradiction. In one part it recommended vigorous measures, pointing to conquest, or unconditional submission; while in another, it pretended to say, that peace was the real object, as soon as the deluded multitude should return to their allegiance. This, his Lordship contended, was the grossest and most insolent delusion. It was by this strange mixture of firmness and pretended candor, of cruelty and mercy, justice and iniquity, that this infatuated nation had been all along misled.

"His Lordship returned to the situation of General Burgoyne, and paid him, indeed, very high compliments. He said, his abilities were confessed; his personal bravery not surpassed; his zeal in the service unquestionable. He experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions of human industry. What then, says his Lordship, is the great cause of his misfortune? Want of wisdom in our council, want of ability in our ministers. His Lordship laid the whole blame on ministers: it was their duty to shield that ill-treated officer from the temporary obloquy he must suffer under, till he had an opportunity to justify himself in person. His motion bore no personal relation to the conduct of that able but abused officer; it was meant to be solely pointed to draw forth those instructions, which were the cause of his defeat and captivity. General Burgoyne was subject to the events of war; so was every other man who bore a command in time of war; for his part, when he was in office, he never attempted to cover his own incapacity, by throwing the blame on others; on the contrary, he gave them every support and becoming countenance in his power.

"His Lordship condemned the plan of operations, which he insisted was sent from hence, that of penetrating into the Colonies from Canada. It was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; it was full of difficulty; and though success had declared in our favor, would have been a wanton waste of blood and treasure. He next animadverted upon the mode of carrying on the war, which he said was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, recorded in the annals of mankind. He contrasted the fame and renown we gained the last war, with the feats and disgraces of the present; then," he said, "we arrived at the highest pinnacle of glory; now we had sullied and tarnished the arms of Britain for ever, by employing savages in our service, by drawing them up in a British line, and mixing the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. The horror he felt was so great, that, had it fallen to his lot to serve in an army where such cruelty was permitted, he believed, in his conscience, he would sooner mutiny than consent to serve with such barbarians. Such a mode of warfare was, in his opinion, a contamination—a pollution, of our national character; a stigma which all the water of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away: it would rankle in the breast of America, and sink so deep into it, that he was almost certain they would never forget nor forgive the horrid injury."

His Lordship observed, "that similar instructions relative to the Indians had been imputed to him. He disclaimed the least recollection of having given any such instructions; and in order to ascertain the matter, so as to remove any ground of future altercation on the subject, he called upon the Administration to produce the orders, if any such had been given.

"We had," he said, "swept every corner of Germany for men: we had searched the darkest wilds of America for the scalping-knife; but those bloody measures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended that instant orders might be sent to call home the first, and disband the other—indeed, to withdraw our troops entirely; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German

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bayonet and Indian scalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren. Such an expectation was foolish, absurd, and mad. The Colonies must consider us as friends, before they will ever consent to treat with us: a formal acknowledgment of our errors, and a renunciation of our unjust, ill-founded, and oppressive claims, must precede every the least attempt to conciliate. He declared himself an avowed enemy to American independency: he was a Whig; and though he utterly, from his heart, abhorred the system of government attempted to be carried into execution in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig Government, and a Whig connexion between both countries, founded in a constitutional dependence and subordination."

His Lordship recurred to the melancholy momentous situation of public affairs in general. He said, "America was lost, even by the accounts which Administration in the Gazette had thought proper to impart. General Washington proved himself three times an abler general than Sir William Howe; for, with a force much inferior in number, and infinitely inferior in every other respect, as asserted from an authority not to be questioned, [*Lord G. Germaine,*] he had been able to baffle every attempt of ours, and left us in such a situation, that, if not assisted by our fleet, our troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia must probably share the same unhappy fate with those under General Burgoyne. He condemned the motives and the conduct of the war in terms the most pointed and energetic; and compared the situation of this country to that brought on his dominions by the Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Bold:—a Prince of the House of Savoy had his property seized by the former; the injured Prince would not submit; war was determined on; and the object strongly resembled the paltry pretence on which we had armed, and had carried fire, sword, and devastation through every corner of America. The seizure was about a cargo of skins; he would have them, but the Prince of Saumur would not submit. The Duke was conjured not to go to war, but he persisted; '*he was determined steadily to pursue the same measures;*' he marched

against 'the deluded multitude[p];' but at last gave one instance of his magnanimity, by imputing his misfortunes to his own obstinacy; 'because,' said he, 'this was owing to my not submitting to be well advised.' The case of the Duke of Burgundy was applicable to England: ministers had undertaken a rash enterprize, without wisdom to plan, or ability to execute. CHAP. XXVIII. 1777.

"What had occasioned, since last war, the rise in the value of English estates? America, which he now feared was for ever lost. She had been the great support of this country; she had produced millions; she afforded soldiers and sailors; she had given our manufacturers employment, and enriched our merchants. The gentlemen of landed property would probably feel this; for, when commerce fails—when new burdens are incurred—when the means by which those burdens were lightened are no more, the land-owner will feel the double pressure of heavy taxes; he will find them doubled in the first instance, and his rents proportionably decreased. But for what had we sacrificed all those advantages?—The pursuit of a pepper-corn! And how did we treat America?—Petitions rejected—complaints unanswered—dutiful representations treated with contempt—an attempt to establish despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty; measures to enforce taxation by the point of the sword. Ministers had insidiously betrayed us into a war; and what were its fruits? Let the sad catastrophe which had befallen Mr. Burgoyne speak the success.

"In the course of his speech he adverted to the language and Tory doctrine held in print, and in that House, by a most reverend prelate[q]: and, he trusted, he should yet see the day when those pernicious doctrines would be deemed libellous, and treated as such. They were the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a Whig, he should never endure them; and, he doubted not, the author or

[p] Alluding to expressions in the King's speech.

[q] The Archbishop of York. By referring to the xixth vol. of the Parliamentary History of England it will be seen, that the Archbishop, when attacked by the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Shelburne, defended the doctrines which he had advanced, with much courage and ability.

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authors would suffer that degree of censure and punishment which they so justly deserved.

"After recommending measures of peace instead of measures of blood, and promising to co-operate in every proposition calculated to put a stop to the effusion of the one, and to promote the other, his Lordship moved, 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House copies of all orders and instructions to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, relative to that part of his Majesty's forces in America under his command.'"

Lord Lyttleton "lamented the fate of General Burgoyne, on whom, as an officer and a man, he bestowed the highest encomiums. He wished, whilst the noble Earl had been so profuse in his commendations, that he had acted with more real candor, and had not called, (as by the effect of the present motion, were it to be agreed to, he would call,) that unfortunate but brave officer's conduct into question, and expose him, during his absence, to an enquiry in which he would be unable to defend himself. He objected to the nature of the intelligence upon which the proposed enquiry was founded, and said that it could not come properly before the House. It was but rumour, and, as such, was no solid foundation for a parliamentary enquiry. He avowed himself as genuine a Whig as the noble Earl. He had been bred in the principles of Whiggism from his earliest days, and should persevere in them to the end. He loved Whiggish principles as much as he hated those of republicanism and anarchy. But if the bare *name* of Whig was all that was meant, he disclaimed that name. If an impatience under every species of constitutional government, if a resistance to legal restraint, if the abetting of rebels, was the test of modern Whiggism, he wished to be excluded. He would, indeed, much rather share the odium which had been unjustly cast upon another set of men, and, in preference to the title of a *modern* Whig, be accounted a Tory.

"His Lordship then entered into a general consideration of the question of right between this country and America. The noble

Lords, he said, on the other side, had acknowledged the war to be popular. He was convinced it was so, more than any other he ever recollected. The supremacy of this country was at stake. Shall we then, he asked, forego all our just rights? Rights, I will be bold to say, upon which the very existence of this country depends? Shall we forego them for a single check, when it is notorious that we have been victorious in every other quarter to which our arms have been carried? Shall we crouch to America, because, allowing the fact to be so, we have met with one disaster? This was not the language of the noble Lord heretofore. He once rescued this country from impending ruin, and I call upon him to declare whether, if he were at the head of his Majesty's counsels, he would now despair? Would he advise this country to humiliate herself, and sue for peace to America? Or, if he is of that opinion, does he think that America would either accede to terms which he thinks reasonable; or desist, even though we should declare her independent, from farther pretensions? I know the noble Earl too well to believe he could be so far deceived. Consider the other effect of such a procedure. We humble ourselves to our rebellious subjects! What, in such an event, would all Europe think of us? What would our ancient enemies, France and Spain, think of us? Would they not actually realize what, it is now pretended, they have in contemplation? They would despise as well as detest us. They would immediately conclude that we were weak, pusillanimous, and defenceless; that we had lost all spirit of military glory and of national pride. They would regard us as a nation of merchants—as poor, grovelling, and mercenary. Such a conduct on our part would fill them with confidence; and that confidence would most certainly terminate in our utter destruction.

"His Lordship next entered into the great question of parliamentary supremacy; and contended, that it must be supported in its true constitutional extent, otherwise the nation would be undone. He should not, he said, presume to point out the precise terms; but even the noble Earl himself had admitted the necessity of American dependency. He, (Lord Lyttleton,) was firmly persuaded that the

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supreme right, even to tax, although Parliament was willing to relax, could not be abandoned—Parliament could not give up the rights of the empire; they were inherent, they were inalienable; and the great controlling superintending power of the state was inviolable and indivisible. We were contending for the very existence of the empire. Should America prevail, instead of submitting to acts of navigation from hence, she would prescribe them to us. The right of binding America, in all cases, we clearly possessed, and, he trusted, should never relinquish. His Lordship, after contending that the measures pursued, with regard to America, were not the measures of the ministers only, but of Parliament, of the whole nation, condemned the absurdity of the proposition to withdraw our troops as a preparatory step to negociation. In answer to that part of Lord Chatham's speech, in which he denied ever having officially sent out orders to employ the Indian savages against the French, Lord Lyttleton observed, that savages *had been* employed on that occasion, and in great numbers; and although, perhaps, not under the express direction of the noble Earl, the measure was, notwithstanding, his, since the officers, so far from being called to any account by him, were tacitly justified in their proceeding. He was much astonished, he said, at the great parade the noble Earl had made respecting the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. Was an Indian's knife, then, a more dreadful weapon than the bayonet of an Englishman? He wished, as heartily as any noble Lord, for a happy and honorable end to the contest, and perhaps the recent misfortune would make it proper to hold out terms to America. But he was most decidedly against withdrawing our troops, as such a fatal measure would give America an advantage which we should never be able to surmount[r]."

The Earls of Suffolk and Shelburne, Lord Cardiff, and the Earl of Galloway then spoke successively in the debate.

[r] The length of Lord Lyttleton's very able and animated speech has prevented me from giving it entire. The above extracts express the principal arguments advanced on the side of administration. See Parliamentary History of England, vol. xix. p. 491.

The Duke of Manchester drew a parallel between the probable fate of Britain, and that of the Athenian commonwealth relative to her Sicilian colonies. He said the oppression exercised by the Athenians having caused the revolt of the Sicilians, the latter, at first inclined to friendship and obedience, petitioned and remonstrated, but all in vain—they must be subdued. Armies were sent from Athens; they met with difficulties; they were defeated. New levies were made; still victory declared in favor of those who fought for what they deemed their rights. The Athenian arms were unsuccessful. At this critical period, a great popular speaker, who was likewise a soldier, arose [s]. He made speeches—he contended for the justice of the war—he obtained the command of the army. But what was the issue? The army was cut off; the General perished [t]; Sicily was lost. Athens drained, weakened, and exhausted, became a prey to her ambitious neighbour, the state of Sparta. Such was the fate of that once glorious republic. The people of Great Britain had been excited in a similar manner; they had been deluded by specious tales and inflammatory speeches. General Burgoyne's blind efforts to penetrate through Canada resembled the land march of the Athenians towards Syracuse. They were equally brave, but their plans being equally unjust and unwise, their fortitude was unjustifiable and useless. He was, he said, very apprehensive that the issue would be precisely similar—their certain ruin and destruction.

The motion was negatived [u]. After which Lord Chatham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House all orders and

[s] Alcibiades.

[t] His Grace's classical allusion is certainly ingenious, although not quite correct. Alcibiades, who excited the war against Syracuse, was recalled from the command of the army, which was then consigned to Nicias who had always reprobated it as impolitic and unjust. The catastrophe of this General's army was very similar to that of General Burgoyne's; it was obliged to surrender, at discretion, to the enemy. Here, of course, the comparison ceases, for Nicias himself was infamously murdered by the Syracusans, and his troops condemned to hard labor.

[u] Contents 19, not contents 40.

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treaties relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St. Leger."

Lord Gower opposed the motion, and asserted that the noble Lord had himself employed savages without remorse in the operations of the last war.

Lord Chatham then rose, "and reproached the noble Lord with petulance and malignant misrepresentation. He denied that Indians had ever been employed by him; they might have crept into the service, from the utility which the officers found in them when they were engaged in some particular enterprises in unexplored places; but they were never employed by the late King (George II.) who, he said, had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much humanity, to agree to such a proposal, had it ever been made to him. And he called upon Lord Amherst to declare the truth."

Lord Amherst reluctantly owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides; the French employed them first, he said, and we followed the example [x].

The motion of Lord Chatham was rejected by the same majority as before.

On the 11th December a motion was made by the Earl of Oxford to adjourn to the 20th January, 1778. This long adjournment was opposed by Lord Chatham, who said:

[x] It is pleasing to record instances of genuine goodness of heart. Governor Pownall proposed in Parliament, February 6, 1778, that both Great Britain and America should utterly cease to employ the Indians as allies in war.

"If government, he said, would propose to Congress the terms of such an agreement, he would answer for it that the Congress would embrace them and execute them with good faith. Such a disposition and such an overture, he said, might produce the happiest consequences—it might lead to the mutual performance of good offices, and lay the foundation of a more extensive treaty, which by prudent management might be brought to terminate in peace. He offered to go himself, if government would adopt the measure, and Parliament ratify it, without pay or the hope of any reward, and make the proposal to Congress, and would answer with his life for the success that would attend it."—*See History of Lord North's Administration, note to page* 293.

"It is not with less grief than astonishment that I hear the motion now made by the noble Earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present, on every side, prospects of awe, terror, and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud, that may crush this nation, and bury it in destruction for ever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty; to retire to your country-seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation, to advise your Sovereign—to be the protectors of your country—to feel your own weight and authority. As hereditary counsellors, as members of this House, you stand between the Crown and the people; you are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legislature, and it is your duty to supplicate and counsel, to surround and protect it: you hold the balance, your duty is to see that the weights are properly poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach on the other; and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, from bringing the nation to destruction. My Lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that state; and I am persuaded, that nothing short of a spirited interposition on your part, in giving speedy and wholesome advice to your Sovereign, can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which Ministers have brought upon us. These are the calamitous circumstances Ministers have been the cause of: and shall we, in such a state of things when every moment teems with events productive of the most fatal narratives—shall we trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to those men who have brought those calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution, without almost a possibility of prevention? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness.

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The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains safe no longer than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your Lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men, who, in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken? I will not say, my Lords, nor do I mean anything personal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not suppose that they foresaw what has since happened; but I do contend, my Lords, that their guilt, (I will not even suppose it guilt but,) their want of wisdom, their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or their base compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps caused by the influence of one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your Lordships' confidence, of the confidence of Parliament, and those of whose rights they are the constitutional guardians,—the people at large. A remonstrance, my Lords, should be carried to the throne. The King has been deluded by his Ministers. Either they have been imposed upon by false information, or, from motives best known to themselves, they have given apparent credit to what they were convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous measure of an American war, by the arts of imposition, by their own credulity, through the means of false hopes, false pride, and promised advantages, of the most romantic and improbable nature. My Lords, I do not wish to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own sentiments, whether I can be justly charged with arrogance or presumption, if I said, great and able as Ministers think themselves, that all the wisdom of the nation is confined to the narrow circle of the petty cabinet. I might, I think, without presumption, say, that your Lordships, as one of the branches of the legislature, may be as capable of advising your Sovereign, in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any lesser council, composed of a fewer number; and who, being already so fatally trusted, have betrayed a want of honesty, or

a want of abilities. Is it, my Lords, within the utmost stretch of the most sanguine expectation, that the same men who have plunged you into your present perilous and calamitous situation, are the proper persons to rescue you from it? No, my Lords, such an expectation would be preposterous and absurd. I say, my Lords, you are now specially called upon to interpose. It is your duty to forego every call of business and pleasure; to give up your whole time to enquire into past misconduct; to provide remedies for the present; to prevent future evils; to *rest on your arms*, if I may use the expression, to watch for the public safety; to defend and support the throne; or, if fate should so ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude with the rest of your fellow-subjects in the general ruin. I fear the last alternative must be the event of this mad, unjust, and cruel war. It is your Lordships' duty to do every thing in your power that it shall not; but, if it must be so, I trust your Lordships and the nation will fall gloriously.

"My Lords, as the first and most immediate object of your enquiry, I would recommend to you to consider the true state of our home-defence. We have heard much from a noble Lord in this House of the state of our navy. I cannot give an implicit belief to what I have heard on that important subject. I still retain my former opinion relative to the number of line of battle ships; but as an enquiry into the real state of the navy is destined to be the subject of a future consideration, I do not wish to hear more about it till that period arrives. I allow, in argument, that we have thirty-five ships of the line fit for actual service. I doubt much whether such a force would give us a full command of the channel. I am certain, if it did, every other part of our possessions must lie naked and defenceless, in every quarter of the globe. I fear our utter destruction is at hand. [*Here, and in many other parts of his speech, his Lordship broadly hinted that the House of Bourbon was meditating some important and decisive blow near home.*] What, my Lords, is the state of our military defence? I would not wish to expose our present weakness; but weak as we are, if this war should be continued, as the public

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declaration of persons in high confidence with their Sovereign would induce us to suppose, is this nation to be entirely stripped? And if it should, would every soldier now in Britain be sufficient to give us an equality to the force in America? I will maintain they would not. Where, then, will men be procured? Recruits are not to be had in this country. Germany will give no more. I have read in the newspapers of this day, and I have reason to believe it true, that the head of the Germanic body has remonstrated against it, and has taken measures accordingly to prevent it. Ministers have, I hear, applied to the Swiss Cantons. The idea is preposterous! The Swiss never permit their troops to go beyond sea. But, my Lords, if even men were to be procured in Germany, how will you march them to the water-side? Have not our Ministers applied for the port of Emden, and has it not been refused? I say, you will not be able to procure men even for your home-defence, if some immediate steps be not taken. I remember during the last war, it was thought advisable to levy independent companies: they were, when completed, formed into battalions, and proved of great service. I love the army; I know its use; but I must nevertheless own, that I was a great friend to the measure of establishing a national militia. I remember during the last war, that there were three camps formed of that corps at once in this kingdom. I saw them myself; one at Winchester; another in the west, at Plymouth; and a third, if I recollect right, at Chatham. [*Here he was told that he was right.*] Whether the militia is at present in such a state as to answer the valuable purposes it did then, or is capable of being rendered so, I will not pretend to say; but I see no reason why, in such a critical state of affairs, the experiment should not be made; and why it may not again be placed on its former respectable footing. I remember, all the circumstances considered, when appearances were not nearly so melancholy and alarming as they now are, that there were more troops in the county of Kent alone, for the defence of that county, than there are now in the whole island.

"My Lords, I contend that we have not procured, nor can we procure, any force sufficient to subdue America; it is monstrous to think of

it. There are several noble Lords present well acquainted with military affairs: I call upon any one of them to rise and pledge himself, that the military force now within the kingdom is adequate to its defence, or that any possible force to be procured from Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be equal to the contest with America. I am too perfectly persuaded of their abilities and integrity, to expect any such assurance from them. Oh! but if America is not to be conquered, she is to be treated with: conciliation is at length thought of; terms are to be offered! Who are the persons that are to treat on the part of this afflicted and deluded country?—The very men who have been the authors of our misfortunes; the very men who have endeavoured, by the most pernicious policy, the highest injustice and oppression—the most cruel and devastating war, to enslave those people; they would conciliate, to gain the confidence and affection of those who have survived the Indian tomahawk, and the German bayonet! Can your Lordships entertain the most distant prospect of success from such a treaty, and such negociators? No, my Lords, the Americans have virtue, and must detest the principles of such men: they have too much understanding, and wisdom, to trust to that cunning and those narrow politics from which such overtures proceed. My Lords, I maintain that they would shun, with a mixture of prudence and detestation, any proposition coming from that quarter. They would receive terms from such men, as snares to allure and betray; they would dread them as ropes, meant to be put about their legs, to entangle and overthrow them.

"My Lords, supposing that our domestic danger, if at all, is far distant; that our enemies will leave us at liberty to prosecute this war with the utmost of our ability: supposing that your Lordships should grant a fleet one day, an army another; all these, I do affirm, will avail nothing, unless you accompany it with advice. Ministers have been in error; experience has proved it; and, what is worse—in that error they persist. They told you in the beginning, that 15,000 men would traverse America, with scarcely the appearance of interruption. Two campaigns have passed since they gave us this assurance;

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treble that number has been employed; and one of your armies, which composed two-thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and, in the midst of victory, and the flush of conquest, have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity.

"My Lords, no time should be lost which may promise to improve this disposition in America, unless, by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to be entirely extinguished. While, on one side, we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. Burgoyne, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of ministers, we are as strongly impelled, on the other, to admire and applaud the generous, magnanimous conduct—the noble friendship, brotherly affection, and humanity of the victors, who, condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre and devastation to their true authors, supposed that, as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the general, nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the first cause of those diabolical orders to their source; and, by that wise and generous interpretation, granted their professed destroyers terms of capitulation, which they could be only entitled to as the makers of fair and honorable war.

"My Lords, I should not have presumed to trouble you, if the tremendous state of this nation did not, in my opinion, make it necessary. Such as I have this day described it, I do maintain it to be: the same measures are still persisted in; and ministers, because your Lordships have been deluded, deceived, and misled, presume, that whenever the worst comes, they will be enabled to shelter themselves behind Parliament. This, my Lords, cannot be the case: they have committed themselves and their measures to the fate of war, and they

must abide the issue. I tremble for this country; I am almost led to despair, that we shall ever be able to extricate ourselves. Whether or not the day of retribution is at hand, when the vengeance of a much-injured and afflicted people will fall heavily on the authors of their ruin, I am strongly inclined to believe, that before the day to which the proposed adjournment shall arrive, the noble Earl who moved it will have just cause to repent of his motion."

The eloquence of Lord Chatham was exerted in vain, and the adjournment took place [y].

[y] Upon the division respecting the question of adjournment, the contents were 47; not contents, 17.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1778.

Critical situation of Great Britain—Difficulty of raising troops—Ten thousand men are levied in Scotland—Lord Chatham and Lord Bute, Dr. Addington and Sir James Wright—Lord North's overtures to conciliate the Americans—Treaty between France and America—Message from the Throne—Opinion of Lord Chatham respecting America considered—Sketches of the characters of the Earl of Shelburne and Colonel Barré—Description of Lord Chatham's appearance in the House of Lords on the 7th April, 1778—His Speech in answer to the Duke of Richmond—Reply of the Duke of Richmond—Lord Chatham is suddenly attacked by illness—Faints in the House of Lords—His death—Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament relative to Lord Chatham—Funeral Procession—Monumental Inscription at Burton-Pynsent.

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ENGLAND was now in the predicament of a man who, whilst engaged in a desperate and unequal conflict with one antagonist, sees another preparing to assail him. The ministry were not, however, yet roused to a sense of the country's danger. They continued, (if I may use a metaphor of Mr. Burke applied to another occasion [a],) "idly and stupidly gazing on that meteor, which blackened all their horizon, and which was about to burst over their heads." A treaty of commerce was now executed between France and America; and, in consideration of the offence which Great Britain might take at this measure, the two countries, at the same time, entered into an eventual treaty of defensive alliance. The former treaty was signed on the 30th of January, 1778, and the latter on the 6th of the following

[a] See Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.

February. It appears scarcely credible that these most important transactions should have remained so long unknown to the British ministry. But, whether their ignorance was real or assumed, all intimation of these events was for some time withheld from Parliament. As, notwithstanding the calamities already sustained in America, administration were determined to persevere in their measures of compulsion, the greatest difficulties were experienced in recruiting our armies. The resources in Germany, "that great market of men[b]," were nearly exhausted. Troops were not only procured with difficulty, but one of the great German powers actually refused a passage through a portion of his dominions to those who were already engaged in the service of Great Britain. The facilities of procuring soldiers were not greater at home. The disposition of the nation was far different from that which excited all classes of the community to come forward in support of government in the year 1759. In this situation, the principal business of the recess was to make new levies by private subscription. The towns of Manchester and Liverpool in England, and the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland, distinguished themselves by the zeal they evinced in the cause of administration; each, raising a regiment of a thousand men. The idea of obtaining a considerable supply of troops from Scotland was suggested by the recollection of Mr. Secretary Pitt's masterly policy with regard to the Highlanders in the year 1757. The gallantry which those hardy mountaineers had evinced in America induced the ministry to endeavor to obtain their services upon the present emergency. The experiment proved successful, and ten thousand men were thus obtained in Scotland. The support received by the ministry in England was far less efficacious; five thousand troops being the utmost which they were there enabled to raise. The first object of attack by the opposition after the recess of Parliament was the manner in which these troops had been levied during the adjournment. It was asked for what cause so long a recess had been made, at a time when so dangerous a

[b] This was a descriptive epithet applied to Germany by Lord Chatham, (then Mr. Pitt,) in 1744.

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measure as that of raising an army within the kingdom was in contemplation? It was said, that if the raising of one regiment in so unconstitutional a manner, was to be justified, the same arguments would apply to the most numerous army. The ministry, on the other hand, defended themselves with ability; they asserted that the measure was both innocent and necessary: that it was agreeable to law, to precedent, and the constitution. The debates upon this subject were long and violent. Lord Chatham, although his conduct in the year 1759 had been cited by the ministry as a precedent for their own mode of raising troops, took no part in these altercations. His mind was intently occupied upon the great question of America. His opinions upon all subjects were received with interest by the country; and the decided language which he had constantly held respecting the necessary dependency of America upon Great Britain was now considered as peculiarly important. It became a question of great moment, what line of conduct Lord Chatham would recommend, should the treaty between France and America be actually concluded? Whilst the public attention was thus excited, the proceedings of two private individuals brought Lord Chatham, in some degree, in contact with a nobleman, against whom, upon political grounds, he had so often expressed an aversion. I allude to the conversation and correspondence which passed between Dr. Addington and Sir James Wright respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham. My own impressions respecting this transaction have been derived from a careful examination of the statements of the two parties; these I shall state, but I leave the reader to form his own opinion from the same documents which he will find in the appendix.

It appears that Sir James Wright, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, and Dr. Addington, an eminent physician who attended Lord Chatham, had been in the habit of discussing political subjects, and, in the course of their conversations, had frequently introduced the names of their respective patrons. The adage which says, "preserve me from my friends, and I will guard myself against my enemies," is not inapplicable to the present case. It appears to me that the

mistaken, although well-meaning, zeal of Sir J. Wright, and Dr. Addington, led both Lord Chatham and Lord Bute into an error, and induced each nobleman, without reason, to believe that the other was desirous of opening a negociation with himself. Both gentlemen seem to have been eager politicians; both entertained the highest ideas of the honor and capacity of their respective patrons, and both were anxiously desirous of seeing them in power. From these causes it happened that, in the various conversations which took place between them, many things spoken hypothetically by the one party were received as authorised facts by the other. The frequent recurrence of the theme induced Sir J. Wright to mention the circumstance to Lord Bute, and also to inform him, although certainly not upon sufficient grounds, "that Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honor, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety[c]." Gratified, doubtless, with the approbation of so illustrious a character, Lord Bute then said, "that Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a sincere conduct, and intention for the King's and the public welfare. As for himself, he had no connection with any one in administration. He had not the most distant friendship with Lord North or he should certainly advise him by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King's service and confidence. And you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, said Lord Bute, to assure Lord Chatham, that if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he shall have my most hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my sentiments on this subject to your friend. He continued saying many very respectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, 'Had we not unfortunately disagreed about the last peace, I am sure, he and I should have continued such steady friends, that this country never would have experienced her present severe misfortunes. He also said, that the prior part of Lord Chat-

[c] See Sir James Wright's first letter to Dr. Addington in the Appendix.

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ham's last speech was manly and constitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wisher of his country, to wish to see him again take a part in the government of the King's affairs, which would be a happiness for the whole empire." These sentiments of Lord Bute's were contained in a letter written by Sir J. Wright on the 2d February, and addressed to Dr. Addington, who *shewed the letter to Lord Chatham, on the day following*. However strongly Lord Chatham had condemned the fatal influence which he asserted had been so long exerted by Lord Bute, it was not in human nature to be displeased with the praise now bestowed upon his conduct, although it came from one whom he had so often censured.

There was no time, I believe, in which Lord Chatham would have consented to act with that individual in administration, but it seems probable that, "he would not, from any personal objection to Lord Bute, have refused to listen to such proposals, as might be perfectly consistent with his honor and his principles, and which he might have accepted with the prospect of being serviceable to his country, *merely because they came through his Lordship* [d]."

After reading the letter with attention, Lord Chatham dictated the following note, to be given by Dr. Addington to Sir James Wright: "Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favorable sentiments on the subject of the noble Lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears that all hope is precluded; but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be *new counsels*, and *new counsellors*, without further loss of time; a *real change* from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless."

The expression *real change* in this note is so completely in unison with the sentiments repeatedly declared by Lord Chatham respecting the secret influence of Lord Bute, that it appears to aim principally at

[d] This is an extract from an admirable letter by the Hon. William Pitt, in answer to one, which had appeared in the public papers, by Lord Mountstuart. The reader will find both these letters in the Appendix.

that nobleman, although in a manner calculated to give him the least possible offence. We shall find that this expression *was* thus applied both by Sir J. Wright and by Lord Bute. After the note was written, Dr. Addington states that he mentioned to Lord Chatham that Sir J. Wright had represented Lord Bute as willing to be secretary of state in the place of Lord Weymouth. This appeared strange to Lord Chatham, who said, "Indeed! did Sir J. Wright tell you so?" "He certainly told me so," replied Dr. Addington. Before he left him, Dr. Addington asked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming into administration with Lord Bute or Lord North. Lord Chatham upon this lifted up his hands and said, "It is impossible for me to serve the King and country with either of them; and if any one asks you about it, I desire you to bear witness that you heard me say so."

With the exception of the alleged declaration of Lord Bute which gave rise to Lord Chatham's asseveration, the facts which I have hitherto stated are, I think, clearly established. The succeeding occurrences involve much contradiction. Where an assertion is made by any gentleman, it is most painful to doubt its truth. But, where the statement of one gentleman is contradicted by that of another, both being held in equal estimation, the public can only hope to collect the truth, by weighing the probability or improbability of their respective assertions. The facts contained in Dr. Addington's first letter certainly tend to prove that Lord Bute, notwithstanding the interpretation which he put upon Lord Chatham's expression *real change*, did suggest the outlines of an administration in which the latter nobleman was to take a conspicuous part. On the other hand, Sir J. Wright peremptorily denies that he ever made any such proposition as coming from Lord Bute.

On the 7th of February, Dr. Addington sent the letter to Hayes, to which I have above alluded, the principal part of which I here insert:

"Sir James Wright took a correct copy of the valuable writing entrusted to my care, between twelve and one yesterday. At one

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he waited on his friend, and I was to call in Brook-street for his answer at half-past two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home, but a few minutes before my arrival had been called back again to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left the letter, requesting the favor of a line from Sir James before he went out of town. At five I received a short note, saying, that his stay in town could be of no service, and that he would give me an account by the post this day of his conversation with ———. Perhaps more persons than one were to be consulted, before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleased with your Lordship and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than one of your Lordship's friends. Sir James Wright asked what was meant by the words, 'real change.' I thought they wanted no explanation; he thought they included his friend, as well as the ministry, and wished that your Lordship and his friend could have an interview, but gave me no commission to mention his wishes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordship and his friend to save the nation. I only added, that I believed the King and your Lordship could save the nation, and that his friend might be instrumental to its salvation, by turning the royal mind from past errors."

Upon receiving the above note, Lord Chatham conceived that much dissimulation had been practised towards himself by the authority of Lord Bute, and his indignant feelings induced him, on the instant, to write thus to Dr. Addington:

"*Hayes, February* 7.

"The conversations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you, are, on his part, of a nature too insidious, and to my feeling too offensive, to be continued or *unrejected*. What can this officious emissary mean by all the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to surprize friendly integrity by courtly insinuations, let him know that his great

patron and your village friend differ in this: one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin; the other would sincerely endeavor to save it."

On the 18th of February, Dr. Addington transmitted to Hayes a long letter[e] from Sir James Wright, addressed to himself, which, although it did not explain to Lord Chatham's satisfaction the conduct of Lord Bute, bore such strong testimony to his own high character, that it appears to have disarmed him of anger. On the following day, he requested the Countess of Chatham[f] to write thus to Dr. Addington:

"I write, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bed-side, who has had much pain all last night from the gout in his left hand and wrist: the pulse indicates more pain to come. He desires me to express for him the true sense he has of all your friendly attention in this very delicate and critical situation. The gentleman's letter, which you transmit, is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit. At the same time, it is impossible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much sense and candor, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme danger impending over the King and kingdom. These dangers are *indeed extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope."

"*Hayes, quarter before One,*
Feb. 9, 1778.

Notwithstanding his own assertions, the adversaries of Lord Bute have not been convinced that he had long ceased to exercise an

[e] See Appendix.

[f] I have already said that Lady Chatham possessed a very powerful understanding, combined with great feminine delicacy. The ease and spirit, with which her Ladyship wrote, rendered her letters very delightful to her friends, and enabled her to assist Lord Chatham, (during his attendance in Parliament, or his attacks of the gout,) in answering many of his correspondents.

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influence in the cabinet; and that Sir James Wright was not the agent of an agent. Some of these adversaries have supposed that Lord Chatham's very high language at the commencement of the session, relative to the dependency of America, was very acceptable in the closet, and that his services in the government would not have been unwelcome. If the evidence already adduced be insufficient to prove this position, it is, they say, strongly supported by concurrent circumstances. Another friend of Lord Bute's, although he disclaimed giving his information the form of a message, mentioned to a near relative of Lord Chatham's, that he had heard his patron speak respectfully of that nobleman, and give his opinion that his lordship's services must, of course, be called for in the present crisis. About the same time Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of the Earl of Bute, threw out, in the House of Lords, a hint of a similar nature. But against these surmises we have the solemn declaration of a nobleman, who, whatever be the public misfortunes which his system of administration may have occasioned, was, I think, a man of veracity. Lord Bute, on the 23d October, 1778, expressly declared through his son, that "he had not had the honor of waiting on his Majesty but at his levée or drawing-room: that he had not presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry in 1765 to the present time[g]."

It has been my object throughout this history, to reason as little as possible from inferences, but to present the reader with the facts themselves. In the account which I have given of the transactions between Dr. Addington and Sir James Wright, this rule has been closely adhered to. I have not allowed conjecture to weigh against testimonies, excepting where the latter were at variance. For the part taken by Lord Chatham upon the above occasion it is almost superfluous to offer the least apology. Nothing can be more clear,

[g] See Lord Mountstuart's letter in the Appendix.

than that he did not court a negociation. So far was he from encouraging the advances of the other party that we find him expressing, in the strongest terms, his dislike to such a mode of application. The testimony borne to the great abilities and integrity of Lord Chatham, by one whose conduct he had so unscrupulously condemned, is as extraordinary as it is valuable; and the declaration of Lord Bute, that "he was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a *sincere* conduct," of itself refutes his conjecture that Lord Chatham had ever been looking out for a clandestine negociation with himself.

The conduct of Lord North, upon several occasions, gave rise to an opinion, that he was by no means so determined an advocate of compulsory measures with regard to America as the rest of his colleagues. He had more than once made overtures of conciliation. But his proposals were so tardy and inopportune, that no one well acquainted with human nature in general, or with the character which our dispute with America had now assumed in particular, could augur any favorable result from their adoption. On the 17th February, Lord North moved, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in—"1st, A Bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies and Plantations in North America; and, 2dly, A Bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies in America." By these bills, every thing short of independence was conceded to America, even to the payment of her public debts. But the point withheld was now paramount to every consideration, and rendered the other concessions abortive. In the hearing of the whole world America had declared her independence; and it was not to be expected that she would revoke her declaration.

Upon the second reading of the bill, the Duke of Grafton stated, in the House of Lords, that he had received authentic intelligence

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that a treaty had been signed between France and America. His Grace called upon the ministers either to acknowledge or contradict the truth of a fact so alarmingly important. Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State for the Southern department, then asserted that he had received no account that any such alliance had been concluded or projected. But a week had not elapsed before the King of France himself admitted and announced the treaty.

On the 17th March, the following message from the Crown was delivered to both Houses of the British Parliament:

"His Majesty having been informed, by order of the French King, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the Court of France and certain persons employed by his Majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct, that a copy of the declaration delivered by the French Ambassador to Lord Viscount Weymouth, be laid before the House of Commons, and at the same time to acquaint them, that his Majesty has thought proper, in consequence of this offensive communication on the part of the court of France, to send orders to his Ambassador to withdraw from that court. His Majesty is persuaded, that the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world, and his Majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honor of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. His Majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of these kingdoms, which he trusts will be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country."

It must appear astonishing that Lord Chatham, who had so frequently and so strenuously maintained the impossibility of our conquering America even when she was singly opposed to our forces, should have altered his councils and recommended war when the weight of France was added to a scale before so preponderating against us. But his unexampled high spirit, and a sense of honor *tremblingly alive,* induced him to suppose that the concessions to America, before dictated by equity, would, after her alliance with France, be ascribed to fear. At the time when he was the warmest advocate for America, he had ever protested against her independence. He now thought that England, by acknowledging that independence, would lose more by losing the respect of Europe, than even she would hazard by a continued and accumulated war. The day of distress ought not, Lord Chatham thought, to be the day of submission. Perhaps his hostility to France, in some degree, biassed his judgment, and led him to spurn the idea of bending to a power whom his own councils had once laid prostrate at our feet. Stung as he was by the indignity offered to his country, he could not pause to balance, with accuracy, our resources against our provocations. The same spirit which stimulates a private individual to resent an insult, under whatever disadvantages, now rendered him anxious that England should, at all events, vindicate her honor. Shakspeare represents Lear, just after he had pronounced that tremendous anathema against his daughters, as imagining himself for the moment still possessed of the authority of a sovereign, and exclaiming:

"Fool me not so much
To bear it tamely; touch me with noble anger.—
O let not women's weapons, water drops,
Stain my man's cheeks. No,
I will have such revenges—
That all the world shall—I will do such things,
What they are yet I know not; but they shall be
The terrors of the earth."

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Lord Chatham, whether invested with the power almost of a dictator, and sending forth Wolfe, Amherst, Hawke, and Boscawen to victory; or leaning upon a crutch, a private individual in the House of Lords, was still like Lear, in point of dignity and resolution, "a King, yea every inch a King," and would not consent to any abatement of his country's honor.* The heathen poet thus describes the firmness and magnanimity of the Roman senator:

"Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni."

When divested of all impious allusion to the deity, the passage is not inapplicable to the illustrious Briton, and may thus be rendered: "when the prevailing cause of America was adopted by Europe, the cause of England was maintained by Chatham." The most eminent senators who supported this extraordinary and undaunted man in asserting the necessity of the dependence of America upon Great Britain were, in the House of Peers, the Lords Shelburne, Temple, and Camden; and Mr. Dunning and Colonel Barré in the House of Commons.

William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, was born in the year 1737. Having received a military education, he served with reputation in the army, to the end of the seven years' war, and afterwards rose, by regular gradations, to the rank of lieutenant-general. He was elected member of Parliament for the borough of Chipping-Wycombe, in the year 1760, but remained but a short time in the House of Commons, being called up to the House of Peers by the death of his father in 1761. On the 20th of April, 1763, he was sworn a member of the Privy-Council; and on the 23d of the same month, was declared First Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. This Board was not, at that period, subordinate to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as it subsequently became. Its first commissioner was then an efficient member in the cabinet, and the department was considered one of the most important under Government. Lord Shelburne appears to have inherited from his ancestor, Sir William Petty, a turn of mind

well adapted to commercial investigation. He spoke with precision and intelligence upon subjects connected with trade; and the affability of his manners, and his close attention to business, rendered him extremely popular with the mercantile classes, during the short time that he held the appointment.

Upon the change of ministry in the year 1766, his Lordship, by the recommendation of the Earl of Chatham, was appointed Secretary of State for the Southern Department. In this situation he acted with ability and firmness; and his endeavors to procure the interposition of his own Court in the behalf of the oppressed Corsicans entitle him to the gratitude of all who advocate the rights and liberties of mankind. His Lordship continued in this appointment until another change took place in 1768, when, disgusted with the system then pursued, he renounced all connexion with Government, and stood forth one of the principal leaders of Opposition in the House of Peers. The political conduct of Lord Shelburne has been represented as jesuitical, and *Malagrida*[g], a name not well-adapted for the purpose, was the appellation by which he was designated by his opponents. But although many of the opinions subsequently entertained by Lord Shelburne, may be considered inconsistent with the true interests of his country, there appears no reason to doubt the sincerity of his professions, or the purity of his intentions[h].

Isaac Barré was the son of a linen-manufacturer in Dublin. His grandfather was one of those French Protestants who fled their country

[g] The reader will probably recollect the blundering observation made by Goldsmith to Lord Shelburne himself, upon this cognomen. It is thus related by Mr. Topham Beauclerk, in a letter to Lord Charlemont: "Goldsmith the other day put a paragraph in the newspapers in praise of Lord Mayor Townsend. The same night we happened to sit next to Lord Shelburne, at Drury-lane; I mentioned the circumstance of the paragraph to him: he said to Goldsmith, that he hoped he had mentioned nothing about Malagrida in it. 'Do you know,' answered Goldsmith, 'that I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida, *for* Malagrida was a very good sort of man.'"

[h] In July, 1782, Lord Shelburne was, upon the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and, on the 30th November, 1784, he was elevated to the dignities of Marquis of Lansdowne, &c. His Lordship died May 7th, 1805.

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upon the cruel and impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz. Of the early part of Colonel Barré's life, few particulars are known. It is certain, however, that he received a liberal education, and that, entering the military profession at an early period, he distinguished himself upon several important occasions. He was Adjutant-General in the army commanded by the immortal Wolfe, and stood near the hero on the memorable day when victory was purchased too dearly by his fall [1].

Upon the restoration of peace in 1763, Colonel Barré's character developed itself in a new and conspicuous light. A soldier's life had been with him no bar to intellectual improvement. He appears to have studied with much diligence the art of government, and the characters, connexions, and motives of the principal persons in Great Britain. Colonel Barré considered the political conduct of Mr. Pitt, respecting the question of the peace, inconsistent with the true interests of his country. This opinion, which he openly and forcibly avowed, introduced him to the patronage and friendship of Lord Shelburne, who was then united with Mr. Grenville in administration. Colonel Barré first distinguished himself in the House of Commons, by a powerful speech against the conduct adopted by Mr. Pitt at the close of his administration. The great ex-minister was not present when this speech was delivered; but, from the representations of it which were made to him, he entertained a high sense of the talents of the speaker; he therefore sought and acquired his friendship, which remained unbroken, until his Lordship's death.

During the ministry of Mr. Grenville, although Colonel Barré was governor of Stirling—a post of military honor and emolument—he held no civil employment under Government.

In August 1766, he formed one of Lord Chatham's administration, was sworn in one of the Privy-Council, and soon after was made Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. The Earls of Shelburne and Chatham

[1] In West's celebrated picture of the death of Wolfe, Colonel Barré is represented as one of a group of officers collected round the expiring General.

resigning their appointments in the summer of 1768, their example was followed by Colonel Barré, who continued for many years an active member of the Opposition. The style of Colonel Barré's speaking was characterized by strength rather than by elegance. His voice and features were harsh, and the impetuosity of his temper often carried him, in attacking a minister, far beyond the bounds of temperance and propriety [k].

Although the sentiments of the two great parties in opposition with regard to America were known to be dissimilar, no regular separation had hitherto ensued between them. That event was produced by the present crisis. The Rockingham party considered an immediate acknowledgement of the independence of America, not only as the wisest, but as the only measure to extricate the country from her present difficulties and danger. They maintained that if the independence of America were immediately recognized by Great Britain, the proceedings of the court of Versailles would furnish no grounds for a war. That independence, they asserted, was not only established, but so strengthened by time and circumstances that it was not to be shaken by our utmost efforts. Even before the cause of America had been supported by the House of Bourbon it had prevailed against us, and the attempt to subvert it in the present hour would, they declared, be the last act of political frenzy or despair. Arguing under such impressions, the Duke of Richmond strongly deprecated the language in which the message from the Crown was expressed. He pointed out the utter inability of the country to maintain so unequal a contest, and earnestly dissuaded Parliament against committing the country by any declarations in favor of a war. But such sentiments were not more inimical to the ministry than they were to him who had once been the mighty advocate of conciliation. The

[k] Colonel Barré was included in the disputes which took place amongst the Rockingham party, upon the death of their leader in 1782. As he had so loudly condemned the profusion of former ministers, and deprecated the burthens which they had entailed upon the country, the large pension, which he himself then received, naturally became the subject of severe animadversion. Colonel Barré died in 1802, having been for several years afflicted with blindness.

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Earl of Chatham regarded the acknowledgment of the independence of America as the prelude to the total degradation and ruin of his country. These opinions were also those of his friend Lord Shelburne. That nobleman expressed his conviction that a war with France was now inevitable; he insisted upon the necessary dependence of America, and asserted that when the contrary proposition should be established the sun of Britain would be set for ever.

The memorable day was now approaching when the voice of that orator, who for nearly half a century had excited the admiration of Parliament, was, for the last time, to be raised in the cause of his country. On the 7th April, the Duke of Richmond, at the close of the grand committee of enquiry, in which both Houses of Parliament had been engaged during the greater part of the session, moved an address to the throne, recapitulating the expences, misconduct, and losses of the war; intreating the Sovereign to dismiss his ministers; advising him to withdraw all his forces by sea and land from the revolted provinces, and to adopt amicable means only to recover their friendship, at least, if not their allegiance.

We have seen the anxiety of Lord Chatham upon former occasions of great national importance to be present at the deliberations of Parliament. We have seen him delivering his sentiments upon various occasions although suffering most acutely from bodily pain. The present was an occasion to kindle all his enthusiasm. Informed of the question which was to be agitated in the House of Lords, and aware of the doctrines which would be advanced in favor of American independence, he determined at the hazard of his life to come forward and protest against them. The mind dwells with interest upon every particular relating to the last day of so illustrious a character. The Earl of Chatham having arrived at Westminster, refreshed himself awhile in the Lord Chancellor's room until he learned that Parliamentary business was about to begin. He then was led into the House of Peers by his son, the Hon. William Pitt, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. He was dressed in a rich suit of black velvet, and covered up to the knees in flannel. Within his large wig little more of his

countenance was seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye which retained all its native fire. He looked like a dying man, yet never was seen a figure of more dignity: he appeared like a being of a superior species. The Lords stood up, and made a lane for him to pass to his seat, whilst, with a gracefulness of deportment for which he was so eminently distinguished, he bowed to them as he proceeded. Having taken his seat on the bench of the Earls he listened to the speech of the Duke of Richmond with the most profound attention. CHAP. XXIX. 1778.

After Lord Weymouth had spoken against the address, Lord Chatham rose with slowness and difficulty from his seat, leaning on his crutches, and supported by his two relations. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards Heaven and said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty and to speak on a subject which is so deeply impressed on my mind. I am old and infirm—have one foot, more than one foot in the grave—I have risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House!"

The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House were here most affecting; had any one dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard.

At first Lord Chatham spoke in that low and feeble tone which is characteristic of severe indisposition; but as he grew warm, his voice rose, and became as harmonious as ever; oratorical and affecting, perhaps more so than at any former period. He recounted the whole history of the American war; the measures to which he had objected; and all the evil consequences which he had foretold; adding at the end of each period, "And so it proved[1]."

In one part of his speech he ridiculed the apprehension of an invasion, and then recalled the remembrance of former invasions—"A Spanish invasion, a French invasion, a Dutch invasion, many noble Lords must have read of in history; and some Lords, (looking keenly at one who sat near him,) may remember a Scotch invasion."

[1] Seward's Anecdotes—Lord Chatham.

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"My Lords," continued he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. I will first see the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the other rising hopes of the royal family brought down to the committee, and assent to such an alienation. Where is the man that will dare to advise it? My Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that seventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, take all we have, only give us peace? It is impossible!

"I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honor, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men[m]!"

When his Lordship sat down, Lord Temple said to him, "You

[m] See Parliamentary History of England, Vol. xix. p. 1023.

have forgot to mention what we have been talking about—Shall I get up?" Lord Chatham replied, "No, no; I will do it by and by[a]."

In the course of his speech, in reply to Lord Chatham, the Duke of Richmond said, that "he did not doubt but the name of the Earl of Chatham, (he begged to apologize for mentioning his Lordship by name,) would rouse the spirit of the nation. But that name, great and mighty as it was, could not gain victories without an army, without a navy, and without money. If a large fleet of French ships met a few of ours, did the noble Earl think that merely telling them that the Earl of Chatham had the conduct of public affairs would prevent us from being beaten? If the fleet passed our ships, and the French effected an invasion, did the noble Earl imagine that merely telling the invaders that Lord Chatham was the minister, and that he had roused the spirit of the nation, would induce them to re-embark, and abandon their purpose? He desired the noble Earl to recollect, that when he was formerly called to the head of the administration, the finances of the kingdom were in excellent order, having been put into the best possible state by that great man and able minister, Mr. Pelham; our fleet was then in a most respectable condition, and under the direction of a most able officer, Lord Anson. The influence of the crown had not then reached its present alarming and dangerous height. During the greater part of the war we had only to contend with France; and when Spain commenced hostilities,

[a] Lord Chatham's ideas as to the mode of carrying on the war, were, as he confessed, very far from being mature. But there can be no doubt that, had he been in power, some sudden and vigorous effort would have been made on the part of Great Britain. The Earl of Shelburne, on the 8th April, delivered an elaborate speech in the House of Lords, which appears to have been in part a declaration of those sentiments which Lord Chatham intended to state at the time he was interrupted by his fatal illness. The first part of the plan was to recommend his Majesty to take Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick immediately into his service. Lord Chatham's design was to make an impression upon France on the continent of Europe, and thus deter her from assisting the Americans. Another part of the plan was to recommend a treaty of union with America—that the latter should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain; that she should hoist the British flag, and use the King's name in her courts of justice. He thought it probable that when America saw that she could not derive any assistance from France, the Congress would accede to these terms.

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France was reduced to the lowest ebb; her navy was almost annihilated; and her principal colonies in the new world wrested from her, and in our own possession. We had then America for us; we have now America against us. Instead of Great Britain and America against France and Spain, it will now be France, Spain, and America against Great Britain. If the noble Earl had pointed out in what manner we were to support ourselves in a contest so unequal, I should readily," continued his Grace, "acquiesce in his sentiments, but as he has not only omitted to point out the means, but has acknowledged that he knows them not, I must be allowed to adhere to my former opinion. I am as ready as any man to acknowledge and repeat that the noble Earl carried the glory of this nation to a higher pitch than has been known at any former period; but if his Lordship were now to come into power, he would find himself placed in very different circumstances[o]."

Notwithstanding these and other high encomiums upon Lord Chatham, it is probable that the Duke of Richmond's manner in delivering this speech was not devoid of asperity towards that nobleman. It is said that Lord Chatham, who heard the greater part of the speech with composure, occasionally indicated, both in his countenance and gesture, symptoms of emotion and displeasure.

When the Duke of Richmond had concluded, Lord Chatham made an eager effort to rise, as if laboring with some great idea; and impatient to give utterance to his feelings. But the body now proved itself unequal to sustain the energies of the mind. After repeated attempts to retain his erect position, Lord Chatham suddenly pressed his hand to his heart and fell down in convulsions. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, Lord Stamford, and other peers, caught him in their arms[p].

The general alarm and agitation which prevailed may be easily

[o] The above extracts from the speech of the Duke of Richmond are given from the London Magazine, and from the Parliamentary History of England.

[p] There is a very interesting and authentic account of Lord Chatham's illness in the House of Lords, in Seward's Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, (article, Lord Chatham,) from which I have taken several particulars.

imagined. The House was immediately cleared, the debate adjourned, and every consideration, absorbed in anxiety for the life of Lord Chatham. But affliction for his situation did not deprive his friends of their presence of mind. The Hon. James Pitt, his youngest son, although not more than seventeen years of age, was particularly active and useful in rendering assistance to his venerable father. His Lordship was conveyed to Mr. Serjeant's house in Downing-street, and the medical assistance of Dr. Brockelsby, who was fortunately in the House at the time of his seizure, was immediately procured. Recovering in some degree from the attack, he was removed to Hayes, where he received from the nearest and dearest of all connexions, his wife and his children, those attentions which are wholly beyond the power of others to bestow. His friend and physician, Dr. Addington, was also unremitting in his attentions. But, however much they might alleviate his sufferings, no human powers could restore Lord Chatham. He lingered till the 11th May, when he breathed his last with that fortitude which had ever distinguished him as a man, and with that resignation which is the peculiar characteristic of a Christian.

The evening was advanced before the mournful intelligence was communicated to Colonel Barré, who then repaired to the House of Commons and announced the death of Lord Chatham. Although the event had for several days been expected, its actual occurrence produced the deepest sensation throughout the House. All party-feelings seemed to be absorbed in regret, and in admiration of the great orator and statesman, whose presence had for so many years adorned that assembly. After a solemn pause, Colonel Barré moved an Address to the Throne, requesting his Majesty to give directions that the remains of this great statesman might be interred at the public expense.

Mr. Rigby, after expressing the highest respect for the unrivalled abilities of Lord Chatham, and lamenting that the country should be deprived of them at a time when they were so much required, declared that no man revered that statesman, when alive, more than himself, although he had sometimes differed from him in political opinion. The virtues of the noble Earl had made an indelible impres-

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sion on his mind, and the very last words he ever uttered in Parliament, in particular, commanded his gratitude and admiration. He should, therefore, certainly vote for the motion, if the honorable member thought proper to persist in it. He, however, begged leave to say, that he thought a monument to the memory of the Earl of Chatham would be a more eligible, as well as a more lasting testimony of the public gratitude, than the defraying the expenses of his funeral.

Mr. T. Townshend rose to answer Mr. Rigby, but sorrow for some time choked his utterance, and constrained him to be silent. Recovering himself, however, in a few minutes, he pronounced a short but most feeling eulogium upon the merits of the departed nobleman.

Mr. Dunning said, that although there might be some difference as to the manner in which the members wished to evince their sentiments, he was convinced there were not two opinions respecting the principle of the motion before them. For his own part, he thought the two propositions in no degree opposed to each other. He should, therefore, propose that the following words be added to the original motion: "And that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter's Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will make good the expenses attending the same."

Lord North, at this time, entered the House in haste, and, with a candor and manliness which reflect high honor upon his character, declared his happiness in arriving in time to vote for the motion, which, he said, he hoped would be unanimously carried. He lamented that he wanted breath, from the hurry in which he came, to express himself with the degree of respect which became so great an occasion.

The motion as amended was unanimously agreed to.

On the 13th of May, Lord North informed the House of Commons that his Majesty had acceded to the request contained in the address.

Lord John Cavendish then called the attention of the members to a subject upon which, he said, he hoped to find their gratitude

evince itself in a generous manner. The great statesman, whose loss this country would long have reason to deplore, the immortal Chatham, had not signalized himself less by his disinterestedness, than by his zeal for his country's service. To this last object every other consideration was sacrificed. Whilst Lord Chatham could effect any service for the state, he was insensible to every desire of personal aggrandizement. Public and personal interests were ideas which he had never connected. The latter were always absorbed in the former. The effects of this generous spirit now lay heavy on his family. He flattered himself that the House would take their case into consideration, and not suffer the descendants of that great man, to whom this country owed its highest glory, to be exposed to want.

Lord North said, that he heartily coincided with the noble Lord. He was conscious that the late Lord Chatham had performed such services, that his descendants had a just and undoubted claim to the generosity of the House, and the gratitude of the nation. He assured Lord John Cavendish that he should, with pleasure, support any motion which might be made in favor of the late Earl's family.

Mr. T. Townshend then moved an address, beseeching his Majesty to bestow some signal and lasting mark of his royal favor on the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, assuring his Majesty, that whatever he should think proper to grant, the House animated by the gratitude which they, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, felt towards the memory of that upright and disinterested minister, and ambitious of giving a testimony of their approbation to that public virtue and spirited conduct which directed the councils of this country in the last glorious and successful war, would, with the greatest cheerfulness make good.

Lord Nugent warmly seconded the motion. He said that the dying wish of Lord Chatham was for his country's good. He instanced his last words to his son, Lord Pitt, when that young nobleman, previous to his departure for Gibraltar, took leave of his father then upon his death-bed. "Go my son," said the venerable patriot, "go where your country calls you; let her engross all your attention; spare not

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a moment which is due to her service, in weeping over an old man who soon will be no more."

Colonel Barré, in the course of his speech upon this occasion, said, "that Lord Chatham possessed the happy talent of transfusing his own zeal into the souls of all those who were to have a share in carrying his projects into execution. It was well known to many officers then in the House, that no man ever went into the Earl's closet, who did not feel himself, if possible, braver at his return than when he went in."

Mr. T. Townshend's motion was unanimously carried, and, his Majesty having granted the request contained in the address, an annuity of 4,000*l.* was settled upon the heirs of Lord Chatham to whom the title should descend.

A petition from the City of London, being presented to the House of Commons, requesting that the remains of the Earl of Chatham might be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, a debate arose upon the subject. Mr. Rigby, who opposed this petition, said, "that he was far from entertaining the least disrespect for the memory of Lord Chatham: he would, with every gentleman, allow that he had the cleanest of hands, the clearest of heads, the most upright of intentions, and the most honest of hearts." The petition was ordered to lie on the table. A similar petition, on the same subject, was presented to his Majesty, but, arrangements having been made for the interment of Lord Chatham in Westminster Abbey, the request of the City could not be complied with.

These splendid instances of national gratitude were followed by a grant of 20,000*l.* for the purpose of discharging the debts incurred by Lord Chatham. The liberality and right feeling with which the House of Commons carried all these measures into effect, cannot be sufficiently applauded. Every member seemed desirous to bear testimony to the abilities and virtues of the deceased nobleman, to commemorate his services, and to reward his family.

On the 2d of June, the Chatham Annuity Bill was discussed in the House of Lords. It is painful to reflect, that any opposition

should have arisen to a measure of so much wisdom and justice. The bill was opposed by the Dukes of Chandos and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Ravensworth; it was defended by Lord Camden and the Earl of Shelburne—two noblemen who now, after his death, declared what they had always professed during his life—the highest admiration of Lord Chatham's virtues. Lord Lyttleton was also extremely animated in defence of the bill. The following extracts from Lord Camden's speech upon the occasion are interesting, both from the facts which they assert, and the warmth of feeling by which they are characterized:

"When I had the honor," said Lord Camden, "of occupying a very high post in the same administration with the deceased Earl, his state of health was indifferent, and his life supposed to be in danger. Soon after his recovery, I had the honor of an interview with his Majesty: the conversation turning on the illness of the Earl of Chatham; I shall never forget either the words or the gracious manner in which they were delivered: 'If he had died,' said his Majesty, 'I should have felt myself bound to make a provision for his family!'

"Admiral Hawke and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick have been alluded to by the learned Lord on the woolsack, as having essentially served this country: most certainly they had served it, and their merit as professional men was unquestionably great; but to whom ought that merit to be ultimately ascribed?—To the Earl of Chatham: the one was his admiral, the other his general. The battles they fought were of his planning; and so far were their merits from lessening those of the deceased Earl, or diminishing the value of his services, that they went directly to enhance both."

In the course of a very fine speech, in defence of the bill, Lord Lyttleton observed: "That the noble Earl, whose memory the nation was unanimous in honoring, to an extraordinary vigor of mind, added a most sovereign contempt of money. He had gone through offices, which generally served to enrich his predecessors, without deriving the advantage of a shilling from his situation. When Paymaster-general, a subsidy to the King of Sardinia passed through his hands. The

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usual perquisite amounted to more than 20,000*l.* The noble Earl refused to touch it. The whole sum was found in the bank many years afterwards: it was then offered to the Earl of Chatham as his right; he nobly declined it, and the money was applied to the public service. This act alone, was sufficient to mark the noble-mindedness of the Earl's character, and to recommend him to the favor of all capable of admiring what was great and superior in the conduct of men. A great deal had been said respecting precedent, and the bad example which would be set by passing the bill. Good God! was this country so desperately reduced, so totally lost to its ancient spirit, that it was no longer able to reward the services of its best subjects? Were the minds of noble Lords so depraved, that they were ready to confess that they trembled at granting an annuity of 4,000*l.* to a family, the father of which had restored the empire from the most abject and wretched condition, to a state of eminence—to a state of the most exalted glory? Let noble Lords turn to the history of Greece; let them recollect the conduct of the Athenians respecting Aristides. Several years after that patriot was no more, it was discovered that his widow and his family were in distress. The State assembled, and, in gratitude to the memory of Aristides, who had essentially served his country, made a noble provision for his family. Would the British empire prove itself less grateful than Athens? or was she less capable of requiting merit, or of doing justice, than a petty state of Greece?"

Upon the question being put, the general sense which the House entertained of the great public services of Lord Chatham was manifested upon the division; the bill being carried by a majority of nearly four to one [n].

In consequence of the address of the House of Commons on the 11th of May, the remains of the Earl of Chatham were brought from Hayes, and lay in state in the painted chamber at Westminster on the 7th and the 8th of June.

[n] Contents, 42; non-contents, 11.

It is a common observation, that the pomp of funeral processions is in general intended to gratify the vanity of the living, rather than to express veneration for the dead; but all must admit that it was otherwise in the present instance. It was evidently fitting that the remains of him who had passed his life amongst the most illustrious of mankind—of him who had effected so much for the nation, should be accompanied to the tomb by the most illustrious of his survivors, and by every public testimony of sorrow and respect.

It is only to be regretted that the feelings of party should at all have prevailed upon the occasion, and that a few members of opposition should have been the only ostensible mourners of a loss which was generally felt by the nation.

On Tuesday, the 9th June, at two o'clock, the funeral procession began from the Painted Chamber, through Westminster-hall, New Palace-yard, part of Parliament-street, Bridge-street, King-street, the Broad Sanctuary to the west door of Westminster Abbey.

Order of the Procession.

High Constable of Westminster.

Messenger to the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak, with a badge of the College on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsenet.

Six men conductors, in cloaks, with black staves headed with Earls' Coronets.

Seventy poor men, in cloaks, with the badges of the Crest of Pitt on their shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

The Standard.

Twelve servants to the deceased, in close mourning.

Officers of the Wardrobe.

Physicians, and Divines, in close mourning.

Three Chaplains to the deceased.

Officers who attended the body while it lay in state, in close mourning.

Gentlemen and Esquires in close mourning.

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Blue Mantle Pursuivant of Arms.

A banner of the Barony of Chatham, borne by Colonel Barré, attended by the Dukes of Northumberland, Manchester, and Richmond, and the Marquis of Rockingham, in close mourning.

The Great Banner.

The Helmet and Crest borne by Somerset Herald.

The Sword and Targe by Windsor Herald.

The Surcoat by Richmond Herald.

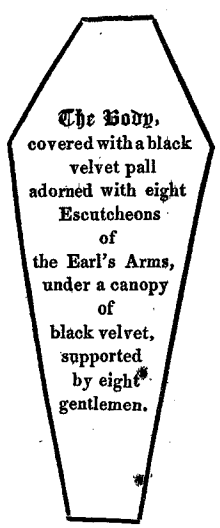
The Coronet on a black Velvet Cushion by Norroy King of Arms, between two Gentlemen Ushers, with half staves.

Three Bannerolls of the Family Lineage, borne by three Esquires.

Supporters of the Pall.

Edmund Burke, Esq.

Sir Geo. Savile, Bart.


The Body, covered with a black velvet pall adorned with eight Escutcheons of the Earl's Arms, under a canopy of black velvet, supported by eight gentlemen.

Supporters of the Pall.

John Dunning, Esq.

Rt. Hon. Thomas Townshend.

Three Bannerolls of the Family Lineage, borne by three Esquires.

The picture of Britannia weeping over the Arms of Chatham, painted on sarsenet.

A Gentleman Usher, with a half staff.

Clarenceux King of Arms, Deputy to Garter King of Arms.

A Gentleman Usher, with a half staff.

Supporter to the Chief Mourner, William Nedham, Esq.

Chief Mourner, Hon. William Pitt.

Supporter to the Chief Mourner, Thomas Pitt, Esq.

Eight Assistant Mourners.

Earl of Cholmondeley.
Earl Harcourt.
Earl of Abington.
Earl of Effingham.

Lord Fortescue.	Lord Viscount Townshend.
Lord Camden.	Lord Wycomb.

Banner of the Crest of Pitt.

Relations of the deceased.

Charles Viscount Mahon, eldest son of Philip Earl Stanhope, and son-in-law to the deceased.

Thomas Grenville, Esq.	George Grenville, Esq.
Colonel Richard Grenville.	James Grenville, Esq.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bt.	Philip Earl Stanhope.
William Henry, Lord Westcote.	George Lord de Ferrars.
Richard Berenger, Esq.	Sir James Cockburne, Bt.

Banner of the Arms of Pitt.

The procession closed by servants of the family, in close mourning.

The funeral service was performed by the Bishop of Rochester, and the remains of Lord Chatham were consigned to the grave about twenty yards from the north entrance to the Abbey.

The taste, as well as the gratitude of the nation, has been evinced in the monuments erected to the memory of Lord Chatham [o]. The art of the painter has also been called into requisition; and, whilst the chisel of Bacon has exquisitely represented the illustrious statesman in marble, the pencil of Copley, in his picture of Lord Chatham fainting in the House of Lords, has pourtrayed on canvass one of the most affecting and interesting scenes which the history of England affords. But the most tender tribute to the memory of Lord Chatham was naturally that dictated by private affection. His Countess erected a beautiful marble urn [p] at Burton Pynsent, upon the pedestal of which is the following inscription:

[o] I allude to the monuments in Westminster Abbey and in Guildhall.

[p] This was also executed by Mr. Bacon.

MARBLE URN ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY BY LADY CHATHAM.

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SACRED TO PURE AFFECTION,
THIS SIMPLE URN
STANDS A WITNESS OF UNCEASING GRIEF FOR HIM,
WHO,
EXCELLING IN WHATEVER IS MOST ADMIRABLE,
AND ADDING TO THE EXERCISE OF THE SUBLIMEST VIRTUES,
THE SWEET CHARM OF REFINED SENTIMENT,
AND POLISHED WIT:
BY GAY SOCIAL CONVERSE,
RENDER'D, BEYOND COMPARISON, HAPPY
THE COURSE OF DOMESTIC LIFE;
AND BESTOWED A FELICITY INEXPRESSIBLE
ON HER,
WHOSE FAITHFUL LOVE WAS BLESSED IN A PURE RETURN,
THAT RAISED HER ABOVE EVERY OTHER JOY
BUT THE PARENTAL ONE—
AND THAT STILL SHARED WITH HIM.
HIS GENEROUS COUNTRY, WITH PUBLIC MONUMENTS,
HAS ETERNIZED HIS FAME;
THIS HUMBLE TRIBUTE,
IS BUT TO SOOTHE THE SORROWING BREAST
OF PRIVATE WOE.

On the front of the urn is a medallion with the head of Lord Chatham; and on the opposite side of the urn is another medallion, upon which the following words are inscribed:

TO
THE DEAR MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM,
THIS MARBLE
IS INSCRIBED,
BY HESTER,
HIS BELOVED WIFE.

CHAPTER XXX.

Recapitulation of Lord Chatham's character as a statesman, an orator, and a man—Quotation from the Abbé Raynall—Some considerations respecting Lord Chatham's qualifications to excel in the civil departments of administration—The nature of his eloquence—Extract from Mr. Boyd, and from Lord Lyttleton's letters—Ambition of Lord Chatham—Intrepidity—Anecdote—Verses of Churchill upon his resignation in 1761*—Private character—Person—Dress—Verses addressed to the memory of Lord Chatham.*

HAVING now brought the history of Lord Chatham to a close, and having given a general and particular account of his character and conduct, little remains by way of recapitulation. In the separate qualities of a statesman, an orator, and a man, we shall find Lord Chatham surpassed by few individuals of ancient or modern times; in the union of these qualities he was, I think, almost without parallel. How abject as men, do the great Grecian and Roman orators appear when compared with the Briton! To whatever efforts of patriotism Demosthenes and Cicero were occasionally excited, they were both deficient in steady courage and resolution[a]. The one, was meanly subservient to power; the other was open to the most shameful corruption. Undoubted as is their right to the admiration of the world as orators, they were both in many respects contemptible as men. How grand the death of the British senator! how humiliating that of the Athenian! how poor and dastardly that of the Roman!

Inferior as they were as men, the claims of Cicero and Demos-

[a] It is well known that Demosthenes fled ingloriously from the field of battle; and that Cicero betrayed evident symptoms of bodily fear in his defence of Milo.

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thenes as orators, are not, upon the whole, I think, superior to those of Lord Chatham. Promptitude is, perhaps, as essential to eloquence as to wit. In this respect the Briton has a right to precedence. The labor bestowed by Demosthenes upon his orations is become proverbial, and the exquisite polish of Cicero's speeches are proofs of the time devoted to their composition. But Lord Chatham was ever ready for debate, and some of the grandest efforts of his eloquence were called forth by the circumstances of the moment. Nor were the occasions which offered themselves to Lord Chatham so favorable to the display of eloquence as those in which the most splendid speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero originated. No opportunity during the life of Lord Chatham, was so much calculated to excite the powers of an orator as that which Philip and Cataline respectively afforded to Demosthenes and Cicero.

But quitting the consideration of antiquity, and coming to modern times, Lord Chatham must, I think, be regarded as by far the most illustrious character of the age in which he lived. Nor can it be said, that his greatness depended only upon comparison, and was owing to the general insignificance of his contemporaries. The names of Granville, Hardwicke, and Mansfield would adorn the records of any æra or country; whilst the talents of Townshend and Sackville must ever be remembered with admiration. Considered as a statesman, an orator, and a man, Lord Chatham's character was distinct and peculiar. As a statesman, his influence over the minds of the people, was more universal and more powerful than that of any minister whom the world has seen. He spread an enthusiasm amongst the people which never before was equalled. He persuaded the nation that it was invincible and irresistible, and he lived to prove the truth of his assertions. The unanimity which he established, when Secretary of State, is the highest testimony to his talent and his virtue. All parties then united for the common good, because all parties placed the utmost reliance upon the zeal, integrity, and abilities of the minister. No narrow system of vicious politics, no struggle for little distinctions, sunk him to the level of ordinary statesmen, but elevated by his

commanding genius and his daring spirit, he stood, as it were, by the common consent of his colleagues, the autocrat of the cabinet. As a war minister, he was clearly unrivalled. The intelligence which he obtained respecting the designs of the enemy, was only equalled by the secrecy with which he concealed our own; the promptitude with which his measures were undertaken was only equalled by their efficiency to the end proposed. The character of Lord Chatham, in this point of view, is well drawn by an ingenious foreigner. "Until the administration of Mr. Pitt," says the Abbé Raynall, "all the enterprises of his nation in distant countries were unfortunate, and they could not be otherwise, because they were ill-concerted. But his projects were formed with such wisdom and utility; his preparations were made with such forecast and expedition; he so justly proportioned the means to the end; he made so wise a choice of those in whom he was to repose a confidence; he established such harmony between the land and sea service; in short, he raised the heart of England so high, that his administration was nothing but a chain of conquests. His soul, still greater, looked down with contempt upon the idle clamors of those timid spirits, who charged him with squandering the public money. He answered in the words of Philip, the father of Alexander, 'Victory must be purchased with money, not money saved at the expense of victory.'"

As Lord Chatham never had a fair opportunity of exerting his abilities as a minister during peace, we cannot say to what degree he was qualified to excel in the civil departments of administration. He had not participated in the councils of government during the administration of Mr. Pelham or of that of the Duke of Newcastle. When he was himself Secretary of State, the whole conduct of the war, which centered in him, of course precluded him from bestowing any minute attention upon the domestic regulations of the country. The time during which he afterwards held the Privy-seal was spent by him almost entirely upon a bed of sickness. We have, therefore, I repeat, no sufficient evidence to pronounce upon Lord Chatham's qualifications to direct the administration of a country during peace. It, how-

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ever, appears certain that neither his disposition nor his abilities qualified him so well for financial arrangements. Upon one occasion, he declared himself "a lover of honorable war," and in so doing, he probably informed us as to one feature of his character. Upon another occasion he said, "whilst I had the honor to serve his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted." But even these concessions must be made with caution. The plans which Lord Chatham, when Mr. Pitt, proposed for the regulation of the militia evince great perspicuity and minuteness of calculation; and the honorable economy he practised in his office of Paymaster prove that he would have been a frugal steward for the public, wherever frugality was practicable. It is known that his friend and political associate, Mr. Legge, entertained the highest opinion of Mr. Pitt's abilities in those very departments in which he was himself so distinguished. "Eminently," said Mr. Legge to a confidential friend, "as Mr. Pitt has distinguished himself as a *War Minister*, if he is permitted to make the peace, and to continue in power, the world will see him shine still more upon a peace establishment than he did during the war."

It has been objected to Lord Chatham that professing himself the ardent advocate of liberty, he was not, when in administration, proportionately zealous in that most important cause. But the charge is founded neither in truth nor in reason. Whoever considers the nature of the war, when Mr. Pitt was Secretary of State, will only wonder that he found time to discharge, or strength to sustain his necessary duties, without undertaking any additional load. The multiplied and momentous cares of his office, and his well-known zeal for the Sovereign, never led him, however, to neglect any proper opportunity of advancing the true interests of his fellow-subjects. As Paymaster of the Forces, he studied to promote the comforts of the veteran soldier: as Secretary of State, he endeavoured to extend the advantages of the *Habeas Corpus*; and he advised his royal master to adopt that salutary method of securing the blessings of impartial

justice by continuing the judges in their appointments upon the demise of the crown. These and other benefits of a *domestic* nature were conferred upon the country by one whose province was to superintend its *foreign* concerns. If they were not acknowledged by many of his contemporaries, they give Lord Chatham an additional claim to rank with those illustrious characters whose fate is so beautifully described by the poet: CHAP. XXX.

> "Edward and Henry, now the boast of Fame,
> And virtuous Alfred, a more sacred name,
> After a life of gen'rous toil endur'd,
> The Gaul subdued, or property secur'd,
> Ambition humbled, mighty cities storm'd,
> Or Laws establish'd, and the world reform'd:
> Clos'd their long glories with a sigh, to find
> Th' unwilling gratitude of base mankind."

Having said thus much of Lord Chatham's character as a statesman, I come now to consider him as an orator. And here the same description applies. His eloquence was peculiar, distinct, and unrivalled. Occasionally wild and extravagant, it was at all times bold, nervous, and impassioned. Many speakers have surpassed him in smoothness of expression, correctness of language, and subtlety of argument, but none, perhaps, ever obtained such an ascendancy over his hearers. He possessed a species of oratory by which he was wont to strike his adversaries dumb, and against which no arguments could avail. Upon many eminent occasions his sentences were delivered with the most remarkable emphasis, and are said to have produced a thrill of astonishment throughout the House, accompanied by the stillest silence. Lord Chatham was one of the many speakers who indulged in political prophecy—he was one of the very few who realized his predictions. But, great and peculiar as were his excellencies as an orator, the very nature of his eloquence sometimes hurried him into culpable excesses. There is a violence of expression in some of his speeches incompatible with that respect which he himself was in general foremost to acknowledge should be observed towards the crown.

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A writer, not remarkable for the loyalty of his principles, has said, "whoever, or whatever is sovereign, demands the respect and support of the people [b]," and it is to be lamented, that the furious demagogue should ever be able to plead, in apology for the abuse which he may cast upon the most exalted characters, the intemperate language of the illustrious Chatham [c].

It may be, I think, laid down as an axiom, that he who is esteemed a great orator at one period would be so at another. The occasions afforded to Lord Chatham to develope his talents as a War-Minister may have been wanting to other statesmen; but all have had opportunities to display their eloquence. As, therefore, Lord Chatham maintained a decided superiority as an orator in both Houses of the British Parliament for more than forty years, we may safely assert, that he possessed talents which would have rendered him pre-eminent in any period, and in any nation of the world in which eloquence has been admired and studied.

The following animated description of Lord Chatham's eloquence is from the pen of Mr. Boyd [d]. "Of all the characteristic features, by which his oratory was distinguished, none was more eminent than the bold purity and classical force of phraseology.

"Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence —who have listened to the music of his voice, or trembled at its majesty—who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force; those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye—who have rejoiced at the glories of his countenance—or shrunk from his frowns, will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction.

"In these sketches of his original genius they will read what

[b] Mr. Horne in his second letter to Junius.

[c] I allude particularly to his Lordship's assertions relative to the secret influence of Lord Bute; to the violence with which he latterly asserted his Whig principles, and to the extravagant praise which he bestowed upon the Americans.

[d] The reporter of two speeches assigned in this work to Lord Chatham, and by some persons supposed to be the author of Junius' Letters.

they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds what they have with admiration seen. But to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary to form a just idea of that combination of excellence which gave perfection to his eloquence;—his elevated aspect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:—his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age, but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:—his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and cloathing his lips with thunder; or, if milder topics offered, harmonizing his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness; for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory [e].

"This extraordinary personal dignity, supported on the basis of his well earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an assent which is slowly given to the arguments of other men. His assertions rose into proof; his foresight became prophecy. Besides the general sanction of his character, and the decisive dignity with which he pronounced his sentiments, it was also well known that he carefully cultivated the most authentic channels of intelligence. And it was an

[e] "*Telum Oratorios.* Cic.—'You talk, my Lords, of conquering America—of your numerous friends there, to annihilate the Congress—and your powerful forces to disperse her army:—*I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch.*'—Lord Chatham."

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additional and just praise to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and all his opportunities, to investigate the purest sources of political information. But, as the activity of his public zeal stimulated him to such exertion; so the superiority of his genius directed him to higher sources. For other men, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a sphere too laborious. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not disdain, his spirit soared above such little adventitious advantage: his was intelligence in a truer sense, and from the noblest source:—'from his own sagacious mind.'—His intuition, like faith, seemed superior to the common forms of reasoning. No clue was necessary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realized the wish of the philosopher—she was seen and beloved."

A more natural, although scarcely less glowing, description of Lord Chatham's eloquence is thus given by the second Lord Lyttleton: "The two principal orators of the present age (and one of them, perhaps, a greater than has been produced in any age) are, the Earls of Mansfield and Chatham. The former is a great man; *Ciceronean*, but, I should think, inferior to Cicero: the latter is a greater man; *Demosthenean*, but superior to Demosthenes. The first formed himself on the model of the great Roman orator; he studied, translated, rehearsed, and acted his orations: the second disdained imitation, and was himself a model of eloquence, of which no idea can be formed, but by those who have seen and heard him. His words have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation, and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins, that I could scarce support it. He, however, embellished his ideas by classical amusements, and occasionally read the sermons of Barrow, which he considered as a mine of nervous expressions; but, not content to correct and instruct his imagination by the works of mortal men, he borrowed his noblest images from the language of inspiration [f]."

Although the diction of Lord Chatham was remarkably simple,

[f] Letters, p. 172.

his words were in general selected with the greatest care. It is said that he had twice read Bailey's Dictionary from beginning to end, and that he had perused some of Dr. Barrow's sermons so often, that he knew them by heart [g].

The action of Lord Chatham was perfectly suited to the character of his elocution—forcible and vehement where the occasion required it, and always graceful, animated, and expressive. Lord Orford describes it, upon some occasions, as not unworthy of Garrick himself.

We have not sufficient evidence to decide upon the merits of Lord Chatham as a writer. No minute attention to the rules of composition is observable in his letters, speeches, or other productions, scarcely any of them being intended for the press. His official letters are, I think, admirable, prompt, and energetic, strictly to the purpose, and not capable of misapprehension. His private letters, although abounding in strong sense and the most amiable sentiments, are certainly not models of correctness. The frequent use of the antiquated participle *writ*, or *wrote*, in place of the juster one, *written*; the redundant insertion of the particle *to*, and the omission of *as*; peculiarities small in themselves, being often repeated, bestow upon his style a general character of harshness. In addition to this, it must be admitted, that the construction of Lord Chatham's sentences is often involved, and such as to offend the grammarian. This probably proceeded from two causes: the works which were first put into his hands were by no means free from the above-mentioned errors, and the demands upon his time, which his constant participation in the business of Parliament imposed, prevented him from giving a closer attention to the minuter elegancies of written composition. His earliest and most favorite author was Dr. Barrow; but that great and argumentative writer was never remarkable for correctness [h].

[g] Butler's Reminiscences, *Lord Chatham.*—Lord Lyttleton's Letters.

[h] In proof of my assertion, I quote, almost at random, a passage from the celebrated sermon, in which Barrow compares the Christian, the Pagan, the Mahometan, and the Jewish religions: "For can we suppose *him*, who is goodness itself; *he* who hath so amply provided for the

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He wrote, indeed, at a time when grammatical accuracy was generally neglected. In his age, there was no grammar or dictionary to appeal to as a standard. It is within the last sixty years, that the praise of correct writing has been particularly sought. Many innovations have, within that period, been made in the English language; much purity, much simplicity, have been lost; but the general style is certainly more correct, and the feeblest authors are now exempt from errors which are so frequently found in the nervous pages of Tillotson and Barrow.

After making these concessions, I shall no longer pursue the noble course of such writers with the barkings of verbal criticism. The following lines, descriptive of Dryden, may well be applied to Lord Chatham:

> "Most that remain, (for so to me they seem,)
> Are but the shadows and the ghosts of him;
> 'Tis true, their diction's pure, their style is clear,
> And art and labour thro' the whole appear;
> But where, if well we search them, shall we find
> *His* strength of thought, *his* energy of mind;
> The words that move us with mysterious charms,
> The soul that actuates, and the fire that warms."

I have already mentioned the exquisite taste evinced by Lord Chatham in points upon which he had bestowed any serious attention. Although the specimens of his own poetry are not of the highest order, as he seldom indulged in that species of composition, yet his judgment upon the works of others was considered as particularly true. Mr. Oswald having requested his opinion, and that of Sir George Lyttleton, respecting the merits of "Agis," a tragedy written by the Rev. Mr. Home, received an answer from Mr. Pitt, of which the following is a principal part:

needs, conveniences, and pleasures of the body, *should* take so little care of our better part, the soul, as to neglect and let it want spiritual sustenance?"

"*Pay Office*[i].

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"I found the play, (which I return by the bearer of this,) sent from Hagley to me, and lying at my house for you. Mr. Lyttleton, (now become Sir George,) and your humble servant, read it over together with much pleasure. We both found great spirit and imagery in it, as well as much deep and strong sense; there is likewise character. We think the business had better open between Agis and the mother, and leave out an unnecessary preceding scene. The great situation *of the judgment* is well kept up in part; towards the end of it, something more of dignity and greatness might be thrown in, to hold it up to the last. With all this merit, no one can answer for the success of the play. 'Tis not in mortals to command success, (in our squeamish age,) but we'll do more, Sempronius,—we'll deserve it.'—I not only wish, but shall be glad to contribute all in my power, to forward it."

Mr. Pitt's letter was communicated to Mr. Home by Mr. Oswald, who, after commenting at much length upon the criticism, says, in his own letter to the author: "These reflections, which I have thrown loosely together since I received Mr. Pitt's letter, did not, I own, occur to me before; both as being no critic in such performances, and being charmed, as I still am, with every detached scene of your piece, which I look upon as by far the best of the kind I have read. But on finding objections from a quarter for which I have so great a deference, I was tempted to try if I could discover where the real strength of them lay; not only as success is rarely to be expected when objections from such people remain, but as I know your genius and ability to be such as can easily free this play from them, or compose another as good, where none such shall exist[k]."

[i] This letter is not dated as to time, but from Mr. Oswald's Letters, appears to have been written in the year 1750.

[k] See Memorials of the Right Hon. James Oswald, p. 103.

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As to the last point of view under which I proposed to consider his character, Lord Chatham, notwithstanding some infirmities of temper, must rank pre-eminently high. He was, indeed, as the Duke of Cumberland emphatically described him, he was *a man*. No individual ever possessed greater intrepidity. This great quality of his mind was conspicuous in every action of his life as a statesman, an orator, and a man. His administration displays a series of the most spirited designs that ever statesman conceived.

He evinced the same courage in prosecuting as in conceiving these designs. It was this feeling, imparted by him to the nation, which enabled him to break through those trammels of individual and party opposition by which ordinary ministers have been restrained, and to extend the glory of his country over the four quarters of the globe [1]. Mr. Pitt's retirement from office in 1761, is as powerful an

[1] There are numberless instances to prove the truth of my remark. The following extremely entertaining anecdote relative to this subject is, I believe, better authenticated than many which have been related by the same writer: "I have been assured, that towards the conclusion of George the Second's reign, when Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, occupied a principal place in the cabinet, Lord Falmouth having waited on him at his levee, stated his wish to be recommended to his Majesty for the first vacant *Garter*. The Secretary of State expressing a degree of reluctance to lay the request before the King, and manifesting some disapprobation of the demand itself; 'You will be pleased, Sir, to remember,' said Lord Falmouth, 'that I bring in five votes, who go with ministry in the House of Commons; and if my application is disregarded, you must take the consequence!'—'Your Lordship threatens me,' replied the minister with warmth; 'you may therefore be assured, that so long as I hold a place in the councils of the crown, you shall never receive the Order of the *Garter*.' Then turning round, he exclaimed, addressing himself to those near him,

'Optat ephippia bos piger.'

Lord Falmouth comprehending nothing of the meaning of these words, but conceiving that the monosyllable *Bos* must allude to his name, *(Boscawen,)* requested to be informed what the minister meant by so calling him? 'The observation,' replied Mr. Pitt, 'is not mine, but Horace's. As little familiar with the name of the Roman poet, as he was acquainted with his writings, Lord Falmouth, apprehending that *Horace Walpole* had said something severe or disrespectful concerning him, under that second mistake: 'If Horace Walpole,' said he, 'has taken any liberties with my name, I shall know how to resent it. His brother, *Sir Robert*, when alive, and first minister, never presumed so to treat me.' Having thus expressed himself, he quitted Mr. Pitt, leaving the audience in astonishment at the effect of his double misapprehension." *Wraxall's Historical Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 127.

instance of his lofty spirit as any which marked his administration. Opinions have varied as to the propriety, and even as to the patriotism of that decided measure; but they must unite in the belief, that the man who adopted it was imbued with the sentiments of an ancient Roman [m].

Lord Chatham's intrepidity was of that inherent quality which neither age nor infirmity, nor even the prospect of death can subdue.

In a debate which took place in the House of Lords, after he had entered upon his grand climacteric, although suffering under the unremitting attacks of an excruciating disorder, having occasion to animadvert upon what he considered the declining liberties of his country, and the growing spirit of the colonies, he asserted, with all the buoyant vigor of youth, that were it not for invincible obstacles, he

[m] Some of the finest lines to be found in the poignant poetry of Churchill, were written upon this occasion:

"Can numbers then change nature's stated laws?
Can numbers make the worse the better cause?
Vice must be vice, virtue be virtue still,
Though thousands rail at good, and practise ill.
Would'st thou defend the Gaul's destructive rage,
Because vast nations on his side engage?
Though, to support the rebel Cæsar's cause,
Tumultuous legions arm against the laws;
Though scandal would our patriot's name impeach,
And rails at virtues which she cannot reach,
What honest man but would with joy submit
To bleed with Cato, and retire with Pitt?
Stedfast and true to virtue's sacred laws,
Unmov'd by vulgar censure or applause,
Let the world talk, my friend; that world, we know,
Which calls us guilty, cannot make us so.
Unaw'd by numbers, follow nature's plan;
Assert the rights, or quit the name of man.
Consider well, weigh strictly right and wrong;
Resolve not quick; but, once resolv'd, be strong,
In spite of dulness, and in spite of wit.
If to thyself thou can'st thyself acquit,
Rather stand up, assured with conscious pride,
Alone, than err with millions on thy side."

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would retire from Great Britain, and spend the remainder of his days in a country which he believed to be the asylum of liberty and manly virtue.

But the last scene of his life affords the most astonishing instance of the intrepidity of Lord Chatham. In that hour the perilous situation of his country was fully presented to his view. He himself had been compelled to avow that he knew not in what manner she could be extricated. But no change of national fortune could shake the resolution of the Briton. The Almighty has planted in some breasts feelings which are scarcely extirpated in the moment of dissolution. When Charles the Twelfth was mortally struck by the bullet at Frederickshall, the feelings of the soldier prevailed even in the agonies of death, and his right hand was found upon the hilt of his sword. When Lord Chatham rose for the last time in the House of Lords, the messenger of death was upon him, and he fell labouring with his last breath, to express and vindicate the rights of his country.

One striking feature in the character of Lord Chatham was his ambition. With this he has generally been reproached. But whether ambition should form the subject of praise or censure depends entirely upon its object. The ardent-minded man who exerts the talents which the Creator has bestowed upon him for the public service, is surely deserving of applause. Unmixed motives, a total disregard of self-interest, and of individual feelings are not to be expected of human nature. That statesman is most deserving of our admiration, who is most actuated by public considerations. Now into whatever inconsistencies the ambition of Lord Chatham might occasionally betray him, and however much his prepossessions and prejudices might affect his judgment, he stands accused of no one act of treachery or meanness, and is allowed to have been mainly influenced by a desire to aggrandize his country. That desire induced him to disregard health and personal inconvenience, and utterly to despise every mercenary consideration. Surely the same reasoning which would ascribe selfishness to Lord Chatham, would deny that disinterestedness was a feature in

the character of the immortal Alfred. In any station of life the talents and ardor of Lord Chatham must have rendered him conspicuous. Had he continued in the army he would have risen to its command, or have died at the head of his corps. Such a man was not born for subordination.

In every domestic relation of life the conduct of Lord Chatham was most exemplary. His habits were temperate and abstemious, and his morals irreproachable. In his letters to his nephew, and in his speeches upon several public occasions, there are the plainest evidences that he was fully impressed with the necessity of religious principles, and that he was a firm believer in the truth of the Scriptures[n]. I dwell particularly upon these virtues, because the great pledge of a statesman's integrity must be sought for in his private worth. Whatever may be the talents of the debauched spendthrift and gambler, the same passions and vices which lead him to risk his own individual health and property, must render him reckless and precipitate where the best interests of his country are concerned. The private character of Lord Chatham commanded the respect, and invited the confidence of the nation. Lord Chatham was remarkable for the dignity, and, where he studied to please, for the suavity of his manners and address. His conversation partook of the general spirit of his character, and, enlivened as it was by the sallies of a sportive imagination, was fascinating in the extreme! As his mind seemed capable of applying itself to the acquisition of any species of knowledge, so it enabled him to adapt his conversation to the complexion of every associate. In distinguishing between the pretenders to, and the possessors of wit, the second Lord Lyttleton says: "The man who is in the most perfect possession of it, has figured in so high a line of public life, as to prevent the attention of mankind from leaving his greater qualities to consider his private and domestic character. I mean Lord Chatham, whose familiar conversation is only to be excelled

[n] "When his Lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children; and seldom without reading a chapter of the Bible with them."—*Bishop of Winchester's Life of Mr. Pitt.*

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by his public eloquence [o]." Reserve, the policy of shallow understandings and of feeble spirits was not made for Lord Chatham.

But admirable as he was as a husband, a father, and a relation, delightful as a companion, his nature was too haughty and imperious to qualify him for a friend. A consciousness of his own superior abilities, and latterly, of the great services which he had performed for the country, rendered him incapable of associating his councils with those of others, and inclined him too much to assume the character of a dictator.

Happy would it have been if a disposition more practicable and complying had been added to a character in other respects so transcendant. We have seen the inconvenience to which this defect subjected him in public life, and we may easily suppose that it sometimes impaired the blessings of private friendship.

In his person, Lord Chatham was tall and manly. His eagle eye, like that of the Prince de Condè, at once struck and awed the observer. The general character of his features was also aquiline. His countenance was animated by an expression of dignity and intelligence which inspired respect and admiration, and was exactly indicative of the man [p].

However little the character of Lord Chatham resembled that of Lord Chesterfield, he appears, like the latter nobleman, to have entertained a high opinion of the force produced on the mind by external appearances, and to have been scrupulously exact in the article of dress. It is said that he never was seen on business without a full-dress coat and a tie-wig. He was also a rigid observer and exactor of respect towards himself and others when in authority, and never permitted his under-secretaries to sit down before him.

[o] Letters, p. 122.

[p] One of the few individuals alive who remembers him before age and repeated attacks of indisposition had shattered his person, assures me, that the frontispiece to my work is a most faithful, as well as a most spirited likeness of Lord Chatham. The original picture by Hoare, is in the possession of the present Earl of Chatham.

I shall conclude my work with some verses extracted from "The Patriot Vision," a poem, which although occasionally debased by bad taste and bombast is not deficient in spirit[q]. Apollo is, in the first instance, supposed to address himself to the shade of Lord Chatham, and afterwards to Fame:

"Who, mightiest spirit of thy sinking age,
Wer't strong to quell pernicious faction's rage,
In one great point to draw the scattered flame
Of patriot zeal, and fix it in one aim,
Then on our foes so skilful didst thou guide
And sent it flaming with a waste so wide
That its full havoc journeyed with my light;
So didst thou wake from sleep the giant Britain's might.
Slumb'ring in pleasure's lap he lay dispread
And vice had shorn the honors of his head,
Hadst thou not roused him from the couch of shame
And thunder'd through his soul his ancient fame;
Thine was his trumpet to the shock of war
His victor-lance was thine, and his triumphal car.
To deeds of such high worth no spring could move,
But the great principle of patriot love.
This only could that energy inspire,
And swell to such a force the gathering fire,
By which thy genius warm'd the torpid age,
And rais'd the gen'rous flame of martial rage;
Made Sloth laborious, Cowardice made bold;
Made griping Avarice free the prison'd gold;
Made willing senates the deep fountain drain
Of public wealth, that empire to maintain,
Whence it had power to work, and fill itself again.
I hail thee Britain's friend; and, hallow'd Fame[r]!
Did ever patriot more deserve that name,
For faithful purport or successful deed?
Thine be the care to deal his deathless meed;

[q] The "Patriot Vision" was dedicated to the memory of the Earl of Chatham, and published in the year 1778.

[r] Apollo is here supposed to ask the question of Fame.

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Thine be the care, in Britain's orphan state,
(Who fears her ruin in her parent's fate,)
With grateful mem'ry of his patriot love,
Her awful senate and her King to move.
Let envy sink beneath the fire of zeal,
And every Briton for his father feel;
Pursue his relics with a filial woe,
And in the tomb of Kings his urn bestow.
May he who, with a Roman's pomp of soul,
Could the strong love of needed wealth control,
Not leave to future times his gloried race
To sink 'neath sordid poverty's disgrace:
But chief be thine, the godlike office, Fame!
To nurse the spirit waiting on his name,
From his blest mem'ry to re-inspire,
And from his sacred dust to wake that fire,
Which, with his dying breath [s], he bade to glow;
Bade the just war arise, and pointed out the foe.
Let his last accents vibrate on each ear,
Stirring to deeds of fame, and quelling shameful fear."

[s] This alludes to his last speech in the House of Lords, in which he declared himself convinced of the necessity of a war with France.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

CONTAINING PAPERS AND LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE YEAR 1757.

1. *The King of Prussia's description of Mr. Pitt's Administration in 1757, &c.*

Il s'étoit fait dès l'automne dernière un changement dans le ministère Britannique. M. Fox, qui s'y étoit intrus par les intrigues du Duc de Cumberland, s'apperçut qu'il ne pouvoit plus se soutenir dans ce poste contre la cabale qui lui étoit opposée; il résolut de se démettre volontairement de ses charges, et fut remplacé par M. Pitt, que son éloquence et son génie élevé rendoient l'idole de la nation; c'étoit la meilleure tête de l'Angleterre. Il avoit subjugué la Chambre basse par la force de la parole, il y régnoit, il en étoit pour ainsi dire l'âme. Parvenu au timon des affaires, il appliqua toute l'étendue de son génie à rendre sa patrie la dominatrice des mers, et pensant en grand homme, if fut indigné de la convention de Closter-seven, qu'il regardoit comme l'opprobre des Anglois. Ses premiers pas dans sa nouvelle carrière tendirent tous à faire abolir jusqu' à la mémoire de ce traité honteux; ce fut lui qui persuada au Roi d'Angleterre de mettre le Prince Ferdinand de Bronswic à la tête de l'armée des alliés, et de le demander au Roi de Prusse; ce fut lui qui proposa de renforcer les troupes d'Allemagne par un corps d'Anglois, qui les joignit effectivement dans l'année 1758. De plus il jugea convenable à la gloire de sa nation de renouveler les alliances qu' elle avoit contractées tant avec le Roi de Prusse qu' avec divers Princes d'Allemagne.

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Il conclut un traité avec le Roi; par l'un des articles le Roi d'Angleterre s'engageoit à payer au Roi de Prusse un subside annuel de 4 millions d'écus, lequel fut continué jusqu' en 1761. * * * * * Tandis que M. Pitt prenoit de si justes mesures pour la politique, les ports de la Grand Bretagne se remplissoient de vaisseaux; les projets pour la campagne de mer et de terre étoient arrêtés, et une activité nouvelle ranimoit toutes les branches du gouvernement.—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans,* vol. iii. chap. 7.

2. *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt to Thomas Cumming.*

Whitehall, February 9, 1757.

GOOD AND WORTHY FRIEND,

I write this letter to you merely to repeat to you upon paper, what I have often said with great sincerity to you in conversation, namely, that I have so good an opinion of your integrity, and think the service you are going upon to Africa so likely to prove beneficial to the public, that in case success attends your endeavours, I promise you my best assistance in obtaining an exclusive charter in your favor for a limited term of years, with regard to that vein of trade which your industry and risk shall have opened to your country. Averse as I always shall be to exclusive charters in general, I think your case a just exception; so wishing cordially the favor of Providence on your undertaking, I remain, with much esteem, your sincere and faithful friend,

W. PITT.

3. *Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie to Mr. Pitt.*

Williamsburg, June 20, 1757.

Last night I received an express from Colonel Washington at Fort Loudoun, near Winchester, giving me an account that the French and their Indians from Fort Du Quesne had marched in a great body with a train of artillery to invade this and the other Colonies to the northward of this; and it is suspected they intend to invest Fort Cumberland. This fort was formerly garrisoned by the forces from this dominion, but by the regulation formed and concerted by Lord Loudoun at Philadelphia, our forces were ordered from that fort in order to garrison Fort Loudoun; and part of the Maryland forces were ordered to Fort Cumberland. I am sorry for the

account that I have received that they are in a poor condition to sustain a siege, that I am greatly apprehensive the enemy will easily take it; but to let you more fully into the accounts I have received by this express, enclosed I send you a copy of the letters, and a copy of the Council of War held on this occasion, by which you will please observe it was impossible for the garrison at Fort Loudoun to reinforce that at Cumberland, as the distance is at least one hundred miles, and the enemy was then supposed to be within thirty miles of Fort Cumberland.

On this news I called the Council to advise what was proper to be done; they agreed with me to order the militia of four of the most contiguous counties to march immediately to Fort Loudoun to reinforce and protect that fortress from the insults of the enemy. Expresses have been sent to Colonel Stanwix, who commands in chief all the forces in those southern Colonies, who, I believe, is at the town of Carlisle, in Pensylvania, distant about one hundred miles from Fort Loudoun, and near the same distance from Fort Cumberland, to give his orders and directions on this unexpected emergency. It is supposed Fort Du Quesne has been reinforced with a great number of forces from the Mississippi, which has been long dreaded.

The reinforcement to our regiment is not yet raised, but they are very busy on this head, by making drafts from the militia in each county of this dominion; but what we most fear is an invasion by sea, and we have not one King's ship here. The Garland, stationed here, is employed in convoying troops to the assistance of South Carolina; and I am humbly of opinion, that these two valuable Colonies of Virginia and Maryland are greatly neglected in having only one twenty gun ship on this station.

I shall do every thing in my power to raise the men intended to augment the regiment in pay of this dominion; and I am greatly in hopes that Colonel Stanwix with his half battalion of Royal Americans, with the provincials of Pensylvania, Maryland, and this dominion, will be able to repel the force of the enemy: but the account we have received bears a gloomy aspect. If the enemy sends no ships of war, I hope we shall be able to give a good account of them.

This is at present our unfortunate situation, and I think it my duty to represent the facts to you as they really are in truth. I send this day an express to inform me of the motions of the enemy, and, if possible, to know their numbers; of which, as soon as I am informed, I shall transmit you as

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particular account as I can. I have not heard from Lord Loudoun for six weeks past:—whether he is embarked for Nova Scotia, or whether the forces from Britain are arrived, on these points I am quite ignorant. My Lord is very assiduous: all his motions and intentions are kept very secret, that nothing transpires but vague reports on which there is no dependence.

For the sake of these valuable Colonies, I humbly entreat that some ships of war be immediately sent out for our protection, as we are an open country without any fortifications to the sea, that two or three privateers may come within our capes, ravage and plunder the plantations at their pleasure, being an extensive country, where the militia cannot possibly protect the whole from the depredations that a few privateers may make in the different parts of this dominion.

4. *Governor Fitch to the Earl of Holdernesse.*

Norwalk, July 20, 1757.

Having, in my letter of the 16th March last, to the Right Honorable Mr. Pitt, given an account of the number of troops demanded of this Colony by the Earl of Loudoun for the service of the current year, and the forwardness they were then in, I beg leave now to acquaint your Lordship, that, as the Colony cheerfully complied with Lord Loudoun's demand, so all possible expedition was used in raising the men for the King's service, wherein they have been for months past, and are now employed, according to his Lordship's directions.

I received on the 4th May Mr. Pitt's letter of the 4th February, signifying his Majesty's pleasure "that the Colony should raise, with the utmost expedition, a number of provincial troops, at least equal to those raised the last year, for the service of the ensuing campaign." At the same time I received from the Earl of Loudoun a letter of the 2nd May, wherein he signified to me, "that as he had settled the quota of men to be raised by this Colony, for the operations of the year, and the neighbouring provinces, before the Secretary of State's letter arrived, he had some doubt if the addition now required by that letter, to put them on the foot of the last year, with respect to number, could be raised and marched to take the field in due time to enter upon service; therefore, both to comply with the Secretary of State's orders, and for the greater security of the country, it appeared to him absolutely necessary that the militia of this colony should

be properly armed and furnished with ammunition, and have a standing order to march to the aid and assistance of the forces under the command of Major-General Webb, or the commander of his Majesty's forces in that quarter, on his requisition," &c.

Having an opportunity, in about ten days after, I laid those matters before the General Assembly; who, taking them into consideration, gave orders to have the militia of the government and all householders furnished with arms and ammunition, according to a law, which directs them to be constantly provided; and that the law might be strictly observed, ordered a general view of arms, and that, on their muster, the captains of every company should declare to the soldiers that they must hold themselves in readiness, upon the shortest notice, to march to the assistance, succour, and relief of such fort, town, place, &c. as should be attacked, or in danger of an attack from the enemy. By which means the Assembly have endeavoured to have the force of the government in as good a posture for defence as may be, in case of any sudden emergency; and, I trust, if an alarm should happen from any quarter, the inhabitants will exert themselves according to the exigency of the case.

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that although the Assembly readily came into these measures, which they well approved of, for the defence and safety of the country, and were desirous to comply with Lord Loudoun's proposals, yet they supposed that they had before this raised the number of troops proposed by Mr. Pitt's letter, and more; for although the year before 2,500 men were ordered to be raised, yet 1,250 was the number then required and expected as our proportion of 10,000, but the government added the other 1,250 on account of the deficiency of the southern governments, lest, for want of their quotas, the number would be so small, as to render the attempt not only fruitless but rash. Therefore, to consider our numbers on such special occasions as a general rule or for a precedent on future occasions, would charge this Colony with an unequal, and, with respect to some, a double burden. Your Lordship will be pleased to excuse this digression, seeing it appears necessary to set the Colony in that advantageous light which it justly deserves.

5. *Mr. Pitt to Vice-Admiral Holburne.*

Whitehall, July 7, 1757.

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Intelligence having been received which gives room to think it probable that the several French squadrons, which have sailed this year from Europe under the command of Mons. Bois de la Mothe, Mons. Beaufremont, and Mons. du Revest, may all be directed to proceed to North America, and to form one fleet there; his Majesty has been pleased to order the Somerset and the Devonshire, of seventy guns each, the Prince Frederic, of sixty-four guns, and the Eagle, of sixty guns, to sail forthwith, to reinforce the squadron under your command: and it is the King's pleasure, that, upon the arrival of the four ships above mentioned, you do immediately despatch a sloop to England, with an account of the condition of your ships, and also with the best intelligence you shall have been able to procure, as well of the number, condition, and stations of those of the enemy, as of their operations and future destination. And it is his Majesty's further pleasure, that, in case you should receive any intelligence with regard to the return homewards of the whole or part of the French fleet, you should not fail to despatch, with all possible diligence and expedition, another sloop with advice thereof, in order that a squadron may be properly stationed to intercept them in their passage. The King is persuaded of your great zeal and vigilance to exert your utmost efforts for his service in this critical and urgent conjuncture; yet I must not omit most strongly recommending to you to act with the greatest vigor against the enemy, and doubt not but you will so apply the powerful force now under your command, as will effectually answer the great views of his Majesty, and the general expectations of the nation. And, in case you shall receive advice of the French fleet sailing homewards, it is the King's pleasure that you should follow them as close as may be, and with the utmost expedition, in order, if possible, to fall in with them, either before they reach Europe, or on the coasts of France, where, by means of a number of English ships, properly stationed, the enemy may happen to fall into a position between two of the King's squadrons.

6. *Mr. Pitt to Vice-Admiral Holburne.*

Whitehall, 18*th July*, 1757.

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I am now to inform you by what accident the four ships mentioned in the enclosed did not sail together, according to the notice therein given you: the Devonshire and Prince Frederic passed by Plymouth with a fair wind, (to put themselves under the command of Commodore Moore,) the day before the orders had reached Admiral Harrison there for their proceeding to North America; and though the Sheerness was immediately despatched to recall them, there was so little hopes of her coming up with them, that it was thought proper the Eagle and Somerset should sail, (which they did early on the 12th instant,) and a sloop was despatched to overtake, if possible, the Devonshire and Prince Frederic at the Madeiras, with orders to join you; but I this moment learn, that the Sheerness has most fortunately overtaken those ships, which are to proceed forthwith to put themselves under your command.

With regard to what is contained in the latter part of the enclosed letter, concerning your following with the utmost expedition the French fleet on their return to Europe, although your prudence must render unnecessary any intimation with regard to the execution of such a measure, yet, for the greater caution and clearness on a point of so much importance, I am to signify to you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you are to consider the conjunct operations of his Majesty's fleet and land forces in North America, as the first and preferable service; and that, consequently, you will not leave those parts, with the fleet under your command, so long as any of the great objects of those operations, so strongly recommended and enforced in the King's instructions and orders to the Earl of Loudoun and yourself, may, with any reasonable prospect of success, be still pursued. After which, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you execute, with the utmost diligence and expedition, the orders contained in my letter of the 7th instant, with regard to following the enemy on their return homewards.

7. *Mr. Pitt to Vice-Admiral Holburne.*

Whitehall, September 21st, 1757.

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The King having taken under consideration the 10th article of your instructions, dated the 19th February last, whereby you are directed, "when the season of the year shall render it unsafe for the ships to keep the seas in North America, to return to England with such part of your squadron as you shall think proper, leaving such force under the command of a flag officer, or of a captain only, as shall be superior to any force, which from the best intelligence you shall be able to obtain, the enemy may have in those parts;" and also the orders sent you in my letters of July 7th and 18th, "that in case of the French fleet sailing homewards, you should follow them as close as may be, and with the utmost expedition, in order, if possible, to fall in with them, either before they reach Europe or on the coasts of France:" His Majesty has thought proper to order this sloop to be despatched to you with directions that in case the French fleet, or the greatest part thereof, shall return from North America to Europe, not in squadron, but separately and dispersedly, so that it shall not be necessary for you, in order to be superior to any such parts or small divisions of the said French fleet, to follow them with your whole force, collected in one body, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do give orders to eight of the King's ships of the line, taking care to choose such as shall be in best condition and fittest for that service, to remain under the command of Sir Charles Hardy in North America, and to winter at Halifax, notwithstanding any former order or instruction to the contrary; and in case the eight ships of the line, as ordered above, shall not be superior to such part of the enemy's fleet, as they may determine to leave in North America during the winter, it is his Majesty's further pleasure that you do give orders for such other ships to remain at Halifax, over and above the eight ships before mentioned, as you shall judge proper in order to render the naval force of his Majesty in those parts superior to those of the enemy.

8. *Mr. Pitt to the Governors of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey.*

Whitehall, December 30th, 1757.

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His Majesty, having nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts, to avert, by the blessing of God on his arms, the dangers impending on North America; and not doubting that all his faithful and brave subjects there will cheerfully co-operate with, and second to the utmost, the large expence and extraordinary succours supplied by this kingdom for their preservation and defence; and his Majesty considering that the several provinces, in particular, from proximity and accessibility of situation, more immediately obnoxious to the main irruptions of the enemy from Canada, are of themselves well able to furnish at least twenty thousand men, to join a body of the King's forces for invading Canada, by the way of Crown Point, and carrying war into the heart of the enemy's possessions; and his Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardor of any of his provinces, by making a repartition of the force to be raised by each respectively for this most important service; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost endeavors and influence with the council and assembly of your province, to induce them to raise with all possible despatch as large a body of men within your government, as the number of its inhabitants may allow, and, forming the same into regiments as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness as early as may be, to march to the rendezvous at Albany, or such other place as his Majesty's Commander-in-chief in America shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British forces, and under the supreme command of his Majesty's said Commander-in-chief in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign by the first of May, if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable, by attempting to make an irruption into Canada as above, by the way of Crown Point; and, if found practicable, to attack either Montreal or Quebec, or both of the said places successively, with the whole force in one body, or at one and the same time by a division of the troops into separate and distinct operations, according as his Majesty's said Commander-in-chief shall, from his know-

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ledge of the countries, through which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances not to be known here, judge any of the said attempts to be practicable. And the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue commissions to such gentlemen of your province as you shall judge from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed and enabled to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest number of men; in the disposition of which commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole when joined to his Majesty's Commander-in-chief; and all officers of the provincial forces, as high as colonels inclusive, are to have rank according to their several respective commissions, in like manner as is already given by his Majesty's regulations to the captains of provincial troops in America.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the men so raised as above, with arms, ammunition, and tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same, by his Majesty's commissaries in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces. A sufficient train of artillery will also be provided at his Majesty's expence for the operations of the campaign; and the ship that conveys this, carries orders for timely providing at the King's charge, with the utmost diligence and in an ample manner, boats and vessels necessary for the transportation of the army on this expedition. The whole therefore that his Majesty expects and requires from the several provinces is, the levying, clothing, and pay of the men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary attempt, the King is farther most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you, that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament in their session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigor and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall justly appear to merit.

Although several stands of arms will be forthwith sent from England to be distributed to the troops, now directed to be raised in the Northern and Southern provinces, yet as it is hoped that the numbers of men, levied in all parts of America, may greatly exceed the quantity of arms that can at present be supplied from England, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do with particular diligence immediately collect and put into the best condition all the serviceable arms that can be found within your government, in order that the same may be employed as far as they will go in this exigency.

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I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent by this conveyance to New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey. The Southern governments are also directed to raise men in the same manner to be employed in such offensive operations as the circumstances and situation of the enemy's posts in those parts may point out, which it is hoped will oblige them so to divide their attention and forces, as will render the several attempts more easy and successful.

9. *Mr. Pitt to the Governor of New York.*

Whitehall, December 30, 1757.

His Majesty has commanded me to signify his pleasure that you do forthwith provide, and cause to be built, with all possible despatch, and at the King's charge, such a number of boats as shall be judged by his Majesty's Commander-in-chief in America sufficient for carrying and attending towards Canada, by the way of Lake George or Wood's Creek, or both of them, a number of troops amounting to not less than twenty-five thousand men; and for the more speedy preparing and having in readiness, early enough in the spring to begin the operations in due season, the very great number of boats that this service will necessarily require, you are, by exerting most particular diligence, and giving all proper encouragements, to set to work as great a number of hands as you shall be able to find within your province, or to procure from other parts; all which hands are to be employed at one and the same time in building such boats, in as many several places as is in any way practicable, and as may lie at all within reach of the said boats being conveyed, by land or water, to Lake George or Wood's Creek, as both or either of the same shall be judged expedient by the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces; and you are, by all possible means, to quicken and expedite the above preparations, so essentially and indispensably necessary for all operations on the side of Crown Point, in such manner as that the very great number of boats, sufficient for the above purposes, be ready at either or both of the waters above directed, and entirely complete for the use and service of the troops, by the first day of May, if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable.

And as one or more armed vessels, of a size and force adapted to the navigation of the lakes, may be necessary to convoy and protect the boats and troops in their passage, it is the King's further pleasure, that you do

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take proper care to direct the building of such vessel or vessels on Lake George, as the same shall be judged proper by the Commander-in-chief and yourself. And if it shall be absolutely impracticable, in the present situation of the country, to begin this work immediately on the said lake, you are in that case, for the sake of expedition, so indispensably necessary in the present exigency, to cause forthwith the requisite timbers and materials to be prepared and fitted, as far as the nature of such work will permit, in whatever place or places may be most convenient for that purpose, with the most extraordinary diligence, in order that the same may be conveyed, as soon as possible, according as the Commander-in-chief shall direct, to Lake George, and there to be put together and framed, so that the said vessel or vessels may not fail to be entirely completed and fit for service by the first of May above mentioned, if possible, or as soon after as may be any way practicable.

In order that the works mentioned in this letter may be carried on with all possible despatch, the King has been pleased to appoint Captain Loring, who will deliver this despatch to you, and whose zeal and abilities for this service have been strongly recommended to his Majesty, to superintend and inspect the building and providing the said boats and vessels, agreeably to such directions as he shall receive from you, or the Commander-in-chief of the King's forces in North America; and you will accordingly, in concert with the said Commander-in-chief, give all proper and necessary directions, assistance, and encouragements to Mr. Loring, for the effectual execution of this most essential service.

N°. II.

CONTAINING PAPERS AND LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE YEAR 1758.

1. *Mr. Pitt to the Secretary at War*[a].

January 23, 1758.

In answer to your Lordship's letter of this day's date, with regard to detaining part of the transport-vessels destined for North America, in order to receive on board the clothing for the army there, which will not be all ready till the 10th of February; I am now to acquaint your Lordship, that, as it is of very great importance to his Majesty's service that the said transport-vessels should all be in America as soon as possible, and that the detention of any one of them may be of very bad consequences, I cannot think it advisable to order any part of them to wait for the said clothing, or, on any other account whatsoever, one moment after they shall be ready to proceed on their voyage. Your Lordship will therefore give directions for sending the clothing for the army in America, in such manner as it must have gone, provided no transport-vessels had been ordered for those parts.

2. *Governor Pownall to Mr. Pitt.*

Boston, January 15, 1758.

Apprehending that the first step towards annoying the enemy abroad was to be first secured at home, I thought it my duty, upon my coming to the chair of this Government, to enquire how the country was prepared for such defence. I had occasion, at my very first entrance, to know and to find the militia totally ruined, ineffectual and useless; and I have since, upon enquiry,

[a] Viscount Barrington.

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found that the defence of the inland frontiers was not more to be depended on, in case of any incursions of the Indians. I have proposed a militia law that may be effectual; and though this be a point that could never yet, since the existence of the present charter, be carried, I have the happiness to acquaint you, Sir, that I have, after one or two unsuccessful attempts, had the fortune this last session to succeed in obtaining an act providing for the duly mustering, arming, and disciplining every able-bodied man within the province, and further, for the regular ordering and governing of such, when upon an alarm or invasion, called out to service.

I have in this province thirty-two regiments, containing in all upon the alarm list 45,764 men, of which 37,446 are by law obliged to train and turn out into the field upon any alarm or invasion, under this law that now makes mutiny and desertion death. I now therefore hope, after having modelled and framed this body of men into more and smaller regiments, and other divisions better adapted for training and disciplining them, to see the ancient and military spirit of New England revive in proportion as their discipline reforms.

I also laid before them, as referred to in my speech, a method of defending their inland frontiers, in which I have the pleasure to see them entirely acquiesce, and they will make provision accordingly.

A fort at Penobscot River, (called by the French in their claims to it, Pentagonet,) would be of the utmost importance. It would put the British right out of all dispute. It would take possession of this very fine country, which the Indians never dispute when done in war; it would effectually drive off the remains of the Noridgwoak[b] and Penobscot Indians, as it would break up their hunting and fishing. It would be taking possession of the very finest bay in North America for large shipping just at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, and would be advancing the frontiers of his Majesty's dominions. I have laid the matter before them, not formally in a speech or message, but in that way which I judged most likely to obtain with them in a way that they may take it up as of themselves. It has so far succeeded that they have unanimously voted the propriety of the measure. The expense is the only difficulty. A committee appointed to consider it, have agreed to report it; and I am not without hopes of carrying the point. If I do, I shall think it my duty to see it executed myself, and shall go down

[b] Sic in MS. usually spelt Norridge Walk.

thither early in our spring with such forces as they will enable me to enlist by the provision they make.

I have also, in the most earnest manner, labored with them to obtain their making provision for 360 Rangers, the quota required of this province by Lord Loudoun; for I am sure there is no one measure better calculated to aid and assist the regular service than this. But I remain without success hitherto. The reason they give for not sending this quota is, that if the whole service of North America was to be proportioned out by quota, the expense they are at, (even 18,000*l.* sterling last year in the article of their own particular defence, and 147,996*l.* sterling, the whole charge of the government,) vastly exceeds the quota that any other province bears to that service. I should, from the very small expense that the establishment for these Rangers would be, in proportion to the whole expense the province is at, hope they might be induced to comply with Lord Loudoun's demand, did I not apprehend that there must be some latent reason that does not appear, and that I cannot account for. I am further anxious to obtain this to avoid the ill effect their refusal may have on other provinces, and to prevent the disreputation that may arise upon this province, always hitherto and even now zealously active for his Majesty's service.

3. *Memorial stating the Nature of the Service in North America, 1755, and proposing a General Plan of Operations founded thereon, by Governor T. Pownall, enclosed in his Letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt.*

Jan. 15, 1758.

His Majesty has now united the service into one power of action and under one direction, by appointing a Commander-in-chief for this service over all North America, with power to direct, and forces to carry on, this service as a one whole. The next grand and absolutely necessary point is, that there should be some one general plan of operations fixed, that may be carried on, not only by the general forces employed in the general and military parts of such plan, but by every particular province and colony in its own private councils and own private operations, coincident with the whole. When such is fixed on, every sum of money that is raised for this service will be applied to what shall be of real service and permanent use; and every, the most minute, operation that is undertaken, will become as part of such plan, Ἐργον εἰς αἰεὶ, and every, the most otherwise insignificant, measure

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would become of more importance and more service than twenty the most expensive and bustling operations that arise from momentary and partial starts of whim, vanity, or interest. There could not even a log-house be built, nor scarce a picquet stuck down in any place of the country, but what would be a necessary measure, and whose use, however trifling the thing in itself, would extend to the grand service of the whole; there would not be a pound, scarce a penny raised, but would have its share in this grand service. On the contrary, while private persons, or particular independent bodies of people, have consulted only the momentary partial starts of whim, vanity, party, or interest, under the influence of such motives, without any general scheme to the defence of the country, the taking possession of it, or the command of it, without any reference to any one general idea, forts have been built up and down the country, that could never have been of use, have never been used, have never been supported, have been left to go to ruin, have been abandoned to the enemy, or, if they have been kept up at all, have been a private standing job to all concerned in them. While thus large sums of money have been squandered away to no use, or bad ones; while thus fruitless detached measures, that have been of no use, but prevention and incumbrance on the general service, and interfering amongst each other, have been pursued by vague random fits and starts; the public service has not only been ruined, but the people have lost all opinion and confidence in military operations, have been discouraged and alienated from engaging in any active measures, and always suspicious that whatever sums they give to such, are either thrown away, or put into the private pocket of some job. On the contrary, were there some one general plan of operations formed, upon the practicability and really intended execution of which they might confide in, the assemblies might be persuaded, the people would be willing, and, I verily believe, would be persuaded, to give amply and cheerfully. So that it is not only necessary to the gaining the end proposed, but also absolutely necessary to the gaining the means, that some such general plan should be fixed.

In order to which, the following paper proposes to consider,

1st, The site of the country;

2dly, The interests of the possessions and settlements as the basis of,

3dly, The state of the service in America.

It becomes necessary to a right understanding of these to recur back and run up to the first principles on which they are founded; not only be-

cause the subject is new, but because it has been misconceived, perverted, and misrepresented.

1.- Prior to any observations on the settlers and settlements, it will be necessary to take some notice of the peculiar state and site of the countries in which they have settled; for it is the site and circumstances, I mean those that are unchangeable, of a country, which give the characteristic form to the state and nature of the people who inhabit it.

The consideration of the continent of America may be properly divided into two parts, from the two very different and distinct ideas that the face of the country presents, but more especially from the two distinct effects which must necessarily and have actually arisen from the two very different sorts of circumstances in each tract of country.

All the continent of North America, as far as known to the Europeans, is, to the westward of the endless mountains, a high level plain. All to the south-east of these mountains slopes away south-easterly down to the Atlantic Ocean. By a level plain, I must not be understood as though I thought there were no hills or vallies or mountains in such, but that the plane of a section parallel to the main face of the country would be nearly an horizontal plane; as the plane of a like section of this other part would be inclined to the horizon, with a large slope to the Atlantic Ocean. The line that directs these two tracts, that is, the south-east edge of these plains, or the highest part of this slope, may in general be said to run from Onundaga[c], along the westernmost Allegeani[d] ridge of the endless mountains, to Apalatche[e], in the Gulf of Mexico.

In considering first the main continent, this high plain, with very few exceptions in comparison to the whole, it may be observed, that the multitude of waters found in it is, properly speaking, but of two masses; the one composed of the waters of the lakes and their suite, which disembogue by the River St. Lawrence; the other, that multitude of waters that all lead into the Mississippi, and thence to the ocean; the former into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the latter into the Gulf of Mexico.

There are in all the waters of the Mississippi, at least as far as we know, but two falls of waters; the one at a place called by the French St. Antoin, high up on the west or main branch of the Mississippi, the other on the east branch, called Ohio. Except these, and the temporary rapidity arising from

[c] Sic in MS [d] Sic in MS. [e] Sic in MS.

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the freshes of spring, and the rainy seasons, all the waters of the Mississippi run to the ocean with a still, easy, and gentle current.

As to all the waters of the five great lakes, and the many large rivers that empty into them, the waters of the great Outawawa River, the waters of the Lake Champlain, of Trois Rivieres, and the many other that empty into the River St. Lawrence above Quebec, they may all be considered in one mass as a stagnation, or lake of a wilderness of waters, spreading over the country by an infinite number and variety of branchings, bays, straits, &c. For although at particular places of their communications, and at the mouths of their streams, they seem to pour out such an immense ocean of waters, yet when they are all collected and assembled together at a general rendezvous, where they all disembogue themselves into the River St. Lawrence, the whole embouchure of this multitude of waters is not larger than the Seine at Paris [f].

The waters of each respective mass, not only the lesser streams but the main general body of each going through this continent in every course and direction, have by their near approach to each other, by their interlocking with each other, by their communication to every quarter and in every direction, an alliance and unity; and form one mass, a one whole.

Let any one raise in his mind the idea of a country incapable of being travelled, except on the roads, causeways, dikes, &c. that have been made through it; and that these roads have throughout the whole country, a communication, that connects and forms that into a one system of design, a one whole:—that person will readily conceive how easily, and with what few numbers, a general may take possession of, hold the command of, and defend this country, by fortifying by redoubts and other works the strong holds and passes in it; and at what an almost insurmountable disadvantage, any one who aims to recover such must act, even with twenty times the numbers. If these roads and lines have thus a communication forming a one whole, they are the foundation or basis of a command throughout the whole country, and whoever becomes possessed of them, has the command of that country.

[f] About twelve leagues above Quebec, over against a place called La Loubiniere, the River St. Lawrence appears to be of a very considerable breadth; but when the tide, which runs up much higher than that place, has, at its ebb, entirely retired, that breadth, which one would have judged to have been that of the St. Lawrence River, remains all dry, except a small channel in the middle, which does not appear to be much larger than the Seine at Paris, nor the waters of it, that pass there, to have more or a greater current.—*Note by Governor Pownall.*

Let now any one behold and see with his own eyes, America as it really is, a wilderness of woods and mountains, incapable of land-carriage in its present natural unwrought form, and not even to be travelled on foot, except by the good will of the inhabitants, as such travelling in these woods and mountains is perpetually and unavoidably liable to ambuscades, and to have their communication cut off. Let such person also know, that the waters for these reasons have ever been the only roads that the inhabitants use, and until art and force, *(fit via vi,)* make others, are the only roads that any body of people can in general take.

Seeing this and being convinced of it as fact and experience would convince him, let such then recollect what is said above of the communication and alliance amongst the several waters of this continent; of the unity, one mass and one whole that they form; he will see in a strong light how the watery element claims and holds dominion over this extent of land; that the great lakes which lie upon its bosom on one hand, and the great river Mississippi, and the multitude of waters which run into it, form there a communication, an alliance or dominion of the watery elements, that commands throughout the whole; that these great lakes appear to be the throne, the centre of a dominion, whose influence by an infinitude of rivers, creeks and streams, extends itself through all and every part, supported by the connexion and communication of, and alliance with the waters of Mississippi.

If we give attention to the nature of this country, and the one united command and dominion which the waters hold throughout the same, we shall not be surprised to find the French, (though few in number,) in possession of a power which commands this country. Nor on the other hand, when we consider the nature of this eastern part of America, on which the English are settled, if we give any degree of attention to the facts, shall we be surprised to find them, though so numerous, to have so little and languid a power of command, even within the country where they are already settled. I say a very strong reason for this fact arises out of the different natures of the country, prior to any consideration of the difference arising from the nature of their government and their method of taking this possession.

This country, by a communication of waters that is extended throughout, and by an alliance of all these into one whole, is capable of being, and is naturally, a foundation of a one system of command; and accordingly such a system would and has actually taken root therein under the French hands; their various possessions throughout this country have an order, a connexion

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and communication and unity, a system, and is forming fast into a one government, as will be seen by and by. Whereas the English settlements have naturally neither order, connexion, communication, unity, nor system. The waters on this tract, on which the English are settled, are a number of rivers and bays unconnected with, and independent of each other either in interest or communication. The vague, dissipated, random settlements therefore, scattered up and down, will have no more communication or connexion amongst themselves, than there is amongst the various independent streams they are settled upon. This country, instead of being united and strengthened by the alliance of the waters which run in it, is divided by these several various streams, detached from, and independent of each other, into many separate detached tracts, that do naturally, and have actually become the foundation of as many separate and independent interests.

As far as the communion of the waters of any river, or the communion there may be between two such, extends, so far extended will arise a communication or system of interest and command. And therefore the settlements on this tract of country would be naturally, as they are actually, divided into numbers of little, weak, unconnected, independent governments. Were I to point out the natural division of the tracts and these interests, it would point out a new division of the governments of the colonies, which is not the purport of this paper.

The consideration of which country, so far as it is connected with, or has any effect upon the interests and politics of the English settlements, presents itself to view divided in two ideas: 1st, the country between the sea and mountains, 2dly, the mountains.

The first part is almost throughout the whole capable of culture, and is entirely settled: the second, a wilderness in which is found here and there, in small portions in comparison of the whole, solitary detached spots of ground fit for settlements; the rest is nothing but cover for vermin and rapine, a den for wild beasts and the more wild savages that lurk in it.

Thus far of the site of the country, as it becomes the foundation of a natural difference between the English and French possessions in America. The next point that presents itself to consideration, is,

II. The manner in which the English and French have taken possession of, and settled in this country, and

1st. Of the French.

The French, in their first attempts to settle themselves in these parts,

endeavored to penetrate by force of arms, to fix their possessions by military expeditions, till through the perpetual and constant abortion of these measures, and the certain disappointment and sure loss that attended them, they, through a kind of despair, gave over all thoughts of such.

Whether by the dear bought experience that they learnt from hence, or whether through despair, leaving their colony to make its own way; or whether rather the right good sense of Mr. Frontenac and Mr. Calliers led them to it, is neither easy nor material to determine.

But so it was, they fell afterwards into that only path in which the real spirit and nature of the service led.

The native inhabitants, (the Indians,) of this country are all hunters. All the laws of nations they know or acknowledge, are the laws of sporting, and all the idea they have of landed possession is that of a hunt. The French settlers of Canada universally commenced hunters, and so insinuated themselves into a connexion with these natives.

While the French kept themselves thus allied with the Indians as hunters, and communicated with them in, and strictly maintained all the laws and rights of sporting, the Indians did easily and readily admit them to a local landed possession; a grant, which rightly acquired and applied, they are always ready to make, as none of the rights or interests of their nation are hurt by it; but on the contrary they experience and receive great use, benefit, and profit from the commerce that the Europeans therein establish with them. Whereas, on the contrary, the English, with an insatiable thirst after landed possession, have got deeds, and other fraudulent pretences, grounded on the abuse of treaties, and by these deeds claim possession even to the exclusion of the Indians, not only from their hunting-grounds, (which with them is a right of great consequence,) but even from their house and home, as by particular instances from one end of the continent to the other might be made appear. Upon these pretences they have drove the Indians off the lands. The Indians, unable to bear it any longer, told Sir William Johnson that they believed soon they should not be able to hunt a bear into a hole in a tree, but some Englishman would claim a right to the property of it, as being his tree. And whatever the great proprietors, patentees, and land-jobbers may affirm or affect to prove, or however angry they may be, with those who declare this; that is the sole ground of the loss and alienation of the Indians from the English interest, and this is the ground the French work upon. On the contrary, the French possessions interfere not

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with the Indians' rights, but aid and assist their interest and become a means of their support; and this will more clearly and better appear by a more minute and particular attention to the French measures in these matters.

1. No Canadian is suffered to hunt or trade with the Indians but by licence from the government and under such regulations as that licence ordains; the main police of which is this: The government divides the Indian countries into so many hunts, according as they are divided by the Indians themselves. To these several hunts, there are licences respectively adapted, with regulations respecting the spirit of the nation whose hunt such is, respecting the commerce and interest of that nation, respecting the nature of that hunt.

The Canadian, having such licence, ought not to trade and hunt within the limits of such hunt, but according to the above regulations; and he is hereby absolutely excluded under severe penalties to trade or hunt beyond these limits, on any account whatever.

It were needless to point out the many good and beneficial effects arising from this police, by giving thus a right attention to the interest of the Indians, in observing the true spirit of the alliance, in putting the trade upon a fair foundation, and by maintaining all the rights and laws of the hunt which the Indians most indispensably exact.

But the consequence of the most important service which arises out of this police, is a regular, definite, precise, assured knowledge of this country.

A man, whose interest and commerce is circumscribed within a certain department, will pry into and scrutinize every hole and corner of that endroit. Again, when such a hunt is by these means as full of these Coureurs de Bois as the commerce of it will bear, whoever applies for a licence must betake himself to some new tract and hunt, by which again begins an opening to new discoveries and fresh acquisitions.

When the French have by these means established a hunt, a commerce, alliance, and influence amongst the Indians of that tract; and have by these means acquired a knowledge of all the waters, passes, portages, posts, that may hold the command of that country, in short a military knowledge of the ground, then, and not before, they ask and obtain leave of the Indians to strengthen their trading-house, to make it a fort, to put a garrison in it.

In this manner, by becoming hunters and creating alliances with the Indians as brother sportsmen, by founding that alliance upon, and maintaining it, (according to the true spirit of the Indian law of nations,) in a right com-

munication and exercise of the true interest of the hunt; they have insinuated themselves into an influence with the Indians, have been admitted into a landed possession, and by locating and fixing those possessions in alliance with, and by the friendly guidance of the waters, whose influence extends throughout the whole, they are become possessed of a real interest in, and real command over the country. They have thus throughout the country sixty or seventy forts, and almost as many settlements, which take the lead in the command of the country; not even one of which forts, without the above true spirit of policy, could they support with all the expence and force of Canada, not all the power of France could,—'tis the Indian interest alone that does maintain them in these posts.

Having thus got ground in any certain tract, and having one principal fort, they get leave to build other trading-houses and *entrepôts*, at length, and strengthen such, and, in fine, to take possession of more and more advanced posts, and to fortify and garrison them, as little subordinate forts under the command of the principal one.

Though these principal forts have subordinate forts dependent upon them, they are yet independent of each other, and only under the command of the Governor-General. There is a routine of duty settled for these, and the officers and commanders are removed to better and better commands. What the particulars of this are, and of the distribution of these troops, I have not yet learned as to Canada; but, in general, the present establishment for this service is three thousand men, of which there are generally two thousand three or four hundred effective.

I have not been able to get an exact list of the forts in Canada, but the following is sufficient to sketch out the manner in which they conduct this service.

But, first, it will be necessary to describe the line which now divides Canada and Louisiana in the Illinois country. It begins from the Oubasch, at the mouth of Vermillion River, thence to the post called Le Rocher, on the River Pæorias, and thence to the peninsula formed at the confluence of Rocky River and the Mississippi.

FORTS IN CANADA.

St. Frederick .. { St. John, Carillon, or Ticonderôga.

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Frontenac . . . { L. Presentation, Les Coudres, Quintez.

Niagara . . . . . { Torento, One other.

Missilimakinac and its dependencies.

Du Quesne . . { Presqu' Isle, Riviere au Bœuf, One other.

Le Detroit . . . . Two.——'Twas proposed to the Court, in the year 1752, to erect this into a Lieutenancy du Roy.

The post Miamis and Sioux.

Nipigon . . . . . { Two or three: one on the River Michipocoton[g]; one other on the Long River.

St. Joseph, and one other.

Le Petit Paris.

Alibi.

Saquenay.

In all, about 60.

St. John's, in Nova Scotia.

Most of these forts have fine settlements and large stores round them, and they do entirely support themselves, it being usual for both officers and men to defer receiving their pay till the garrison is relieved, which is generally in six years; and scarce any thing is sent to these garrisons but dry goods and ammunition.

There is a fine settlement at Detroit of near two hundred families; a better still at St. Joseph's, of above two hundred; a fine one at St. Antoin; many fine ones about Petit Paris. But the French Government does not encourage these, and have, by a positive ordinance, absolutely forbid any one to make a settlement without especial licence, which they found necessary to do, to restrain the Canadians from totally abandoning Canada.

The establishment, posts, and settlements of Louisiana are as follows:

Thirty-seven companies, of fifty men each, and two Swiss companies, of seventy-five each.

[g] There is a trade carried on between this fort and Hudson's Bay, by which trade the French furnish all their posts and magazines in this quarter.

1. Garrison of New Orleans..	French F. . . . 900 Swiss do. . . . 75	. . . . .	975

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Out of which are garrisoned the outposts of Balisse and other small posts.

2. Detour Anglois. The garrison of this consists of four companies, which have their tour of duty with the Mobile, Illinois, &c.

3. Mobile, eight French companies and one Swiss 475

"It is necessary to fix this number here on account of the proximity of Pansacola on one part, and of the English on the other; as also to influence the Indians; and as there are, at our meeting and treaty held here annually with the Indians, sometimes two, or sometimes three thousand Indians present[h]."

4. Tombechbi } One company each; a detachment from the gar-
5. Alibamons } rison of Mobile.

Four companies of this garrison relieved every year.

6. The Illinois, six companies 300

The posts were, in 1752:

Caskascas,
Fort de Chartres,
Village de St. Philip,
Praise de Rocher,
Cohokias,
Village de St. Jeune Veuve.

7. The Arkansas, a less principal post, one company 50
8. The Natches, one company 50
9. The Nachitoches, one company, for the present, on account of their not being able to prevent desertions to the Adages, a Spanish post within seven leagues of it. They propose, when they shall be able to settle a cartel with the Spanish Governor, and his Majesty approves of it, to fix two companies there, it being a frontier post 50
10. The Point Coupe, one company 50
11. The Almangds. one company 50

Total 2,000

[h] Mr. Vaudreuil to the Court.

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The settlements of Louisiana in general produce Indigo equal to the Guatimalo, which admits three cuttings, or crops, annually; rice, in great abundance; cotton, but find great difficulty in cleansing it from the seeds that accompany its growth here; tobacco, pitch, tar. They have a trade with their own islands: flour, peas, beans, salted or corned wild beef and pork, hams of hogs and bears, tallow-grease, all hides, lumber, planks, bordage; they have also myrtle-wax, which they export to France. They do also, in small quantities, manufacture the buffalo wool. From the abundant and natural growth of mulberry-trees, they have their thoughts turned to silk. Iron, lead, copper, and coals in abundance; besides the skins and coarse furs arising from the Indian trade and hunt. They had, so long ago as the year 1744, several vessels at their port, which come from Florida and Havannah, and Bay of Campeachey, to trade for boards, lumber, pitch, dry goods, and live-stock, to the value of 150,000 piastres. They had a settled treaty of commerce with the Royal Company of Havannah, by the terms of which the French were to deliver them at Louisiana, pitch at two piastres a barrel, tar at three piastres a barrel, boards at two reals each. Their settlements towards the mouth of Mississippi, are almost deserted and ruined, the settlers not being able to support the expense of banking against the inundations of the sea and land floods. Mr. Vaudreuil says, in a letter to the Court, September 28, 1752, he thinks it would be much better to defer, for some years, attempting settlements here, till the ground be more raised and elevated by accretion of soil, as it has been three feet in fifteen years last past.

I mention nothing here of the posts of New Orleans, Detour Anglois, and Malise, nor of Mobile; because being marine posts, the consideration of them does not come within the scope of this paper. I will observe that they require our particular attention. They are become the ports, to which all the men and stores, with which the country of the Ohio is furnished are sent annually and constantly. As from New Orleans to this country, the way is much shorter than through Canada, the distance being at most, when they are obliged at low water to follow all the windings of the river, not more than 340 French leagues, but at the usual times that they send their convoys not more than 300, and to which they can go up with decked sloops nine or ten months in the year. The trade comes down from the Illinois about the latter end of December, and goes up towards the latter end of January or the beginning of February.

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I shall describe the fort of Tombechbi from Mr. Vaudreuil's letters.

This post restrains the Alibamous, Talapouches, Abekas, and Cowetas; preserves the communication between the waters of Mobile, Alibamous river, and the Mississippi. 'Tis necessary for us to keep up amongst the Chactaws, the spirit of warring against the Chickasaws. 'Tis also necessary as an *entrepôt* in our expence against the Chickasaws and English. From hence we can go within seven or eight leagues of the village of the Chickasaws with Periaugoes by the river Tombechbi, over which seven or eight leagues of land carriage, we can easily go by land and carry cohorns and light field pieces. From hence also it is that we must send our parties against the Carolinians.

Yet this fort being a heavy expence, and with great difficulty supplied, and being so situated as to be of no use to hinder the English from going to the Chactaws, when that nation is inclined to receive them, as they may conduct their convoys a little above or a little below the fort without our being able to oppose them. This being the case, were the Chactaws entirely secured in our interest, were the Chickasaws destroyed, and had the English lost and given up all hopes of strengthening themselves in that quarter as we hope to effect; I then think it would be no longer necessary to keep up this post. Yet till this be effected, it must be kept up and more especially, as by suppressing it now, the Chactaws would think themselves abandoned. This port, as well as Alibamous, should always be victualled for a year, least by any revolution in Indian affairs the road to it should be obstructed.

As to the posts in the Illinois country, I am not able to describe them particularly; but what appears to be of more consequence, I collect from Mr. Vaudreuil's letters, (from 1743 to 1752,) the general idea upon which the fortifying and securing that country is founded.

The first fort of their plan in fortifying the Illinois Country was on the peninsula in lat. 41. 30. This was a check upon, and barrier against the several nations of Sioux, (not then in confederacy with them). The next post on this plan was on the river Dœorias, (so called after the junction of the Illinois river and Theakiki,) which would be of more especial use if situated in the north of the lake of that river, whence the road divides that leads to Missilimakenac and St. Joseph. This he describes as the key to the Illinois country from Canada.

The next is the garrisoning and fortifying the country from the mouth of Missouris to Kaskasias, where there are five posts. Mr. Vaudreuil thinks that Kaskasia is the principal, as it is the pass and inlet of the convoys of

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Louisiana, as also of those of Canada, and of the traders and hunters of the post Detroit, and the greatest part of the savage nations. There is also at this port a river, where the sloops, which come from New Orleans, may be safely laid up in winter. But Mr. Macarty, who was on the spot, thinks the environs of Chartres a far better situation to form this post, provided there were more inhabitants. He visited Fort Chartres, found it very good, only wanting a few repairs, and thinks it ought to be kept up.

The next port, I take them in order of place, not of time, which comes into this plan, is on the Ohio over against the mouth of the Cherokee river. This he says would be the key of the colony of Louisiana, would be a sufficient barrier against the English and restrain their encroachments, and would obstruct their designs in alienating the Indians of the Ohio: it would restrain the incursions of the Cherokees on the river Oubasch and river Mississippi; it would also check the Chickasaws, and would by these means secure the navigation of the Mississippi and the communication with our posts. He here expresses the greatest uneasiness, (as the French court did not care to engage in the measure at that time,) lest the English should build a fort there: in which case, he says, we must give up all communication with the Illinois, for the English would become masters of the navigation of that country.

M. Jonquiere proposes another fort at the mouth of Rocky River, (this is in the government of Canada,) which, he says, would secure the tranquillity of the south of Canada. This, says M. Vaudreuil, together with the post of the Illinois, would restrain and become a barrier against the English, and cover all our Indian allies to the west from our enemies, the English, the Cherokees, Catwabas, and others[i].

[k] By these posts above, and the posts of Miamis, this whole country is secured and fortified. This country, says Pierre Charlevoix, (in 1721,) will become the granary of Lousiana; and in 1746 we find it actually became so, for in that year it sent down to New Orleans fifty tons of flour. In 1747 we find it well furnished with provisions, and having very fine crops: and in a letter of M. Vaudreuil's, 1748, we have an account of its produce and exports, flour, corn, bacon, hams, both of bears and hogs, corned pork and wild beef, myrtle-wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, some

[i] I mention nothing here of the influence of the Jesuit Missionaries, because nothing is meant less than religion by them.

[k] Three letters of M. Vaudreuil's may be referred to in this place.

small quantity of buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bears'-grease, oil, skins, and some coarse furs: and we find a regular communication settled with New Orleans by convoys, which come down annually the latter end of December, and return at latest by the middle of February.

Thus the French do not only settle the country, but also take possession of it; and by the form, site, and police of such possessions, (led on and established by the guidance of, and in alliance with the waters,) a natural foundation of a one command, have they acquired and became possessed of this country.

By these means, I repeat it, have they created an alliance, an interest with all the Indians on the continent: by these means have they acquired an influence, a command throughout the country. They know too well the spirit of Indian politics to affect a superiority, a government over the Indians; yet have they in reality and truth of more solid effect an influence, an ascendancy in all the councils of all the Indians on the continent, and lead and direct their measures. Not even our own allies, the Five Nations excepted, unless in that remains of our interest, which partly the good effect of our trading-house at Oswego, and partly General Johnson, has preserved to the English, by the good esteem and high opinion the Indians have of his spirit and truth.

EAST.

Esquimaux	In the French interest.	Tuskaras.	
St. John's		Mohawks.	Wholly in the British interest.
Micmacs		Mehikanders.	
Souriquois		Delawares.	Lost to the English except a few on Susquechanah.
Noridgwalks		Shawenese.	
Abenakais		Catwabas.	Supposed in the English interest, but much debauched by the French.
St. Francis Indians		Cherokees.	
Cachueevage.		Chikasaws.	
Scaatecoke		Creeks.	
Oswegatchie		Cawetas.	The four Nations of the Creeks.
Senekes.		Abekas.	
Onondagas.		Talaponches.	
Cuyugar.		Alibamous.	
Oneides.			

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North.			West.	
Assimpoeles.		Wholly French.	Sioux.	French.
Adirondaches.			Nadonessiries.	
Algonkins.			Illinois.	
Oataw-aowaes.			Tawighvaes.	
Chenonderdes, or Hurons.	Skaniadereroenues.		Miamis.	
Messisagues.			Painkesshanacs.	
Outagamier.			Wawyactaes.	
Miscontins.			Picques.	
Sakis.			Kaskieskies.	
Christinaux, Almipogins, Nipisenes.			South.	
			Ossagaes.	Wholly French.
			Akansaes.	
			Chactaws.	
			Panimaes.	

The English American provinces are as fine settlements as any in the world, but can scarce be called possessions, because they are so settled as to have no possession of the country. They are settled as farmers, millers, fishermen, upon bays and rivers that have no communication nor connexion of interest; consequently the settlers belonging to these rivers, bays, &c. have no natural connexion.

But further, the settlers upon any one river or set of waters, which waters, having a connexion, might become the natural seat of a one interest, are yet so settled that they have no connexion nor union amongst each other, scarce of communion, much less of defence.

Their settlements are vague, without design, scattered, independent. They are so settled, that from their situation it is not easy for them to unite in a system of mutual defence, nor does their interest lead them to such system; and even if both did, yet through the want of a police to form them into a community of alliance, unity and activity amongst themselves, they are helpless and defenceless; and thus have the English of this sort, for many hundred miles, a long indefensible line of frontiers prior to the consideration of the nature of the enemy they may be engaged with.

III. The state of the service, as arising from the above facts.

It appears, from the first stroke of the eye, that the English, without some preparative measures, will not be able to carry into execution any

military expeditions against the French in the upper part of America; because that from any post, where they can collect and form an army, and lay in all its stores, ammunition, and provision, they must undertake, for many hundred miles, a long, dangerous, and tiresome march, by roads the most harassing, and of almost insuperable difficulty, through a wilderness of woods and mountains, without magazines of forage, &c. or any other assistance; through a country liable to ambuscades and all the strokes of war, through a country whereof the French are possessed of the command, or if through any part where their personal command does not actually exist, yet where Indians, (the most dangerous enemies in such a wilderness,) where the Indians, I say, are masters, and possessed of every hold and pass.

To put this matter in a still stronger light, let any one consider whence arises the danger of marching through a fortified country, whence the danger of a general's leaving behind him any enemy's fort or garrison not taken. It is that the enemy, who has the possession of these, has the command of the whole country, except the sole confined spot where the stronger army is present; can forbid and restrain the inhabitants from furnishing you with such assistance as the country is otherwise capable of affording; can by sallies from these posts cut off and intercept all your parties, all your intelligence; can cut off all communication with your magazines and your own posts; can perpetually harass and obstruct your march, and return within cover before any superior party, sent out from the main body, can reach them; you are also always liable to surprise even within your own camp.

A march from any post where the English can at present form any army, and collect its stores, ammunition, provision, carriages, &c. through the country, as at this day above circumstanced, is literally and precisely, in its effect, the same thing as the march here described.

While the Indians, whose chief art of war is that of making ambuscades, who have acquired from practice and art a peculiar method of secretly traversing the woods and lying concealed in them; while the Indians, whose military skill of fighting, either single or in parties, amidst these woods, renders the situation of them equivalent to fighting under cover; while the Indians, thus trained, and incredibly expert in the art, can at any time sally out from the holds, fastnesses, lurking-places, and ambushes, in which the country abounds, (and all which they know,) nay, even from the cover of the woods, and drive in all your small out parties, prevent such foraging as the country will afford, intercept and obstruct your convoys, cut off your

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communication or intelligence, provisions and succours, and retire again within cover, out of danger of any pursuit, and continue thus constantly to harass and perhaps surprise your army; while they can do this, and, believe it, all this they can do, and will do, your army is, to all intents and purposes, as to the war with the Indians, marching through a country of forts and fortresses. Let any one here compare this state of the case with the causes and reasons of the failure of the several military expeditions on this continent, and its truth will be still more evinced.

As, then, no general would think of making a campaign in any country, to reach which he must march through an enemy's fortified country, without some previous measures to maintain his march and secure his retreat through such: so here, I repeat it, there are some previous measures necessary.

The first of these measures is the settling the police of our alliance with the Kenunchoni Confederacy, upon a permanent, solid, and effectual basis, so as to restore and re-establish our interest with them.

The second is taking possession of and fortifying a system of advanced posts, *entrepôts*, viz. magazines, whereat to collect stores and provisions; camps, from whence, (within a reasonable distance, and by a practicable way,) to make our sorties.

Thirdly, the securing the dominion of Lake Ontario, for the present, and laying a foundation for the like dominion on Lake Erie, Huron, and Michigan.

Let, now, any one consider the above stating of the form of the country that the English inhabit, and in which the operations of our arms must lie; let him raise in his mind seriously the precise idea of the native inhabitants who possess this country, and of the kind of operations by which we are and shall be attacked, and by which we may be able to defend ourselves; let any one, I say, by a serious attention to the above facts, form to himself that idea which an actual and practical knowledge of the country would give him; let him then be told a melancholy truth, that almost all those Indians, whose friendship and alliance were once our best and securest barrier, are now by the French debauched and alienated from us,—nay, even turned against us, and become the servile instruments of the French robberies, massacres, and treacherous encroachments: let then, his eye be turned upon the state of our back inhabitants, settled in a vague, unconnected, defenceless manner up to the mountains, to the very mouth of the dens of these savages; any one, attentively considering the above facts, will see the English Colonies in not

only a weak, defenceless state, but exposed to, and almost at the mercy of, a very powerful enemy. Considering this and the above facts, he would see how superficial, wild, and false an idea of the service that is, which would create a barrier by a line of forts; a barrier that might as well pretend to cut off the bears, wolves, and foxes from coming within it, as the Indians; a barrier that would have no more effect than so many scarecrows, unless you could actually build another Chinese wall, and so another, still advancing your wall-fence as you advanced your settlements; a barrier that would take more troops to man it, than the country enclosed within it would take people to cultivate it: a line of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles; that is, at last, no line at all: he would, I say, see this measure not only impracticable, but ineffectual; nay, were it practicable, and could it take effect, yet the insupportable expense of it would render it impossible to be engaged in. Any one reasoning on the ideas as above stated, and knowing them to be what they really are—facts, would turn his thoughts on those objects which experience, fact, and reason point out to be our barrier, namely, a real and stable alliance with the Indians, formed on such articles as should give us the same kind of possession and command in the Indian country—the same influence in Indian affairs, as the French have.

And, first, as to that part of our barrier, and the service which is connected with and depends on our alliance and interest with the Kenuctioni, the Confederacy of the Five Nations, I can only repeat what I have said formerly on this subject.

The original, natural form under which the Indian country lay, being that of a forest, stocked, not with sheep, or oxen, or horses—not with beasts of labor and domestic animals, but only with wild beasts and game; all that the country afforded for food or raiment, must be hunted for. The Indians, therefore, would constantly be, as they were in fact, not land-workers, but hunters; not settlers, but wanderers: they would, therefore, consequently never have, as in fact they never had, any one common fixed interest, nor any one communion of rights and actions—one civil union, and consequently not one government. They know no such thing as an administrative or executive power properly so called; they allow the authority of advice, a kind of legislative authority, but there is no civil coercion; they never had any one collective, actuating power of the whole, nor any magistrate or magistrates to execute such.

But the country now appearing under a different form, and they, the

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Indians, being under very different circumstances arising from trade, treaties, and war, begin to feel rather than see, to find by experience rather than reason, the necessity of a civil union of power and action; and that these circumstances have in fact for many years been formed, and have at length formed to them such a collective power. These people are precisely in that point of circumstances, where a community, that was before only a community of society, is becoming that of government.

In all their actions therefore of late years, whether of treaty or war, they have recurred to some agent to actuate this power; they are not only become capable of such a general leading, but their circumstances require it. The circumstances, with which they are connected, had formed them into a state, but from the circumstances of the society under which they live, they can never have amongst themselves a stateholder. Their circumstances require and look out for some such, some such they must have, and if we don't find such for them, the French will, and are actually attempting it. Further, as they know not nor acknowledge any leading power but that of authority, there can be no nominal, visible appointment of such leader: they will never appoint such within themselves, nor will they ever submit to any one appointed from without. This was the mistake of the Governor of Canada, which had like to have lost him all the Cachnuagas two years ago.

Therefore such person or persons only as can acquire or actually are in possession of this leading power, this authority with them, can be this agent, this leader, this stateholder.

For this manager, this stateholder, the government have appointed Sir William Johnson, a person not only the proper one, but precisely the very and only person that the above circumstances and nature of things pointed out: the person, whose knowledge of Indians, whose influence by the opinion the Indians have of him, whose very uncommon zeal for the interest of this country, whose integrity and bravery, will, by such measures as the Indians can really and indeed trust, if properly supported, restore this branch of our affairs to its salutary effect.

He has in his papers mentioned every thing necessary as to the management of this administration. I cannot but add as a collateral measure that would strengthen and finally confirm such our interest amongst the Indians, the making little settlements at Oswego, Niarondaquat, and Niagara, and at our other forts by leave of the Indians.

II. We should then, according to good faith and trust, leave the Indians

in full and free possession of their dwelling-house and hunting-grounds, which the English have in the most solemn manner confirmed to them by treaty; and of which by the same treaty we have undertaken the protection. We should guarantee and protect such to them to their use, and also all their hunting-grounds. This part of the general scheme also is in some degree carried into execution by the instructions given by General Braddock to General Johnson, for his directions in his late treaty with the Indians, which instructions were, at the desire of General Braddock and Governor Shirley, drawn up by Mr. Pownall at Alexandria. This measure will be absolutely necessary to preserve these Indians to our alliance, as may be seen in almost every treaty held with them since the first surrender of those lands. It is also necessary to support ourselves against the western French Indians; and this proposed measure will be so far from being an impediment or hurt to our interest, that the greatest advantages may be made of it, both in the means towards executing the general plan, and in the final execution of it. The uses that may be made of this measure, in the means towards executing this plan, are, that while we are undertaking the protection of the Indian country and hunting-grounds, we are actually becoming possessed of the command of the country, of the which in the whole when we are possessed of the command and protection, (by means of a very few forts necessary to be erected, which I don't here mention,) upon which in part according to the proposed colonies and settlements, when we are settled, the Indians will be preserved and protected to their satisfaction; and yet cannot move to war, nor even to hunt nor subsist, but as they maintain their alliance with the English; and yet in conjunction with us, their whole force by these means being become infinitely greater, may be directed at any time into the heart of the enemy's country.

As to the administration of Indian affairs to the southward[1].

The first step necessary to be taken is, that there be an absolute stop put to all provincial administration; that there be no agents, commissioners, or interpreters appointed by, and acting upon the private orders of a particular province, from whence arise interferings and confusion, and opposition

[1] These Indians are, the Shawoanaes, Delawares, Catawbas, Cherokees, Chicasaws and Creeks. The Creeks are in part debauched and alienated by the French, and attend the French treaties constantly at the Mobile, (especially the Alibamois, Cowetaes, Talaponches and Abakaes,) and are in great measure held under subjection by the French forts at Alibamous and Tombechbi.

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to our Indian affairs, always to the obstructing, often to the utter ruin of the British general interest.

Instead of these, there should be one only principal commissary, who understands the language and interests, and is acquainted with the people of that nation, appointed severally to each nation: this person should have under him several storekeepers and smiths.

All these principal commissaries should be subordinate to one general agent or superintendant, who should be under the orders of the Commander-in-chief only, acting by his orders and instructions, formed in a one general idea of the English and Indian interest of our alliance, and of the measures to be constantly and uniformly pursued.

As the being supplied with European goods is to the Indians the first essential interest of their politics; is the sole and actual object of their alliance with us, and the only real and permanent motive of their attachment to us; and as, according to the custom of these people, all public transactions are executed by exchange of presents, all public friendship preserved and animated by public hospitality and liberality; the first and fundamental object of the English measures should be to provide for these in a regular and sufficient manner. The being able to do this is our peculiar advantage and superiority over the French in these affairs. Their measures are perpetually impeded and distressed through their being unable to do this; 'tis the only difficulty that they have not and cannot surmount; 'tis this that makes our alliance, if we did conduct it as we ought, the true and natural interest, the true and natural politics of the Indians.

There ought, therefore, to be concluded with these southern nations a general alliance of friendship and mutual defence and assistance, founded on the British general (not any provincial private) interest, upon a one general uniform plan.

1st. The first article of which should be, to do justice to all their claims, to redress all their wrongs.

2dly. To maintain with them all public hospitality and friendship by public, annual, and occasional presents, and by entertaining by all other usual assistance. To establish a fair and just trade with them, and settle stores within their countries, or wherever is most convenient for them, with a constant supply of goods at a settled and cheaper rate than the French do supply them.

3dly. Mutually to assist each other against all attempts of the French or

their Indians, or any hostile attempt whatsoever upon either; constantly and faithfully to give all intelligence to each other, to mend their guns when they have occasion to go to war, to supply them at such times with ammunition, and always to send some of our people along with them if they require it, except against Indians in alliance with the English; and whenever the English call upon them to go out with them to war, that the English supply such as want them with arms, and all with provisions and ammunition, and defend and maintain their wives and children in the mean time.

This being done, a fund capable of answering the above engagements, and of constantly and faithfully executing such, and also capable of supporting an administration of Indian affairs, that may work effectually to the preserving and maintaining the British interest in such measures, should be settled on a general and permanent foundation, which may be as follows.

That the several Colonies who have hitherto constantly raised monies for Indian affairs, as a private provincial service, should for the future appropriate such monies to this general fund.

That such Colonies as have never raised any monies for these services should for the future raise and appropriate to this fund such sums, under a quota in proportion to the benefit received, or the harm avoided by the barrier arising from this general alliance and administration of Indian affairs: and it becomes worthy of consideration whether the islands in the West Indies, their interest being inseparably connected with the continent, should not bear a certain proportion to the charge of the war.

Matters within ourselves being thus prepared and provided for;

The first step of our measures in this branch should be, establishing, by advice of people of the best authority and most knowledge of the affairs of each nation respectively, at proper places, general magazines for this service, at the most convenient *entrepôts* between marine and island navigation of carriage, whence lesser stores, respectively subordinate to these, might be best supplied within the Indian countries, or where is most convenient for the countries. As, for instance, one at Schenectady, or rather at Mount Johnson; one either at William's Ferry, on the Potomack, or at Fort Cumberland, on Will's Creek; one either somewhere on the Roanoak or James's River; one other at Fort Augusta, on the Savannah.

From these general magazines the several national or tribe stores shall be constantly supplied. These stores would be also public truck-houses, and the storekeeper be also a public truck-master. These to be fixed in

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each particular nation, in such places and in such number as hath been usual, or as will be best for the good of the service, at each of which there should also be a smith: the commissary appointed to the affairs of each nation, to command and superintend all the store-keepers, truck-masters, and smiths, and all the stores, and be constantly circuiting through these, living always at some one of them, and attending respectively at any of them, wheresoever he is commanded by the general agent, or the good of the service requires; also at all times, (unless in matters of a more public general import, when the general agent is to attend,) to negociate and transact all matters and business such nation may have to do with any other, or with any colony, and to interpret between the Indians he is appointed commissary to, and in general, within the powers of his instructions, to do all those things and matters as have been usually done by provincial agents and interpreters; that the store-keepers and smiths do keep constant journals, and make report to the commissary; that the commissaries keep a regular journal of these reports and of their own transactions, and report to the general agent, and he likewise to keep a journal, and record and report to the Commander-in-chief.

The order, then, of the public presents, the public hospitality and liberality, being settled according to the nature of those Indians, and our alliance with them;

The method and laws of the trade with them being also settled;

The next step to be observed I take entirely from the French, and is a measure, according to my idea, absolutely necessary. Observing the want of subordination among the Indians, the French have a number of Sachems, to whom they give medals, and appoint them to preside as chiefs, leaders, counsellors, speakers, &c.; some over eight, some over ten villages, and so on as their influence extends. Being easily, by presents and money, possessed of these medal chiefs, they thus easily acquire a more uniform and stable management of their Indians, than the Indians even know of among themselves.

Let it be a standing instruction, faithfully in all and every matter, to execute and fulfil, according to the true interest of the Indians, and as to the forming their alliance into a firm barrier against the French, and enemy Indians.

The several people employed in Indian affairs to have constantly in view the scheme of uniting these several nations into a confederacy like that

of the Five Nations: in order to this, that there be found out and fixed upon, some one place in the back country, whereat the general agent should hold all his general treaties and parleys with these Indians, as the French do at the Mobile; which place upon the success of this scheme to be the council-place, as Onondaga is to the Five Nations. Let any one consider how a little republic formed by the Welinis on the river Oubasch by some free and independent Indians, did greatly embarrass, and had well nigh ruined the French affairs there. APPX. No. II. 1758.

This third branch, according to my idea of our barrier, being thus in some way provided for and administered;

IV. The fourth, namely, that of a system of magazines and fortified camps as *entrepôts* whereat either to collect for defence, or from whence within a reasonable distance and by a practicable way to make our sorties. This branch is in part provided for, by removing and advancing these stores, and at length when a proper place is found to fix them on, that would defend and command the country, getting leave to fortify them, and so to erect them into forts, the Indians are defended, are at the same time held within proper terms, and we have within a friend's country advanced posts or *entrepôts*, that would answer all the purposes of defensive or offensive operations against the enemy. And all that could be in this place said on that head, I have very minutely entered into in that part, where I explain the nature and state of the service, as arising from the nature and state of the country and its inhabitants. I will only add their opinion of one post which we once had, and of another that they feared we were about to make.

Mr. Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, in his letter to the Court, of May 10th, 1744, mentioning the leave which the English had got to build a fortified trading-house at Oahfasques amongst the Creeks, says, "If the measure of which this might be a foundation should be properly carried into execution, it would oblige the French to retire from their fort of Alibamous down to the Mobile."

And again in another letter, September 17th, 1744, he mentions this storehouse having opened a traffic with the Chactaws; yet this the English abandoned, and the French have now a fort on each main branch of the river Mobile, one at Tombechbi, and Fort Toulouse at Alibamous.

In another letter of November, 1748, he says, "It would be very easy for the English, by means of the River Ohio, to form an *entrepôt* at Prudehomme to secure them as a retreat, having the nations of the Shawoanaes,

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Cherokees, and Chicasaws on their back and to support them. From this *entrepôt* it would be very difficult for them to penetrate to the Arkansas, Panis Osages, Padonces, and Missouris, and all the other nations of that country. If these posts and settlements of the Illinois were broke up, as they certainly would be did the English settle and fortify at Prudehomme, not only the inhabitants of the Illinois would be lost to us, but also the inhabitants near New Orleans would be so greatly distressed for the want of the succours and provisions of this country; the granary to it, by loss of the benefit of trade with that post, it would be difficult for them to subsist, it would be impossible to maintain the expence they must live at without it, and they must be obliged to abandon the Colony. But should not matters be so bad as this, yet, were the post at the Illinois taken away, the Colony would not be able to extend itself at furthest beyond the post of the Natches, without a very strong garrison at the post of the Arkansas, and at best that post would be too low to cover the hunting-country."

When such forts are erected, the commanding officer at each fort should be a kind of a comptroller on the commissary or storekeeper of that division; and should be furnished with provisions and necessary stores to make presents and to entertain the Indians when they come to him, and to supply their necessities, he should for this reason have a right to make an order on the magazine of his division for this purpose.

V. In other parts of our frontier that are not the immediate residence and country of the Indians, some other species of barrier should be thought of, of which nothing can be more effectual than a military colony; but even this cannot be carried, as hereafter explained, into execution and effect, without this previous measure of a system of *entrepôts* in the country between us and the enemy. The nature of this system must depend on the nature of the ground, which can only be determined by a particular view, and will then immediately be best known to military men; but all mankind must know that no body of men, whether as an army or as an emigration of colonists, can march from one country to another through an inhospitable wilderness without magazines, nor with any safety without posts communicating amongst each other by practicable roads, to which to retire in case of accidents, repulse, or delay.

It is a fact which experience evinces the truth of, that we have always been able to outsettle the French, and have drove the Indians out of the country more by settling than fighting, and that wherever our settlements

have been wisely and completely made, the French neither by themselves, nor their dogs of war the Indians, have been able to remove us. It is upon this fact that I found the propriety of the measure for settling a barrier colony in those parts of our frontier which are not the immediate residence or hunting-grounds of our Indians. This is a measure that will be effectual and will not only in time pay its expence, but make as great returns as any of our present colonies do, will give a strength and unity to our dominions in North America, and give us possession of the country as well as settlements in it; but above all this, the state and circumstances of our settlements render such a measure not only proper and eligible, but absolutely necessary. The English settlements, as they are at present circumstanced, are absolutely at a stand; they are settled up to the mountains, there is nowhere together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself, and to defend itself and preserve a communication with the present settlements.

If the English would advance one step further, to cover themselves where they are, it must be at once, by one large step, near the mountains, with a numerous and military colony. Where such should be settled, I do not take upon me now to say; at present I shall only point out the measure and the nature of it by inserting two schemes; one of Mr. Franklin's, the other of my own. And if I might indulge myself with scheming, I should imagine that two such were sufficient, and only requisite and proper: one at the back of Virginia, filling up the vacuum between the Five Nations and Southern Confederacy, and connecting into one system our barrier; the other somewhere in the Cohass on Connecticut river, or wherever best adapted to cover the four New England colonies. These, with the little settlements mentioned above, in the Indian countries, complete my idea of this branch.

VI. The dominion, then, of the lakes being maintained by a British navy of armed vessels, suited to the nature of the service, according to a plan proposed by your memorialist in June, 1754, to the commissioners met at Albany; which part of the general frontier is according to that proposal, by order from England, at the expense of the Crown now carried into execution, completes the whole frontier.

These matters being thus proposed, I do not at all enter into that part of their execution which is the duty of the military, as it is a matter in which the judgment of a civil man may not have its weight; nor into the manner of removing the French from their encroachments; yet I cannot but in

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general observe, that, as the military object of his Majesty's service in this country is either to erect forts, or to demolish those erected by the French on his Majesty's lands; and as the way to all such lies through woods and wildernesses, there is a proper sphere of action peculiar to each, both his Majesty's regular troops, and for the provincial troops of the country. The provincial forces of these countries, as irregulars, can, the best of any forces in the world, escort his Majesty's troops through these woods, to where their proper scene of action lies. They can also, in the same manner, hand up all their convoys, and would, I am persuaded, should any occasion call for their service upon such duty, act with bravery and spirit. They are also fit for what may be properly called an expedition, some excursion *à la brusque* of ten or twenty days' continuance; they should, therefore, be employed either as a covering army, or kept with the regular army, in companies, for escorts, scouring and scouting parties; while the regular troops, as a main body, marching by these means without being harassed, sustain them; while his Majesty's troops alone are fit for the various duties and services of a continued regular campaign, and for the fatigues and perseverance necessary in a siege.

4. *Extracts from Governor Pownall's Discourse on "the Defence of the Inland Frontiers," in his Letter to Mr. Pitt, January* 15, 1758.

Such measures of defence, as are reasonable, practicable, and to be depended on, can arise only from a real and certain knowledge of the *nature* and *power* of the enemy, joined with a practical and military knowledge of the country wherein the service may lie.

If the *power of the enemy* is not known, either more force or less than is necessary may be exerted: in both which cases it is wasted. For to exert more than is necessary, is unnecessarily and most surely to exhaust ourselves: to exert less than is necessary is to throw away even that which is exerted.

If the *nature of the enemy* be not attended to, we may with insupportable expence exert that kind of strength which the enemy will never put to the trial, while we remain helpless and defenceless in that way wherein they will daily attack, harass, and destroy us.

If a practical and military *knowledge of the country* be not acquired, we may be settled in a country, but can never be said to possess, much less to command, such country. The enemy may as easily and safely drive us off, as they may drive off the cattle that feed in it; as easily hunt us out, as

the beaver that is their game; and may as easily slaughter and destroy us, while we are no more in their hands than their prey, and their war with us no more than the common hunt of their game that supports them.

It would be great ignorance of the power of the enemy, and absolutely exhausting our own strength, to think of keeping on our inland frontiers such a force, either in garrison or as an army, as may resist the invasion of a powerful body, should they come upon us. Should any such come, they must unavoidably, (in the same manner as one army attacking another, drives in all their out-posts and advanced guards,) drive in all our out-settlements and small posts, and proceed without obstruction till such time as the native strength of the province could be collected to oppose them. By which, if it were properly armed and disciplined, under the blessing of God, we might hope such invaders should never return.

The enemy then against whom we have our inland frontiers to defend is chiefly Indian, joined with such Canadians who act as Indians.

The force of this enemy does not act by *weight* and *unity*, as is the case of every other nation, (except the Arabs,) in the world, and especially those nations where that art of war, which is called the regular, hath been introduced. We have therefore not *numbers* or *a body* of men to oppose on our inland frontiers.

The force of this enemy does not lie in their *strength*. They do never put the success of their enterprize on that issue or trial. We have not therefore *an open* force to oppose.

We have not then upon our inland frontiers to oppose numbers in a body who *act by open force with weight and union of their strength*. That discipline and that art of war, which hath been, in all nations both ancient and modern, cultivated to oppose such an enemy, is here against our enemy of no use, but a misapplication of our strength.

Suppose now the enemy with regulars, though inferior to us both in number and strength, yet by some successful enterprizes had taken possession of, fortified themselves in, and commanded most of the holds and passes in the heart of our country; though from the inferiority of their numbers and strength they could not venture *openly* out of their forts and attack us in a *body*; yet by surprise and ambush they might be able to make *frequent and irresistible* sallies upon the defenceless inhabitants, drive them off, murder them, pillage and burn their settlements, and by constant harassing entirely break up the country.

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If we now consider the form of the country which the English inhabit, and in which the operations of our arms must be; if we raise in our minds the precise idea of the native inhabitants, our enemy, and the kind of operations by which we shall be attacked, we see it a wilderness of woods, lakes, mountains, morasses, rivers; we see the Indians from practice have acquired so peculiar an art of secretly traversing this wilderness and lying concealed in it; have by properly adapting, carried their military skill of fighting, either single or in parties in these woods to that degree of perfection, and are so entire masters of the knowledge of the country, and the method of ambuscades; that this *wilderness* is to them in every point a *system of fortification;* while the English are settled in a scattered, vague, defenceless manner liable always to the sallies of the enemy, and incapable of forcing them from their cover.

And it is by sallies in parties from the fastnesses, lurking-places, and ambushes in which the country abounds, and all which the Indians know, nay even from the cover of the woods they pillage, murder, and scalp the inhabitants, and entirely break up our settlements and return again safe and not to be come at under cover of the woods. Here we see how superficial and inadequate an idea of the service that is, which would create a barrier by a line of forts; a barrier that might as well pretend to cut off the bears, wolves, and foxes from coming within as the Indians; a barrier that would have no more effect than so many scarecrows; a line of above 200 miles, that is, at least, no line at all. Nay, even were this practicable to form such a line, and could it take effect, yet the insupportable expence of it would render it impossible to be engaged in.

The incursions therefore of these sallying parties only is the object we are to attend to. It is against these, while we act only upon the defensive, that we are to be guarded. The success of such parties depends upon their concealed and unexpected motions. To discover is totally to defeat the success of them; and such measures as render it hazardous for this enemy to undertake these enterprizes, totally prevent them. For to oblige such an enemy to put the issue of his attempt upon strength and open force is effectually to defeat his plan.

The only method therefore is by reconnoitring or scouting parties constantly moving, to have our eyes at all times in every part of our frontiers. The larger these parties are, the slower they must move in proportion, the more easily will they be avoided and evaded. The longer tract of country

they have to range through, the longer time in proportion must every part of that country, except the very spot where the rangers are, be uncovered and unguarded; and so much nearer do such large parties approach to the uselessness of garrisons. They should therefore be so small that their motions may be quick, and the line of country they are to range so short that they may be almost constantly upon it; taking care at the same time that they be not so small as to be inferior to the usual parties of the enemy; and also by rendezvous appointed at proper times and places that these smaller parties be collected into larger parties, sometimes more and sometimes less, that so the enemy might be kept ignorant what numbers they have to defend themselves against, or what force they may meet with, if they prepare to attack our parties.

They should scout at such a distance from the settlements of the inhabitants, as not to mistake the tracts of the inhabitants for those of the enemy, and yet so near, as to be within distance of making an alarm upon the discovery of the enemy.

Upon these principles, I think the country may be effectually covered, without any garrisons on our inland frontiers, except at the extreme ends where we are, from our proximity to the enemy's garrisons and settlements, in constant danger of being attacked by a body. The country on the inland frontiers will be best covered, if, instead of large scouting companies appointed to range a long tract of frontiers, there were lesser and small parties, with subalterns, or serjeants, stationed at proper lodgments, fixed at short distances from each other, so that these parties might move quick over the tract of frontiers lying between, and be almost constantly upon every part of it.

Such lodgments there are already, in the back country, on the frontiers.

If, therefore, the House of Representatives will make provision, and enable me to take into pay such a number, (I think less than has been usually employed,) as I can post at these several lodgments, not to lie there dormant, like garrison-men, but to be constantly moving within the district of that lodgment, I will venture to presume, the country may be more effectually, at less expense, covered and guarded.

At each of these lodgments I should place a cohorn or two, with some few cartridges made up with partridge-shot, that might, if any superior number of Indians should attack and attempt to burn them out, disperse such; and also one chamber to make an alarm.

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But, to come to particulars: there are now on the frontiers six such lodgments and one garrison ready built, at proper distances. On the eastern frontier, there are now ready built, at proper distances, fourteen such lodgments and six garrisons.

Now I think four such lodgments and one garrison might full as effectually cover the western frontiers, did but the Government, in due observance of its faith to such who have been encouraged to return to their settlements under promise of protection, allow such a guard as, by giving them pay, would enable them to guard themselves.

I also think that fifteen such lodgments and three garrisons—a sufficient one properly placed at the extreme frontiers being one of them—might more effectually cover the inland frontiers.

I do, therefore, recommend it to the House of Representatives, as an establishment for the western frontiers at this season, to make provision for the pay and subsistence of a captain, serjeant, corporal, drummer, and twenty-six privates, which I shall post at Fort Massachusetts; for the pay and subsistence of a captain, a lieutenant, three serjeants, one corporal, and forty-one privates, which I shall post for scouts at the lodgments in Fall Town, Charlemont, and Colerain, ordering them to keep up a continual scout from the one to the other; in all, sixty-seven privates: and if the House, giving up all hopes of reimbursement for the charge they have been at in supporting Fort Drummer since it was adjudged to the Government of New Hampshire, do make no further provision for the garrison there, it will be absolutely necessary that a scout of ten, at least, be fixed at Northfield; and I must recommend it to them to make provision for such.

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The officers necessary for these parties will be, as far as the district of Sir William Pepperell's regiment extends, a captain to take care of the duty of the whole, a lieutenant, whom I shall post at the Truck-house at Saco: the commanders at the other posts and parties need be only ensigns or serjeants.

For the district of Brigadier Waldo's regiment, two captains to take care of the duty of the whole; one on the western part of Kennebec, one on the eastern; a lieutenant, whom I shall post at the Falls of Amorescoggin; a lieutenant over that party which scouts towards Georges; and the rest ensigns or serjeants. The reason of having lieutenants in these several dis-

tricts is, that there may be a proper officer to command these parties, when, by rendezvous, formed into larger bodies.

I shall order these lesser parties, at proper seasons, to rendezvous and form in larger bodies, to make incursions for a few days up into the country. Willing at all times, of my own free motion, to explain the principles upon which I act, and at all times willing to take the advice of the people, even in matters where the determination does, by the charter, lie wholly with the Governor, I do in this manner lay the state of the service of our inland territories before you.

It hath been found necessary to erect several forts, and establish several garrisons towards the entrance of the rivers, seawards, as a further defence and cover to the inhabitants against the enemy coming from Penobscot Bay upon our sea-line.

Now the expense of all these forts and garrisons might be saved, and the defence of the people more effectually provided for against this enemy, by one sufficient fort in Penobscot Bay. If, therefore, the House will make provision for the building such a fort, I will dismantle those at Pemaquid and Georges, and with the stores of them furnish and arm such fort; and the same, if not a less, number of men than is employed in these two forts, will serve for this one; so that no expense will be incurred but in the erecting it; a reimbursement of which expense might surely arise from the petitioners who pray for a grant of this land, as they would, if their petition be granted, thus receive the land already fortified and defended for them, and so much more valuable.

A fort erected there now in time of war effectally secures the property to the province from any pretence or claim either from French or Indian.

A fort there would effectually in time of war restrain all the Indian enemies we have left in the eastern parts, the Norigwaegs, Penobscot, and St. John's, and in time of peace, would be the properest place for a truck-house, removed from the settlements.

Further, by taking post there we may form so easy a communication between that and Fort Halifax on Kennebeck River, as totally and absolutely to possess and command all that country by these two forts, and a much less number of scouts than we must continue to keep without it. These two forts, I say, and the line between, constantly covered with a scout, will also effectually cut off all communication with the eastern Indian with Canada, through the territories of New England. It must necessarily turn

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their path up through St. John's by which means they will soon cease to know the country, and will consequently cease to make war in it, or to hunt in it.

The nature of the thing points out this measure, the occasion calls for it. There never was so good an opportunity as the present, while the enemy must be collecting all their strength to the westward to oppose Lord Loudoun. If you lose this opportunity, you can never have another; and remember I do declare you will ever after repent you did not take this advice.

I must here, on the part of the eastern frontiers in the same manner as on the western, add, that if the particular circumstances of any settlement require the assistance of the government to enable them to defend themselves and maintain their possessions against the enemy, whenever the House will think it proper to make provision for such, I will take them into pay according to the establishment.

5. *Major-General Amherst to Mr. Pitt.*

Camp before Louisburg, July 23, 1758.

On the 7th we had very foggy weather. I received a letter from the Governor of Louisburg by a drummer, and one from Admiral Boscawen which I sent to him with the one I had received, the Admiral came on shore; we both wrote and I sent the drummer back in the afternoon; a copy of Mons. Drucour's letter to me and my answer are herewith enclosed. Cannonading continued all day, and a good deal of popping shots from the advanced posts.

The 8th. I intended an attack on some advanced posts at Cape Noir, but it did not take place. Colonel Bastide got a contusion by a musket-ball on his boot which laid him up in the gout.

9th. In the night the enemy made a sortie, where Brigadier Lawrence commanded; every thing had been so quiet, it was expected by some; others, I fear, were not so vigilant and suffered for it. The enemy came from Cape Noir, and though drunk, I am afraid rather surprised a company of grenadiers of Forbes's, commanded by Lord Dundonald, who were posted in a *flêche* on the right. Major Muring, who commanded three companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one and drove the enemy back very easily. Whitmore's and Bragg's grenadiers behaved very well on this occasion;

Lord Dundonald was killed, Lieutenant Tew wounded and taken prisoner, Captain Bontein of the engineers taken prisoner; one corporal, three men killed; one serjeant, eleven men missing; seventeen men wounded. The sortie was of five picquets, supported by 600 men; a Captain Chevalier de Chauvelin was killed, a Lieutenant wounded and taken prisoner, seventeen men killed, four wounded and brought off prisoners, besides what wounded they carried into the town, one of which, a Captain, died immediately. The enemy sent out a flag of truce to bury their dead, which when over, the cannonading began again. The frigate was so hurt she hauled close to the town. The ships fired very much against Brigadier Wolfe's batteries.

10th. The road at the Epaulement went on a little better; the enemy fired a great deal, and threw many shells.

11th. A waggoner was taken off by some Indians between the block-house and the left of the N. E. harbour. I should have mentioned in my last that the 30th Lieutenant Crofton of a ranger company brought in two scalps of Indians.

12th. It rained very hard all night, not a man in detachment could have a dry thread on. We made an advanced work to Green-hill; at night the waggoner who had been taken luckily made his escape; said they were 250 Canadians. The Citadel bastion fired very smartly.

13th. The enemy threw a great many shells, we perfected our works as fast as we could, bad rainy weather—the enemy was at work at Cape Noir to hinder us taking possession near that point, which is of no consequence. Some deserters came in, said a sloop from Miray got in three days ago.

14th. The batteries were traced out last night with an intention to place twenty twenty-four pounders, divided in four different batteries, to destroy the defences; and a battery of seven mortars with some twelve pounders, to ricochet the works and the town.

15th. The cannonading and firing continued, the enemy tried to throw some shells into camp, supposed to be intended against our powder magazine. At ten at night the light-house battery fired some rockets as a signal of ships sailing out of the harbour; Sir C. Hardy answered it; the frigate got out, and Sir C. Hardy's fleet got under sail and went to sea. Before day-break Captain Sutherland, posted at the end of the north-east harbour, was attacked, and there was a great deal of firing: the grenadiers of Brigadier Wolfe's corps marched to sustain him and all the light infantry: it was over before they could get up; and by a deserter from the enemy, they were only

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one hundred men, came from Miray, where they left M. de Boisbere, who had on the other side the water 300 men with boats to pass. Major Scott, with the light infantry, pursued, but could not get up with them. I encamped a corps forward.

16th. Towards night Brigadier Wolfe pushed on a corps and took possession of the Stills in the front of the Baratoy, where we made a lodgment;—the enemy fired very briskly from the town and shipping.

17th. A great fire continued from the town and shipping;—we resolved to extend the parallel from the right to the left;—the fleet returned.

18th. All last night the enemy fired musketry from the covered way;—tried to throw shells into the camp.

19th. I relieved the trenches by battalions, the fourteen battalions forming three brigades;—a smart fire from the covered way;—the batteries on the left fired against the bastion Dauphin with great success.

21st. One of the ships in the harbour had some powder blown up in her; made a great explosion, and set the ship on fire, which soon caught the sails of two more: they burnt very fast, and we kept firing on them the whole time to try to hinder the boats and people from the town to get to their assistance; the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Superbe, were the three burnt ships;—the Prudent and Bienfaisant remained.

22d. Two batteries on the right opened with thirteen twenty-four pounders, and another of seven mortars, and fired with great success: the enemy fired very well from the town for some time, and threw their shells into our works: one shot went into the muzzle of a twenty-four pounder, and stuck there as if it had been tried to be rammed in. Our shells put the Citadel in flames: I ordered Colonel Williamson to confine his fire as much as he could to the defences of the place, that we might not destroy the houses. A Lieutenant of the Royal Americans, going his rounds on an advanced post, lost his way, and was taken prisoner near Cape Noir. A battery was begun on the left for four twenty-four pounders.

23rd. The cohorns were used at night, and the French mortars sent to throw stones from the trenches. The enemy fired all sorts of old iron, and any stuff they could pick up. Colonel Bastide was out to-day for the first time since he received the contusion. Our batteries fired with great success, this night the shells set fire to the barracks, and they burned with great violence.

6. *Major-General Abercromby to Mr. Pitt.*

Camp at Lake George, Sept. 8, 1758.

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The day after my last despatches we had accounts of the surrender of Louisburg on the 26th July, and although those accounts were very circumstantial, and scarce left any room to doubt the truth of them, yet, as I had no letters either from Admiral Boscawen or Major-General Amherst, I thought it was better not to stop the packet, nor to mention any thing of it till I received the confirmation, which did not come to my hands till the 28th of last month, when I had two short letters, acquainting me with that happy event, on which I beg leave to congratulate you.

Major-General Amherst not having, I suppose, received the letter I mentioned in my last to have sent him, which might well be, as his to me bears date so early as the 27th July, he only tells me, "I cannot yet judge in what manner we shall be able to pursue the future operations of the campaign, I hope it will be found practicable to get to Quebec, which is what I wish most to do."

In this uncertainty, I thought it incumbent on me to lose no time in renewing my application for assistance this way, in case it should not be found practicable to get to Quebec; wherefore I immediately wrote to Major-General Amherst on that subject, desiring further to be informed as early as possible of the resolutions he and the Admiral should come to, it being very essential for me to be acquainted with them.

And as, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, not to lessen the number of those allotted for the service to the eastward, I had deprived myself of several artillery officers and men which we stand in great need of on this side, particularly the officers, I desired Major-General Amherst to send me a proportion of them, along with the troops that should come this way.

I also desired some engineers, the want of which I likewise feel, as Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor is not able to undergo the fatigues of a campaign, nor did not join the army till after our return from Ticonderoga, and even then stayed but a few days in camp, when I was obliged to send him to Fort Edward, whence he has desired leave to go lower down the country, expecting, he says, by the month of November next, to receive permission to retire. This, together with the loss of Mr. Clark, some employed in

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building a strong post at the Oneida carrying-place, and others gone with Brigadier-General Forbes, leaves me but very few here able to conduct a siege.

Eight days thereafter, long before that letter could reach Major-General Amherst, I received one from him, bearing date the 10th August, (a copy of which you have enclosed,) containing a disposition and destination of the troops under his command; six battalions of which, with Brigadier-General Lawrence, he intended to send to Boston, whither he intended likewise to go, unless something unforeseen might stop him at Louisburg.

Upon the receipt of that letter, by Captain Macintosh, whom I have sent to join Brigadier-General Forbes, I immediately despatched Captain Abercromby, one of my aide-de-camps, to Boston, with two letters directed to Major-General Amherst, or the officer commanding those six battalions; the one, in case of their arrival, to conduct them hither, the other, upon a supposition that he might meet with them at sea, (for which purpose he is directed to hire a small vessel and cruise for them at a certain distance,) to order them directly to New York.

My reasons for ordering them to come that way is on account of the vast distance from Boston to this, which must at least occasion the troops a three weeks' march, and greatly fatigue them; besides it would not be so easy to provide them with quarters and provisions on that road; whereas by the way of New York they have no necessity for any quarters, as they step out of their ships into sloops, and with a fair wind up the Hudson's River, reach Albany in forty-eight hours, or less, and New York being our principal magazine for provisions, they can be provided with them on demand.

I have accordingly wrote to Lieutenant Governor De Lancey, acquainting him with the probability of such a body of troops coming his way, and begging his assistance in holding every thing requisite for their reception, and the forwarding them up here in the greatest readiness.

I have also wrote to Governor Pownall, requesting, that if they landed at Boston, he would lend them all the aid in his power, by impressing carriages, and procuring them whatever else they might stand in need of on their way hither; to hasten which, and that they might be less encumbered, I have directed, in my letter to Major-General Amherst, that the officers should take nothing but a bear-skin, a blanket, and a portmanteau, and to send their heavy baggage round by New York.

If they arrive in time, which I hope they may, and from the intelligence

we can get, it be found practicable to make a second attempt upon Ticonderoga, I shall not fail to improve the advantages of this reinforcement, and with their assistance and that of the divine Providence, I hope we shall prove more successful.

But, notwithstanding the reduction of Louisburg, and the proposed diversion up the River St. Lawrence, I cannot learn from the deserters lately come in, nor from the reconnoitring parties I have sent out, that any of their troops have been recalled. Indeed, some of the Canadians and Indians are gone to reap their harvest, but are under orders to return at a moment's warning.

All the deserters agree that Mónsieur Montcalm expects us to return, and is prepared for our reception, having increased and strengthened their works considerably; from which, and nothing material having happened since Rogers's affair of the 8th, mentioned in my last, I apprehend they mean to act upon the defensive.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, in his letter of the 27th August, which I received the 2nd instant, by a flag of truce, has, according to my expectations, declined the general exchange I proposed to him, as also the particular one of the officers, assigning sundry reasons, which I shall not trouble you with a repetition of, as I have the honor to enclose you a copy of his letter, with that of my reply, which is short, and puts an end to a negociation that promised no success, and gave them an opportunity of coming here oftener than it was prudent they should.

7. *Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Anne Pitt to the Countess of Suffolk* [m], *respecting the rejoicings for the capture of Louisburg.*

Bristol, August 26, 1758.

I am not quite so well as I was upon the taking of Louisburg. As I felt a most hearty joy upon that occasion, I hope you will approve, and even applaud, my having given some demonstrations of it. As my brother has a great many friends at the Bath, I employed one to ask Mr. Mayor if he would approve of my indulging myself in doing what little I could to add to the public rejoicings for the success of his Majesty's arms. He sent me

[m] The celebrated Lady Suffolk, formerly Mrs. Howard.

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word he should take it as a compliment: so I ordered a bonfire, so placed as, to be sure, no bonfire ever was for beauty, upon a rising ground before the Circus, (where my brother's house is;) ten hogsheads of strong beer round it, which drew all the company I could desire, and enabled them to sing "God bless great George our King," with very good success, with the help of all the music I could get in the Circus. The whole town was illuminated; which, as it is the prettiest in the world, was the gayest thing I ever saw.

8. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, December 9, 1758.

Not having received any despatches from North America since those from Major-General Abercromby of the 8th and 10th September, and consequently being as yet uninformed in what manner the campaign has concluded in those parts, I am not able at present to send you the King's instructions for the operations of the next year; but his Majesty has judged it expedient not to defer any longer despatching his orders to the several governors in North America, for levying the same or a greater number, if possible, of men than they did for the last campaign; and the King's directions on this subject are so fully stated in the enclosed copies of my circular letters to the northern and southern governors, that I have only to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should exert your utmost endeavours to incite and encourage the several provinces to the full and due execution of the King's commands, in a matter so essential to their own future welfare and prosperity. You will particularly enforce that part of my letter which relates to the collecting and putting into a proper condition all the serviceable arms that can be found in America, and not to allow the service there to suffer from a dependance on those to be supplied from England. And I am persuaded it is unnecessary for me to caution you to use the same attention and care yourself, to have all the arms belonging to the regular forces in America properly surveyed and repaired during the winter.

As a very considerable number of boats and vessels were built for the service of the last campaign, it is hoped the necessary care will have been taken to preserve and secure them, so as that the greater part thereof may, by proper repairs, be rendered again serviceable for the ensuing campaign: and it is the King's pleasure that you should not lose a moment's time in

having not only such as are remaining refitted, but in building an ample and sufficient quantity of boats to replace those which may have been lost or destroyed, and in providing such an additional number, as shall be judged necessary; and you will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, that his Majesty's orders are renewed to him in the strongest manner, to give you all possible assistance in the performance of this most necessary service.

I expect soon to have the King's commands to write fully to you. In the mean time, his Majesty will be impatient to receive letters from you, with an account of the state of affairs in America, and of the forces under your command, to enable his Majesty the better to determine the future operations in those parts.

N°. III.

CONTAINING PAPERS AND LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE YEAR 1759.

1. *General Wolfe to Governor Whitmore.*

Louisburg, May 19, 1759.

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In the distribution of forces for the invasion of Canada, my Lord Ligonier had regulated that Bragg's regiment, three companies of grenadiers, and one company of light infantry, besides the rangers, should be taken from Louisburg, and replaced by a thousand of the Boston militia. By some accident, the company of light infantry has been omitted in the orders sent from England; nevertheless, as I know it was designed, his Majesty's service requires that I should apply to you for that company; and I do it the more readily, as your garrison will be rather more numerous after the arrival of the Boston militia than before. We are disappointed of the recruits which were intended to be sent from the West Indies to join us; and as several regiments are much weaker than they were thought, (in England,) to be, I must beg further to represent to you, that good troops only can make amends for the want of numbers in an undertaking of this sort; it is therefore my duty to signify to you, that it would be much for the public service to let the other two companies of light infantry embark with the army under my command, upon condition of being replaced, man for man, by some of the rangers and some of Frazer's additional companies, who are not so proper for the field, though very sufficient for the defence of a fortified place. If there was any reason to apprehend that this change might have the least ill consequence, I should not venture to propose it. Mr. Lawrence, who has a very bad fortress and a very weak garrison, accepted of the sick and recovering men of the two American battalions as part of the 500 regulars intended for the defence of

Nova Scotia, knowing very well that, upon the success of our attacks in Canada, the security of the whole Continent of America in a great measure depends. APPX. No. III. 1759.

2. *General Wolfe to Mr. Pitt.*

On board the Neptune, June 6, 1759.

By the report which I have the honor to enclose, you will see the strength of the army under my command, when they embarked, and when they came to Louisburg. The fogs on this coast are so frequent and lasting, and the climate in every respect so unfavorable to military operations, that, if we had been collected a week sooner, I doubt if it would have been possible to sail before we did. One company of rangers, (the best of the six,) is not yet arrived, and a very good engineer, by some mistake, has had no orders to join us. General Amherst forwarded every thing to the utmost of his power, and the officers employed by him were indefatigable.

Finding that several regiments were weak, and that no recruits were likely to come from the West Indies, I applied to Mr. Whitmore for three companies of light infantry of his garrison:—my letter and the Governor's answer are enclosed. If Brigadier Whitmore did not consent to my proposal, it has proceeded from the most scrupulous obedience to orders, believing himself not at liberty to judge and act according to circumstances. The four new companies of Rangers are so very bad, that I expect no service from them, unless mixed with the light infantry; and it was with that view that I applied to the Marshal for a company of Volunteers from Louisburg. Five field-officers of these regiments and several captains are either sick or employed upon the Continent; forty men of Bragg's regiment upon duty at St. John's. We leave eighty sick at Louisburg, and a hundred invalids. Several transports have not yet joined us; their provisions and their boats are both very much wanted: however, I have taken three thousand barrels of flour and biscuit from the contractor's store at Louisburg. I writ to General Amherst for money, but he could send me none: this is one of the first sieges, perhaps, that ever was undertaken without it. The camp equipage of three regiments is supposed to be either lost or taken upon the passage from Philadelphia: we have supplied them with tents from the ordnance stores, and must make the old kettles, &c. serve the campaign. There are a thousand of the Boston Militia at Louisburg. I desired Brigadier

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Whitmore to complete our companies of rangers from them, and to give me a hundred laborers, solely as pioneers. The men were asked if they chose to go; and as it seldom happens that a New England man prefers service to a lazy life, none of them seemed to approve of the proposal; they did not ask it, and the General would not order them.

If the Admiral had, (as I wished,) deferred sending his letters till the fleet got up to the Isle of Bic, and till we knew what progress Mr. Durelle had made, (of which we are at present entirely ignorant,) you, Sir, would have been able to form some judgment of the state of affairs. There we might learn what succors, (if any,) got up before the Rear-Admiral, and other circumstances of moment. Since the fleet came out, I have received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, acquainting me that he is preparing to embark three hundred of the militia of his province to serve with us. These are the pioneers which I desired General Amherst to send. Colonel Burton and Major Barré [n], who were employed by the General at Boston, have spoke of Mr. Hutchison's zeal for the public service, and very great knowledge of the affairs of his Province, in a manner much to his advantage.

We expect to find good part of the force of Canada at Quebec, and we are prepared to meet them.

3. *Mr. Pitt to Major General Amherst.*

Whitehall, December 11, 1759.

On the 23d past, I received your despatch of the 22nd October, which was immediately laid before the King, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that his Majesty observed, with particular satisfaction, the continuance of the same zeal and activity for his service, which have constantly manifested themselves, ever since you have had the command of his forces in North America, though the length of time, necessary to prepare sufficient vessels to encounter the naval force which the enemy had on Lake Champlain, made it so late in the season before you could proceed beyond Crown Point, that you had been obliged to close the campaign, without being able to attack the post of L'Isle au Noix, and penetrate to Montreal, having only made yourself master of the navigation of the Lake.

[n] Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Barré, and a well-known speaker in Parliament.

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The King saw with much concern that unhappily the execution had not followed the plan which you had so prudently concerted, and the orders you had given for taking possession of La Galette, being a post of the utmost consequence and by which we should be entire masters of Lake Ontario, and his Majesty's subjects on the Mohawk River as effectually freed from all inroads and scalping parties of the enemy, as the whole country is to New York from Crown Point by the reduction of that important post, and of Ticonderoga; which above post of La Galette you are of opinion might have been taken without a possibility of the enemy's obstructing it. As you have not transmitted a copy of Brigadier General Gage's letter to you of the 11th September, you are desired to send one by the first opportunity. In the mean time, as to the many difficulties and impossibilities which you mention in your letter of the 22d October, that the Brigadier found there would be in erecting a post at La Galette before winter, I will only observe that the Brigadier's resolution to give over the thoughts of that attempt was taken on the 11th September, a full month before you yourself judged it not too late to attempt, with your whole army, a more difficult and dangerous navigation on the Lake Champlain, in which attempt you persevered so many days and did not return with the troops to Crown Point till the 21st October.

There has not yet been time, since the receipt of your last despatch, to consider fully the state of things in North America; where indeed you need little further instructions for the prosecution of the war; the reduction of Montreal being so evidently the great and essential object remaining to complete the glory of his Majesty's arms in that part of the world. I would not however detain this packet, and thereby deprive you of the satisfaction of hearing, by the earliest conveyance, of the signal and glorious success of his Majesty's fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, over the so long boasted armament of the French under Marshal Conflans, the particulars whereof you will see by the enclosed Extraordinary Gazette, to which I have only to add that the accounts received in Holland from France paint in the strongest colours the consternation and dejection of the enemy on this occasion.

As I hope to be able to write to you again soon, I have at present in command from the King only to recommend to you in the strongest manner to employ the utmost vigilance and attention, for the safety and preservation of the several important posts you are now in posssession of, from any sudden

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and unexpected attempts of the enemy, during the winter. You will also take the proper measures for sending, as early as the season will permit, any supplies and refreshments that may be wanted for the garrison of Quebec. And you will not fail to use every possible means to recruit, during the winter, the several corps under your command, and to make all the necessary preparations for pushing the war with the utmost vigor as early in the year as the season shall permit, and thereby complete the great work so successfully begun, of rendering his Majesty entire master of all Canada, which it is hoped you will the more easily accomplish as the enemy are now cut off from receiving any succours or supplies from Europe.

I have the King's commands to send you the enclosed copy of the declaration which Prince Louis of Brunswick has delivered to the ministers of the Belligerent powers residing at the Hague in the name of his Majesty and of the King of Prussia. His Majesty is persuaded, from your known prudence, that it would be unnecessary to caution you not to suffer the first general step towards peace, which may yet be at a great distance, to slacken in the least degree any preparations for the campaign next year, or to delay for a moment taking every opportunity to annoy and distress the enemy wherever you shall judge it practicable to make any impression upon them.

4. *Declaration of their Prussian and Britannic Majesties.*

Their Britannic and Prussian Majesties touched with compassion when they reflect on the evils which have been occasioned and must still necessarily result from the war which has been kindled for some years past, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly regardless of the interest they take in the preservation and welfare of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected to use proper measures towards checking the progress of this cruel pestilence, and to contribute towards the re-establishment of public tranquillity. It is with this view, and in order to ascertain the sincerity of their intentions in this respect, that their aforesaid Majesties have resolved to make the following declaration:

That they are ready to send Plenipotentiaries to any place which shall be judged most convenient, in order to treat, in conjunction, concerning a general and firm peace, with those whom the Belligerent powers shall think proper to authorise on their side, towards the accomplishment of so salutary an end.

I certify that the above declaration is the same which was despatched to me by the Earl of Holdernesse and the Baron Kniphauzen, in the name, and on the part of their Britannic and Prussian Majesties. APPX. No. III. 1759.

Given at the Castle of Ryswick, this 25th November, 1759.

Signed, L. D. de Brunswick.

No. IV.

CONTAINING PAPERS AND LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE YEAR 1760 AND 1761.

1. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, February 9, 1760.

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I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that after the most serious and mature deliberation being had whether it be expedient to maintain at so great an expence the fortress at Louisburg, together with a numerous garrison there; the King is come to a resolution that the said fortress, together with all the works and defences of the harbour, be most effectually and most entirely demolished; and I am, in consequence thereof, to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do, as expeditiously as the season will permit, take the most timely and effectual care that all the fortifications of the town of Louisburg, together with all the works and defences whatever, belonging either to the said place, or to the port and harbour thereof, be forthwith totally demolished and razed, and all the materials so thoroughly destroyed as that no use may hereafter be ever made of the same. You are not however to demolish the houses of the town, farther than shall be found necessary towards the full and entire execution of the orders for totally destroying all and every the fortifications thereof, and in the demolition of all works, you will particularly have an eye to render as far as possible the port and harbour of Louisburg as incommodious and as near impracticable as may be.

I am farther to acquaint you that it is the King's pleasure that you make all proper and timely provision at Halifax for receiving the garrison of Louisburg, which, in consequence of the demolition above mentioned, you will take care shall be properly transported to Halifax. At the same time, it is his Majesty' pleasure that you leave on the island of Cape Breton such a force

as in your opinion may suffice to assert and maintain possession, in the King's name, of the said island, which his Majesty does not mean to abandon; and you will dispose whatever number of men you may think proportioned to this idea, in such manner as you shall judge most safe and expedient. And with regard to the troops above directed to be transported to Halifax, it is the King's pleasure that you do farther distribute and employ the same in part or in the whole, either for the strengthening and securing the port of Halifax, and the province of Nova Scotia, or for any other such operations of the campaign as you shall judge most essentially conducive to the great object of putting an early and final conclusion to the entire reduction of the French in North America.

With regard to all artillery, ammunition, carriages, utensils, plank and all ordnance stores whatever, as well as provisions, and also bedding, medicines, and all hospital stores, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should give proper directions that due care be taken thereof, and that the same be transported to Halifax; for which purposes, as well as for conveying the troops to Halifax you will provide vessels in the manner you shall judge most proper and effectual, concerting with the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships at Halifax in relation to this service.

2. *Lord Viscount Ligonier to Mr. Pitt.*

North Audley Street, February 13, 1760.

I have the honor to send you the plans and estimates for the demolition of Louisburg, which his Majesty saw and approved this day. He has also ordered a company of miners, consisting of one captain, one captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant, and one lieutenant fireworker, three serjeants, three corporals, and sixty-four miners to be immediately raised and armed. As it is necessary that I should have the King's commands signified to me by a Secretary of State, a letter from you empowering me to raise and send the above-mentioned company, together with the stores specified in the lists I send you, and to take up shipping for transporting the same will be sufficient, and the best means to keep this a secret, provided it is directed to my house and not to the office.

3. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, June 14, 1760.

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On the 17th February, I was favored with your despatch of the 9th January. That of the 8th March arrived here on the 15th May, and on the 26th of the same month, I received also your despatch of the 28th April, together with the duplicate of that of the 17th February, the original whereof had been sunk that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy with the packet-boat taken by the French.

The above despatches were all immediately laid before the King, and I have the satisfaction to assure you of the continuance of his Majesty's approbation of your zeal and diligence in his service.

The King was sorry to observe that the levying the troops had been a little retarded by the notions of peace that had been received in the provinces. At the same time his Majesty is persuaded that you will have exerted your utmost endeavors to hasten every thing as much as possible; and, as you intended to proceed to Albany in a very few days after the date of your last letter, the King will expect with impatience to receive an account of your having opened the campaign, and does not doubt but that you will with the utmost vigor pursue such measures as will effectually complete the reduction of Canada.

His Majesty entirely approves your having appointed Brigadier-General Monckton to command to the south, as well as your having detached a corps of 1,300 men to the assistance of South Carolina, which it is hoped will effectually answer every good end expected.

It is unnecessary to recommend again to your particular attention the finishing the forts built last year, as you seem so fully sensible of their importance, and mention that you shall take all opportunities you can seize for completing and strengthening them, without retarding the main object, (the conquest of the remains of Canada,) that they may hereafter firmly secure his Majesty's interior dominions from any encroachments the enemy may attempt; and the King was glad to see that you was in hopes that the securing the communication to Niagara from the forts on the Ohio will be easily effected.

4. *Mr. Pitt to the Governors in North America.*

Whitehall, August 23, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

The commanders of his Majesty's forces and fleets in North America and the West Indies have transmitted certain and repeated intelligences of an illegal and most pernicious trade carried on by the King's subjects in North America to the West Indies, as well to the French islands as to the French settlements on the continent in America, and particularly to the rivers Mobile and Mississippi; by which the enemies, to the great reproach and detriment to government, are supplied with provisions and other necessaries; whereby they are principally, if not alone, enabled to sustain and protract this long and expensive war. And it further appearing, that large sums of bullion are sent by the King's subjects to the above places, in return whereof commodities are taken, which interfere with the product of the British Colonies themselves, in open contempt of the authority of the mother country, as well as to the manifest prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great Britain: in order, therefore, to put the most speedy and effectual stop to such flagitious practice, so utterly subversive of all laws, and so highly repugnant to the well-being of this kingdom, it is his Majesty's express will and pleasure, that you do forthwith make the strictest and most diligent enquiry into the state of this dangerous and ignominious trade: and that you do use every means in your power to detect and discover persons concerned either as principals or accessaries therein; and that you do take every step authorised by law to bring all such heinous offenders to the most exemplary and condign punishment. And you will, as soon as may be, and from time to time, transmit to me, for the King's information, full and particular accounts of the progress you shall have made in the execution of these his Majesty's commands, to the which the King expects that you pay the most exact obedience. And you are further to use your utmost endeavours to trace out and investigate the various artifices and evasions by which the dealers in this iniquitous intercourse find means to cover their criminal proceedings, and to elude the law; in order that from such lights due and timely considerations may be had, what further provision may be necessary to restrain an evil of such extensive and pernicious consequences.

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I am, &c.

5. *Deputy-Governor Hamilton to Mr. Pitt.*

Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1760.

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I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 23rd August upon the subject of the illegal and pernicious trade carried on by the King's subjects in North America, as well to the French islands in the West Indies, as to their settlements on the rivers Mobile and Mississippi; and am sincerely concerned that so much just cause should have been given for complaints upon that head. At the same time, it would have given me the greatest pleasure, were I as well able to exculpate the province under my government as to justify myself from being in any manner consenting or accessary to the carrying on so iniquitous a commerce as this is deemed to be by his Majesty's ministers and by the mother country.

In order to trace this intercourse to its original in this province, it is necessary I should acquaint your Excellency that it took its rise from the corruption of my immediate predecessor, Mr. Denny, now in England; who, as I am well informed, about the month of May, in the year 1759, began the practice of selling flags of truce, at first, indeed, in smaller numbers, and under the pretence of transporting French prisoners, of whom 'tis well known we have not had more during the whole war than might have been conveniently embarked in one, or at most two, small ships; yet Mr. Denny or his agents received for each flag so granted a sum not less than from three to four hundred pistoles; and having once relished the sweets of this traffic, he became more undisguised, and, as it were, opened a shop at lower prices to all customers, as well of our own as of the neighbouring provinces, to which they came and purchased freely. But towards the end of his administration the matter was carried to such a pitch, that he scrupled not to set his name to and dispose of great numbers of blank flags of truce at the low price of twenty pounds sterling, or under, some of which were selling from hand to hand at advanced prices several months after my arrival.

In consequence of this iniquitous conduct, by which he amassed a great sum of money, I found, upon my arrival, and taking upon me the administration of the government, near twelve months ago, a very great part of the principal merchants of this city engaged in a trade with the French islands in the West Indies; but as to any intercourse with Mobile or Mississippi, I cannot learn that it hath in any one instance been practised from this province.

Being desirous to put a stop to what appeared to me an unjustifiable commerce, I consulted with the most eminent lawyers of this place in what manner it might best be done; but, to my surprise, I found them retained in favor of the trade, and that the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty had also decreed in its favor in the only two instances that had been brought before him, assigning for the reasons of such decrees, "That the goods, wares, and merchandizes libelled, having, before the time of their capture, been purchased from the subjects of the French King, the property in them was transferred from the French; and that no law subsists for making such goods *prize* to the captors; and that he was confirmed in his opinion by inspecting an Act of Parliament made in the 3rd of Queen Anne, cap. 13, to prohibit all trade and commerce with France during *that* war, which shows the opinion of the English Parliament to be, that contracts with the enemy for merchandise were not void or unlawful before the making of that law." He therefore adjudges the ships, and the cargoes wherewith they were laden at the time of their capture to be discharged from the captors, and delivered to the claimants, and that the captors pay the cost of suit.

Under these circumstances, of the want of lawyers of any eminence to engage in the prosecution on the one hand, and the solemn determination of the Court of Admiralty aforesaid on the other, it was thought a vain thing to attempt the obtaining a condemnation of such practices in the court; and, accordingly, several ships, carrying flags of truce which had been taken and sent into this port by English cruizers, though manifestly laden with the produce of the French islands, were, as I presume, for the reasons above mentioned, dismissed by the captors without prosecution.

Thus the trade continued to be carried on to a very great value and extent, either under color of English flags of truce, or by permissions in writing from the governors of the French islands, which they are fond of granting, until his Majesty's ships of war and the privateers in the West Indies began to seize and carry them to the English islands, where, upon being prosecuted, they were generally adjudged to be forfeited; and hereupon the trade ceased in a considerable degree. And now your Excellency's letter, in which his Majesty is pleased to signify his sentiments so fully respecting it, has, I am in hopes, put a final period to it; as I cannot think there are at present, or will be found, in this Province, any persons bold enough to act in opposition to so express a declaration of his Majesty.

Upon inquiry made of the officers of his Majesty's Customs in this port,

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what artifices or evasions were made use of by the dealers in this commerce to cover their proceedings and to elude the law, they have informed me that the general method has been to clear out their vessels for Jamaica, or any other English port, as best suited their design, which they (the officers) had no right to refuse them, upon their complying with the terms of the acts relating to trade, which they constantly obliged them to do; that, when they were once got to sea, they were then out of the reach of Custom-house officers, and went wherever they pleased; and that, with respect to entries inwards, no one whatsoever hath brought into this port, to their knowledge, any of the produce of the French islands, but by virtue of certificates, or clearances from some other English port, such as Jamaica, Providence, New York, Port Lewes, or New Castle; and at the time of entry have given bond in 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.* sterling to export the same again.

This, Sir, is all the light I have been able to obtain into the state of the commerce complained of, as it cannot be expected that persons guilty of crimes, by which they are subjected to punishment, will become informers and self-accusers; and without some such testimony, I know not how a full detection can be made. I cannot, however, conclude this article without lamenting the great evils that are brought about by means of this illicit trade, seeing it is next to impossible that the clearances and certificates above mentioned could have been obtained but by the most shocking perjury or corruption; there being all the reason in the world to believe that many of the vessels, whose cargoes were covered by such certificates, came directly from the French islands, without touching at any English port; and, consequently, the masters must have made use of the most undue and corrupt means to procure them.

With regard to his Majesty's injunction of detecting persons concerned either as principals or accessaries in this iniquitous commerce, and bringing them to the most exemplary and condign punishment, you will please to be assured, Sir, of my punctual compliance and obedience to it so far as in me lies, and of my transmitting to you full and particular accounts of the progress I shall have made therein. At the same time, as there is not any act of Parliament that immediately relates to or prohibits this kind of commerce; and yet the trafficking with the enemy in their own ports, in time of open war, must needs, from the very nature of war, be a very high offence; I should have been extremely glad, if your Excellency had been pleased to have given a name to this crime, and pointed out as well the penalties to

be inflicted on a conviction, as the mode of proseeution; for which, as the matter is entirely new in this part of the world, I am afraid we shall be much at a loss, in case any fresh occasion of executing his Majesty's commands should arise, which I am in hopes there will not.

6. *Copy of the Treaties between the King of Great Britain and the King of Prussia, from the 16th of January, 1756, to the 12th of December, 1760* [o].

As the differences which have arisen in America, between the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, and the consequences of which become every day more alarming, give room to fear for the public tranquillity of Europe, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, &c. and his Majesty the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburgh, attentive to an object so very interesting, and equally desirous of preserving the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular, have resolved to enter into such measures as may the most effectually contribute to so desirable an end; and, for this purpose, they have respectively authorized their ministers plenipotentiary, viz. in the name and on the part of his Britannic Majesty, his privy-counsellors, Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, Chancellor of Great Britain; John, Earl of Granville, President of the Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Robert, Earl of Holdernesse, one of the principal Secretaries of State; and Henry Fox, another of the principal Secretaries of State; and in the name and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Lewis Mitchell, his *Chargé d'Affaires* at the court of his Britannic Majesty; who, after having mutually communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be, between the said most serene Kings, a perfect peace and mutual amity, notwithstanding the troubles that may arise in Europe in consequence of the above-mentioned differences; so that neither of the contracting parties shall attack or invade, directly or indirectly, the territories of the other; but, on the contrary, shall exert, each of them, their utmost efforts to prevent their respective allies from undertaking any thing against the said territories in any manner whatever.

[o] To prevent a repetition of these treaties, which a separation of them according to their respective dates would have occasioned, I have printed them together.

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ART. II. If, contrary to all expectation, and in violation of the peace which the high-contracting parties propose to maintain by this treaty in Germany, any foreign power should cause troops to enter into the said Germany, under any pretext whatsoever, the two high-contracting parties shall unite their forces to punish this infraction of the peace, and maintain the tranquillity of Germany, according to the purport of the present treaty.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties renew expressly all the treaties of alliance and guarantee which actually subsist between them, and particularly the defensive alliance and mutual guarantee concluded at Westminster between their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, the 18th of November, 1742; the convention entered into between their said Majesties at Hanover, the 26th of August, 1745; and the Act of Acceptation of his Prussian Majesty of the guarantee of his Britannic Majesty, of the 13th of October, 1746.

ART. IV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the King of Prussia; and the letters of ratification in due form shall be delivered on both sides within the space of one month, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of signing the present treaty.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and thereto set our seals. Done at Westminster, the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE,
(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE,
(L. S.) H. FOX.

As the convention of neutrality of the date of this day, signed by the ministers of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of his Majesty the King of Prussia, furnished with the full powers necessary for that purpose, relates only to Germany, this convention must not be understood to extend to the Austrian Low Countries and their dependencies, which ought not to be considered as comprised in the present convention of neutrality, under any pretext whatsoever: the rather, as his Majesty the King of Prussia hath not, in the eighth article of the peace of Dresden, guaranteed to her

Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, any thing but the dominions which she possesses in Germany.

This secret and separate article shall have the same force as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the present convention of neutrality signed this day; and the ratification of it shall be exchanged at the same time with those of the said convention.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present secret and separate article, and thereto set our seals.

Done at Westminster, the 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.
(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE,
(L. S.) H. FOX.

DECLARATION.

In order to prevent any disputes that might arise between their Prussian and Britannic Majesties, it is hereby declared, that as soon as his Prussian Majesty shall have taken off the attachment laid upon the Silesia debt, and caused to be paid to his Britannic Majesty's subjects what remains due to them of that debt, as well interest as principal, according to the original contract, his Britannic Majesty promises and engages, on his part, to cause to be paid to his Prussian Majesty the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, in full satisfaction of every claim which his said Majesty or his subjects may have against his Britannic Majesty, under any pretext whatsoever.

Done at Westminster, the 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) LOUIS MICHELL.

7. *Treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, April* 11, 1758.

As on the 16th day of January, 1756, there was concluded and signed, between their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, a treaty, the purport of which was to preserve the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular; and whereas since that period France hath not only invaded

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the empire with numerous armies, and attacked their foresaid Majesties and their allies, but hath also excited other powers to do the same: and whereas it is notorious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian Majesty to defend himself against the numerous enemies who have assailed him on so many sides at once, have occasioned very heavy expences, whilst, on the other hand, his revenues have been considerably diminished in those parts of his dominions which have been the seat of war; and their Majesties having jointly resolved to continue their efforts for their mutual defence and security, for recovering their dominions, protecting their allies, and maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body: his Britannic Majesty is determined, in consequence of these considerations, to give immediate supply, in money, to his Prussian Majesty, as being the most speedy and effectual: and their foresaid Majesties have thought proper that, upon this head, there should be concluded a convention, declaring and fixing their mutual intentions in this particular; for this purpose they have named and authorized their respective ministers, viz. in the name and on the part of his Britannic Majesty, his Privy-Counsellors, Sir Robert Henley, Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain; John, Earl of Granville, President of the Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Robert, Earl of Holdernesse, one of the principal Secretaries of State; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, another of the principal Secretaries of State: and in the name and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, Dodo Henry, Baron Knyphausen, his Privy-Counsellor of Embassy, and his Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic Majesty, and Louis Michell, his *Chargé d'Affaires* at the said court; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ART. I. His Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to cause to be paid, in the City of London, into the hands of such person or persons as shall be authorized for that purpose by his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which sum shall be paid in whole, and at one single term, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, at the requisition of his Prussian Majesty.

ART. II. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages, on the other hand, to employ the said sum in maintaining and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the manner the most advantageous to the common cause, and

the most conducive to the end proposed by their said Majesties, of reciprocal defence, and mutual security.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties moreover engage, viz. on the one side, his Britannic Majesty, as well King as Elector, and, on the other, his Prussian Majesty, not to conclude any *treaty of peace*, truce, or neutrality, or other convention or agreement whatever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in *concert and mutual agreement*, and by comprehending each other by name.

ART. IV. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, in the space of six weeks, reckoning from the date of signing the present convention, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned ministers of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of his Majesty the King of Prussia, in virtue of our full power, have signed the present convention, and thereto set our seals.

Done at London the 11th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C.S.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.
(L. S.) HOLDERNESS.
(L. S.) HARDWICKE.
(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

Declaration belonging to the Treaty with the King of Prussia, of 11th April, 1758.

In consequence of the convention signed this day, his Britannic Majesty very freely declares, that he will immediately apply to his faithful Parliament, in order to be put into a condition to pay and to maintain in Germany an army of fifty thousand men, at the expence of the crown of Great Britain; and his Majesty, moreover, very willingly declares, that, in quality of Elector, he will likewise augment the said army with a body of 5,000 men; the whole of which shall act, with the utmost vigor, against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, in such places as the reason of war, and the good of the common cause shall require.

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And that nothing, which can reasonably be desired of his Majesty, may be left unattempted for the good of the common cause, in a manner consistent with the safety of his kingdoms, and the vigorous prosecution of the necessary operations in America, it is the intention of his Majesty, that a considerable part of his land-forces, and a squadron of ships, destined for the service of the channel, should be employed in such a manner as may the most effectually annoy the enemy; for which purpose his Majesty has ordered a camp to be formed in the Isle of Wight. And as Mr. Michell, the Prussian minister, resident at his Majesty's court, has represented how advantageous it would be to the affairs of his Prussian Majesty, that a detachment of the English troops should be sent to secure the town of Emden, till such time as the King of Prussia shall be able to take proper measures for the protection of that place: the King hesitates not to give his Prussian Majesty this fresh proof of his sincere friendship, and for that purpose hath ordered one of his battalions to march, without loss of time, to Emden; and he will cause to be communicated to the minister of his Prussian Majesty a copy of the instructions drawn up for the commander of that battalion.

As soon as the convention signed to-day shall have been communicated to the Parliament, (a step necessary to make good the pecuniary supply therein stipulated,) and as soon as, in consequence of that communication, the sum shall have been voted; it will then depend upon his Prussian Majesty to make use of it at such times as he shall judge proper.

'Tis with the sincerest regret, that the King again finds himself under an absolute necessity of refusing to enter into any engagement with regard to sending a squadron of ships into the Baltic. In order, however, still further to convince his Prussian Majesty, that the sole and only source of the difficulties which occur on this point, is the inutility and danger of sending thither a small fleet, and the impossibility of being able to spare one that could make itself sufficiently respected in those parts, and by no means a regard to any of the powers who have taken part in the war; and in order to demonstrate the more clearly to all Europe, that, from the moment of the ratification of the present treaty, their Britannic and Prussian Majesties have the same friends, and the same enemies; the King is ready to make such a declaration, as, in the opinion of his Prussian Majesty, may strengthen the common cause, and promote their mutual interests; in case the King of Prussia, in the present disposition of the Courts of Petersburg and Stock-

holm, recommends a language different from that which his Prussian Majesty hath hitherto advised and concerted with the King.

Done at London, the 11th day of April, 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C.S.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.
(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.
(L. S.) HARDWICKE.
(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

8. *Convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, 7th December*, 1758.

Be it known to all those whom it either does or may concern, that the burdensome war in which his Prussian Majesty finds himself engaged, laying him under a necessity of making new efforts to defend himself against the numerous enemies who have invaded his dominions: and being thus obliged to enter into new measures with his Britannic Majesty, in order to provide reciprocally and jointly, for their mutual defence and common safety; and his Majesty the King of Great Britain having at the same time signified a desire of strengthening the bands of friendship which subsist between the two courts, and to agree anew, upon this occasion and to this end, by an express convention, upon the succours by which he may assist his Prussian Majesty the most speedily and the most effectually; their said Majesties have, for that purpose, named and authorized their respective ministers, viz.—[*The names of the ministers are the same with those in the treaty immediately preceding.*]

ART. I. It is agreed, that all former treaties subsisting between the two Courts, of what date and nature soever, and especially that of Westminster of the 16th of January, 1756, as well as the convention of the 11th of April of the current year, shall be considered as renewed and confirmed by the present convention, in all their points, articles, and clauses, and shall have the same force as if they were inserted here word for word.

ART. II. This article is the same with the first article of the preceding treaty.

ART. III. This article is the same with the second article of the preceding treaty.

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ART. IV. This article is the same with the third article of the preceding treaty.

ART. V. This article is the same with the fourth article of the preceding treaty.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at London, the 7th of December, 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C.S.
(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.
(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.
(L. S.) HARDWICKE.
(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

9. *Convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, 9th November,* 1759.

This treaty is the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is signed by the same ministers.

10. *Convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, 12th December,* 1760.

This treaty is also the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is likewise signed by the same ministers.

11. *Mr. Pitt's Answer to the Spanish Memorial, delivered to the Condé de Fuentes on the 1st of September,* 1760.

Sa Majesté y a reconnu, avec une très vive sensibilité, ces mêmes sentimens au Roi Catholique " d'amitié personelle, et ce même désir ardent et sincére de cultiver et d'affermir par l'union la plus parfaite la bonne harmonie des deux cours," dont sa Majesté, de son côté, se fera l'objet le plus intéressant de donner à sa Majesté Catholique toutes les fois qu'il sera possible les témoignages les plus essentiels. C'est surement une justice que le Roi Catholique rend aux sentimens de sa Majesté, que de lui attribuer l'éloignement le plus invincible, et la désapprobation la plus invariable, pour tous

excès et toutes violences, qui pourroient se trouver avoir été commis par la marine Angloise; et si, malgré les ordres le plus souvent réiterés et donnés de la meilleure foi, pour prévenir de pareilles irrégularités, il s'y en est glissées quelques unes, dans le cours d'une guerre si étendue et dispersée dans des lieux si éloignés, sa Majesté n'a rien plus à cœur que de faire cesser de tels abus, et de les voir duément redressés; mais à cette fin, si sincérement désirée ici, il est indispensable à la justice universelle de tout pays, que les faits soient exactement constatés. Sa Majesté, animée par de tels motifs d'égards très distingués pour sa Majesté Catholique, et portée d'ailleurs par l'amour de la vérité et de la justice, me donna incessament les ordres les plus exprès, de procurer des informations autentiques et précises, sur un sujet qui touche de si près l'honneur et le bien-être de ses peuples; et je vais, Monsieur, en conséquence des recherches les plus exactes, essayer de repandre toute la lumière nécessaire sur une matière qu'il importe si fort de faire connoître à fond; et en la réduisant à des principes incontestables, l'exposer dans son véritable point de vue.

Divers passages du Mémoire de votre Excellence me mettent dans la nécessité de commencer par établir quelques propositions pour la satisfaction de sa Majesté Catholique et de ses ministres, et en particulier de votre Excellence, qui, étant sur les lieux, est à portée de s'informer de l'exacte vérité de tout ce que j'avancerai, et de la sincérité avec laquelle je parle.

1°. Quel qu'ait pu avoir été autrefois le doute sur le traité de 1667, parce qu'il n'y est pas pourvu en termes exprès, que les effets de l'ennemi à bord d'un vaisseau Espagnol seront libres: il est maintenant établi, au delà de toute dispute, que tel est le vrai sens et la vraie signification du traité. Les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels ont procédé uniformément sur ce principe, sans aucune exception, et ont pris plusieurs fois occasion de déclarer publiquement que c'étoit là la vraie exposition du dit traité, et d'expliquer les raisons d'une telle construction, et ont entr' autres énoncé ce que votre Excellence fait entrevoir dans son mémoire, savoir, que lorsque l'Espagne étoit en guerre, et l'Angleterre en paix, c'étoit ainsi que les deux nations entendoient le traité.

Les jugemens des seigneurs de la Cour des Appels sont notoires sur ce point; toutes les Cours d'Amirauté sont tenues de s'y conformer; des sentences, qui y seroient contraires, ne sauroient être d'aucun avantage aux parties en faveur desquelles elles auroient été rendues, mais les exposeroient

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nécessairement à des dépenses infructueuses et certaines ; c'est pourquoi actuellement, aucun parti ne désireroit, ni ne voudroit se donner la peine de soutenir une sentence sur ce principe.

2°. Toutes questions de prises sont jugées ici suivant les loix maritimes des nations, et des traités, et non par aucune loi particulière de ce royaume.

Il n'y a point de cour inférieure si ignorante, que de ne pas savoir que les traités et les loix maritimes des nations sont les régles qui doivent la guider dans ses jugemens.

Il n'y a point de loi particulière ou de statut de ce royaume, suivant lesquels un vaisseau ou une cargaison puissent être jugés de bonne prise.

L'acte de Parlement rélatif aux prises, pour ce qui regarde la Méthode de procéder, répéte seulement et oblige à suivre le cours qui avoit été établi depuis long tems, et approuvé par l'usage des nations, et les loix et les coutumes de mer.

Par la loi générale, toutes les prises, faites en guerre, appartiennent au souverain. L'acte en question donne au capteur tout ce qui auroit été déclaré de bonne prise pour le Roi.

Il ne résulte pas la moindre injustice de cette disposition ; mais elle met obstacle aux actes de générosité et de faveur de la part du Roi, en se désistant de son droit, ce que sa Majesté pourroit souvent être disposée à faire, et elle ne se seroit certainement point refusée à aucune représentation de cette nature, que votre Excellence auroit jugée à propos de lui faire.

3°. Toutes matières de droit doivent être déterminées par un cours réglé de judicature, sur lequel le Roi n'a aucun controlle. Les cours doivent procéder suivant leurs lumières, et conformément aux loix et à la justice, et ne sauroient être susceptibles d'influence par aucun ordre du Roi, ni par ceux de ses ministres. Le moindre étranger jouit ici du bénéfice de cette constitution indépendante de justice, aussi bien que le sujet le plus qualifié du royaume.

4°. On convient entiérement avec votre Excellence que dans les causes de prises les procédures devroient être expéditives. Il est enjoint par la loi à toute Cour d'Amirauté d'en venir à la sentence avec toute la promptitude possible. Chaque cas de prise doit être ouï en première instance, simplement sur les dépositions préparatoires des principaux officiers, et sur les papiers trouvés à bord du vaisseau pris ; aussi bien que la prétention de celui qui le réclame, et le serment qui la vérifie, et cela même sans la for-

malité d'aucun plaidoyer par écrit; et il y a appel en cas de délai sans nécessité.

Les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels ont fait plusieurs déclarations et décisions judiciaires, dans la vue d'établir avec plus de force et d'énergie la promptitude des sentences en première instance, et afin d'éviter par-là les dépences et la formalité des plaidoyers; néanmoins il se trouve être impossible d'empêcher qu'il n'arrive quelquefois du délai, qui provient généralement des parties qui reclament, les capteurs cherchant communément à obtenir une sentence de condemnat n immédiate.

5°. Il n'est pas possible de concevoir, à moins d'en avoir vu des exemples dans le cours des affaires, les diverses sortes de fraudes et d'iniquités qui se commettent par ceux qui vendent leurs noms et leurs consciences à l'ennemi. Ils font tort à leur patrie aussi bien qu'à la puissance avec l'ennemi de laquelle ils colludent.

C'est pourquoi la vérité, la bonne foi, et des papiers de mer en régle, sont requis par la loi des nations et par tous les traités.

Dans des cas de fraude, les coupables ont constamment recours à la clameur, et évitant un examen judiciaire, où les deux cotés sont également entendus, mettent leur ressource dans des représentations peu véridiques et grossières auprès des ministres de leurs nations, ne leur fournissant, en pareil cas, pour tout fondement, que de simples allégations de la partie complaignante, très certainement prévenues et trop souvent calomnieuses.

Il est indispensable qu'il y ait une méthode de constater la vérité; le Roi ni ses ministres ne sauroient faire cette recherche; c'est pourquoi on a établi un cours réglé de justice à cet effet; et dans ce royaume, l'indépendance de ce mode de procédure est sacré au point, qu'il ne sauroit être interrompu, ni gené par aucun ordre du Roi; tout ce qu'on peut désirer, et tout ce qui a jamais été stipulé dans aucun traité, c'est que les causes de prises soient promptement déterminées par un cours réglé et impartial de judicature.

Ce que l'inclination a pu faire de favorable, a été mis en usage, par un motif de cette considération très particulière que le Roi ressent pour tout ce qui porte le nom d'Espagnol, et pour les représentations faites au nom de sa Majesté Catholique.

Dans les cas où les prises ont été faites par des vaisseaux de guerre de sa Majesté, les ministres du Roi ont solicité les capteurs d'éviter toute contestation, lorsque la chose paroissoit être sujette à litige, et de rendre le

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vaisseau. Les dits officiers auroient pu s'y refuser, mais il y a plusieurs exemples, où ils ont consenti à rendre la prise, non sans être persuadés qu'ils auroient pu la défendre en justice.

Votre Excellence voudra bien remarquer qu'il n'y a point de principe général, établi dans le mémoire qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de me remettre, point de réglé générale de procédure ou de décision, sur lesquelles nous ne soyons d'accord.

L'objet principal de plainte se réduit donc à la charge d' injustice et de partialité, contre toutes les Cours inférieures d'Amirauté, et la Cour Supérieure d'Amirauté à *Doctors' Commons*. Je ne disconviendrai pas que les dites Cours n'aient pu donner quelquefois des opinions erronées au commencement d'une guerre, particulièrement dans des cas nouveaux, ou dans ceux dont les circonstances se sont trouvées compliquées. Je me persuade qu' il n'y a point d'exemple de corruption, ni de partialité préméditée: Mais si l'on peut prouver qu'il y en ait eu un seul, je suis autorisé par le Roi de déclarer à votre Excellence que sa Majesté donnera ordre de poursuivre la chose avec toute la rigueur, et toute la sévérité des loix.

Votre Excellence a joint à son mémoire une liste de cas particuliers, que je prendrai la liberté de ranger sous leurs propres Chefs, afin de donner là dessus tous les éclaircissemens dont la chose est susceptible, avec autant de précision qu'il me sera possible.

1er. CHEF.

Vaisseaux, pris et pillés, et ensuite renvoyés sans avoir jamais été portés devant aucune Cour d'Amirauté.

Ce sont là des actes de vol et de piraterie. Ces crimes sont capitaux. Non seulement le Roi et ses ministres, mais chaque particulier, souhaiteroit de voir les délinquants punis exemplairement. Quelques-uns ont subi le dernier supplice, et le Roi croiroit avoir de l'obligation à quiconque pourroit fournir des preuves pour en convaincre d'autres.

On ne sauroit faire le procés à personne, à moins que l'accusation ne soit duëment vérifiée par le serment des témoins. Il n'en a encore jamais paru dans aucun des cas susmentionnés: si on peut en produire pour soutenir de telles charges, sa Majesté donnera ordre que les délinquants soient immédiatement poursuivis aux dépens de la Couronne.

J'ai ici à informer votre Excellence que les personnes lezées de la sorte peuvent encore avoir recours, par la loi commune du Royaume à son action civile. Un Suédois l'a fait depuis peu, et a récouvré par là des dommages très amples.

2e. CHEF. *Cas terminés par Accord.*

Où les parties se sont accordées, elles ont mis fin par là à toute discussion de qui auroit eu tort. En pareils cas les capteurs sont aussi fondés à dire que les vaisseaux en question appartenoient aux François, que ceux qui les reclament le sont de les qualifier d'Espagnols; et il n'y a plus lieu à un examen ultérieur.

3e. CHEF. *Prises faites en violation du Territoire de sa Majesté Catholique.*

Le 12e Juin dernier, dans le cas du Vaisseau Fortuyn, Jacob Gerard Maitre, pris par quatre armateurs, les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels, ayant ouï cette cause, quoique le vaisseau et la cargaison fussent clairement confiscables et de bonne prise, rendirent l'un et l'autre, parce qu'il parut que le dit vaisseau avoit été pris en violation du territorie de sa Majesté Catholique, et en insérèrent la raison dans leur sentence, quoiqu'il n'y eut point eu d'interposition à ce sujet de la part de sa Majesté Catholique, et il n'est même pas compris dans la liste de votre Excellence. Il paroit evidemment par là quel seroit leur jugement si pareil cas étoit porté devant eux; mais il faut que le fait soit constaté par des preuves.

4e. CHEF. *Condemnations injustes.*

Il n'est pas possible de bien démêler ce qui en est, jusques à ce que ces cas aient été ouïs par appel. Je trouve toutes autres recherches vaines, tant les vérifications des parties sont contrádictoires. Ceux qui se croient fondés en droit cherchent à obtenir une sentence définitive. D'autres qui peuvent sentir intérieurement leur tort, ont recours à de vagues allégations et aux plaintes.

Il n'y a eu pendant cette guerre que huit appels, où les Espagnols reclamoient, d'ouïs jusqu'à présent, et un capteur appellant d'une sentence rendue en faveur d'un Espagnol reclamant.

Dans deux de ces huit cas, les sentences ont été prononcées du consentement des parties, et par conséquent les causes n'ont point été discutées, ni les mérites recherchés.

Dans quatre, les sentences de condemnation ont été annullées, et les vaisseaux rendus avec leurs cargaisons.

Dans un, la sentence, ordonnant des preuves ultérieures, a été annullée, le vaisseau et la cargaison restitués, et le capteur condamné aux fraix et dépens.

Dans un autre, la sentence, condamnant le vaisseau et sa cargaison, a

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été confirmée, parce qu'il a paru que le vaisseau, aussi bien que la cargaison, appartenoient aux François, et qu'ils étoient frauduleusement reclamés comme Espagnols. Les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels, afin d'obvier à de fausses représentations, insérèrent les raisons de leur jugement dans la sentence même, savoir: "Qu'ayant ouï les preuves et plaidoyers des deux cotés, ils sont convaincus de la vérité du témoignage rendu par trois matelots et l'écrivain, en contradiction du maitre et du contre-maitre, qui sont non seulement invalidés par les quatre dits témoins, se contredisent essentiellement l'un l'autre, et sont en outre invalidés par des papiers autentiques trouvés à bord, et ne sont nullement appuyés par le passeport qui a été accordé sans serment, et sous condition seulement, se rapportant, en termes exprès, à une recherche ultérieure, savoir, si la propriété est Espagnole; et lequel passeport paroit actuellement avoir été obtenu sur de fausses suggestions; c'est pourquoi les seigneurs, par leur décret final, ou sentence, confirment le décret du juge inférieur, condamnant le vaisseau et la cargaison."

Sur l'appel d'un capteur, se plaignant d'une sentence de la Cour d'Amirauté, qui restituoit le vaisseau et la cargaison à un Espagnol reclamant, et qui condamnoit le capteur aux fraix et dépens, la sentence fut confirmée.

Au mois de Juillet dernier, il n'y avoit pas un seul appel, prêt à être ouï, qui ne fut déterminé. S'il y a d'autres appels, c'est la faute des parties qu'ils n'ont point été ouïs.

S'il s'est trouvé des personnes, qui ont porté leurs plaintes à sa Majesté Catholique, et à ses ministres, sans poursuivre leur cause en appel, l'issue de celles susmentionnées démontre, que ce n'est point parce qu'elles désespèrent d'obtenir justice, mais parce qu'elles sont convaincues d'avoir tort.

5e. CHEF. *Restitution au préjudice des Propriétaires.*

Ce Chef contient cinq cas.

1. Celui de Don Luis Cogordan. La restitution a été complette, si l'agent n'a pas tenu compte de la valeur entière, ou s'il a vendu les effets sans nécessité, ou à bas prix, c'est une question qu'il doit résoudre, et dont il est responsable.

Les trois suivant sont des cas, où les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels ont restitués les vaisseaux et les cargaisons, mais sans condamner les capteurs aux fraix et dépens; et la principale force semble avoir été mise sur le premier de ces cas, car il est appuyé de raisonnemens.

Comme ceci semble insinuer une imputation contre les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels, et que c'en est la seule de ce genre, il est important que

j'entre plus particulièrement dans cette matière pour leur justification, et afin de faire voir à sa Majesté Catholique, et à ses ministres, combien sont calomnieuses, et destituées de tout fondement, les représentations des parties à ce sujet.

Les moyens de fraude sont si faciles, et la tentation du gain est si grande, en tems de guerre, que toutes les loix de marine sont fondées sur la bonne foi, et tout traité la suppose comme une condition indispensable. Par ces réglemens de marine publiés en Espagne, en France, et chez presque toutes les autres nations maritimes, des circonstances de fraude sont d'elles mêmes des présomptions *Juris et de Jure*, et les raisons de confiscation.

Des circonstances de négligence et d'omission, par rapport aux documens et papiers de mer nécessaires, qui ne sont pas rendues causes de confiscation, suffisent cependant pour prononcer le sujet de détention légitime, et ordonner à celui qui reclame de payer les fraix au capteur, quoique le vaisseau et la cargaison soient restitués.

Plusieurs sentences pareils ont été rendues dans toutes les nations maritimes de l'Europe.

Cependant les seigneurs de la Cour des Appels ont, dans plusieurs cas, jugés par une régle si équitable et si favorable à ceux qui reclamoient, qu'ils n'ont regardé des circonstances de soupçon, de présomption, et de mauvaise conduite, (sur lesquelles la Cour d'Amirauté avoit condamné, ou prononcé juste cause de saisie, en quoi elle étoit bien autorisée par la lettre des loix maritimes,) que comme des raisons suffisantes pour excuser le capteur de payer les fraix.

Où il y a cause probable de détention, qui résulte de la faute du vaisseau pris, il y a plus de raison et de justice, que le capteur reçoive les fraix, qu'il n'y en auroit à les lui faire payer.

Des trois cas susmentionnés, la principale force, comme je l'ai déjà remarqué, semble porter sur le premier, c'est pourquoi je me suis procuré l'information la plus exacte de l'état de ce cas, et je suis bien aise de trouver ici l'occasion de le mettre dans son vrai jour.

C'est le cas du vaisseau nommé le Félicité, ou autrement Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Antonio.

Ce vaisseau étoit de construction Française, appartenoit aux François, et fit voile, pour compte des François, sous le nom de la Félicité, de Marseilles pour la Martinique, d'où il devoit revenir au premier de ces ports.

Il arrive dans la Tamise, le capitaine le fait enrégistrer à la douane sous

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le nom de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Antonio, fait serment qu'il est de construction Espagnole, qu'il appartient en propriété aux Espagnols, et qu'il est entièrement navigué par des Espagnols. L'armateur, informé de tout ceci, et fort sur que le serment étoit faux, car le vaisseau étoit incontestablement de construction Françoise, originairement de propriété Françoise, et navigué par plusieurs François, s'en empara pour les raisons susdites.

Le capitaine fit serment alors, que la Félicité, qu'il avoua être de construction Françoise, et avoir appartenue aux François, avoit relaché à Cadiz à son rétour, et y avoit été vendu à un Espagnol, qui en avoit changé le nom, et l'avoit expédié pour un nouveau voyage; mais on ne trouva point de contract de vente à bord; le passeport n'étoit point sur serment, comme il est positivement requis par le traité, ni dans la forme préscrite.

Le Juge de la Cour d'Amirauté ordonna que celui, qui reclamoit le vaisseau, produiroit des preuves ultérieures de propriété, ce qu'il refusa de faire; sur quoi le juge condamna le vaisseau et la cargaison comme François.

Lors de l'appel, les seigneurs trouvant le cas du capteur très peu favorable, par la raison qu'il s'étoit emparé, dans le port de Londres, d'un vaisseau enrégistre à la douane, furent d'avis qu'il dût être tenu à prouver le vaisseau de bonne prise, au delà de la possibilité de toute doute, par les seuls témoignages trouvés à bord, ils restituèrent et le vaisseau et la cargaison.

Mais dans un cas si douteux par ses mérites; savoir si jamois le vaisseau eût été réellement vendu à Cadiz, (toutes les probabilités se trouvant contraires à ce qu'un vaisseau, qui s'en revenoit avec une cargaison de la Martinique à Marseilles suivant sa destination originaire, fût en effet vendu à Cadiz;) le capitaine Espagnol en avoit si mal agi, et où aucuns des documens requis ne se sont trouvés à bord, ni les termes du traité remplis, il étoit impossible de condamner le capteur aux dépens. Dans un tel cas il y avoit plus de raison et de justice à présumer que le vaisseau appartenoit encore aux François, et d'avoir prononcé la cause de saisie juste; mais la capture étoit odieuse, c'est pourquoi tout fût pris à la rigueur contre elle.

Cependant la manière dont les parties ont représenté ce cas, tel que votre Excellence paroît, par son mémoire, l'entendre, c'est qu'il leur fût ordonné de payer la moitié des dépens, ce qui n'est pas conforme au fait; aucun coté n'ayant été en effet condamné à payer les fraix et dommages de l'autre; c'est pourquoi chacun paya les siens.

Les dites parties ajoutent qu'il est impossible de concevoir les raisons pourquoi cela s'est fait, quoique les raisons en soient notoires, et que les seigneurs les aient insérées dans le corps de leur sentence.

Le 5e et dernier cas, sous ce Chef, est un exemple frappant de plainte déraisonable : ce cas n'a aucun rapport à un tems de guerre, ni à aucun question de prise, ni à aucune jurisdiction d'Amirauté ; mais c'est le cas d'une importation contraire à une loi fondamentale de ce Royaume, par laquelle le vaisseau et sa cargaison sont confisqués, deux tiers au Roi, et un tiers au dénonciateur. Le Roi, sur les représentations de Mons. d'Abreu, voulut bien, comme de pure grace rémettre ses deux tiers ; mais sa Majesté ne pouvoit pas disposer de l'autre tiers, qui appartenoit au dénonciateur ; et la partie, qui en justice ne pouvoit rien demander, puisqu'elle avoit clairement perdu le tout, se plaint, dans le tems que le Roi lui fait présent de toute sa part des effets confisqués.

12. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, December 17, 1760.

The King having actually under consideration what ulterior operations may be most expedient to be undertaken by such part of the troops under your command, as may be applicable to such service, consistently with the full and entire security of his Majesty's dominions in North America, and particularly of the possession of his Majesty's conquests there; I make no doubt that in a very few days I shall have some orders from the King to transmit to you on that most interesting subject. I am in the mean time now to inform you that in order to be better enabled to employ an adequate number of the regular forces, either against Mobile and Mississippi or Martinico, and the other French islands in the West Indies, his Majesty has judged it necessary to despatch, without loss of time, his orders to the several governors in North America, for levying with the utmost expedition two-thirds of the number of men they respectively raised for the last campaign; and the King's directions on this subject are so fully contained in the enclosed copies of my circular letters to the northern and southern governors, that I have only to add that it is the King's pleasure you should exert your utmost endeavors to incite and encourage the several provinces to the full and early execution of the King's commands; and to point out to the said provinces

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how highly it concerns their own interests to strengthen the Continent of North America by a considerable number of provincial troops, in order thereby to facilitate some farther essential operations to be undertaken by a part of his Majesty's regular forces now there, towards reducing the enemy to the necessity of accepting a peace on terms of glory and advantage to his Majesty's crown, and more particularly beneficial to his subjects in America.

As you are to expect every day after receiving this despatch his Majesty's final orders with regard to the operations to be undertaken, and as every moment is precious, and most especially in case the resolution should be for an attempt against the French islands, it is superfluous to point out to your great prudence and foresight the expediency of immediately turning your thoughts to such provisional arrangements as may happen to be in your power, with regard to any part of the troops, artillery, stores, provisions, &c. in order thereby to give the utmost celerity to the execution of the orders as soon as they arrive, which must unavoidably come to your hands much later than is to be wished with respect to the most eligible season for military operations to the southward.

You will observe, by my letters to the governors, that his Majesty has been pleased to promise, that his commissaries shall issue provisions to the men raised by the several provinces in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces. I am therefore to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do give the necessary directions to all the commissaries and other officers who may have the charge of the provisions, to furnish the said men with the same in the proportion and manner above mentioned; for which purpose the contractors have received directions to have constantly in store a sufficient quantity of provisions, as well for the regular national troops, as for the provincials, which shall be raised in consequence of his Majesty's orders. And it is the King's pleasure that you should keep a particular account of the same, and that no provisions should be delivered to the provincial troops, but in consequence of an order from you, or from the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in those parts, where the said provisions may be wanted, and you will, in case of necessity, draw bills for any extraordinary expences incurred for this service. And I am particularly to recommend it to you, as a principal means to preserve the health of the men, that you do cause them to be furnished with fresh meat, whenever the situation and circumstances of the troops shall make the same any ways practicable; and you will take care that for so long time as fresh meat shall be

provided for the forces, the enclosed clause of the contract be duly observed on the part of the contractors or their agents; and that the delivery of provisions of beef and pork by the contractors be accordingly in part or in the whole suspended, and a proportionable allowance only made for the several other species, as shall be agreed upon and certified by you.

Such a considerable number of arms and tents have been already in preceding years sent to North America, that it is not doubted but a sufficient quantity will be found there for the service of the next campaign, and you will particularly enforce that part of my letters to the governors, which relates to the collecting and putting into a proper condition all the serviceable arms that can be found in America, and not to allow the service to suffer from a dependance on any being supplied from England.

13. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, January 7, 1761.

His Majesty having come to a resolution to employ a considerable body of the troops now under your command, in attempting the reduction of the isle of Martinique, which important operation, considering the actual and, for several months, unalterable position of the forces in North America, as well as the preparations necessary for so weighty an enterprize, cannot be made to take place till after the hurricane months, that is to say, about the end of September, or first days of October; and in the mean time, as it would be highly expedient for the good of his Majesty's affairs, if some interesting attempt could be made with success during the earlier part of the year, the impression whereof could not but have a very beneficial influence in Europe, both at home and abroad; it is the King's pleasure that you should use your utmost endeavours to cause a body of troops amounting to two thousand men or towards that number, together with all proper requisites, to be embarked in the most expeditious manner on board such transports as you are hereby directed to take up and prepare with all possible diligence; and with due convoy to proceed forthwith under the command of such officer, as you shall think proper, to Guadaloupe, where the said officer is to concert with Governor Dalrymple, who is ordered to co-operate therein, and who will have procured all necessary lights for this service, (or in the said Governor's absence, with the commanding officer there,) the most speedy and effectual means of taking possession of the island of Dominique, and of the island of St. Lucia also, if

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the latter be judged practicable and expedient. The said officer will remain in possession thereof and ready to be further employed together with the troops you send down for that purpose in the reduction of Martinique, when that main expedient shall take place as above. But as the practicability of taking possession of Dominique before the hurricane months must depend on a variety of eventual circumstances, namely, the quick passage of the frigate that carries these orders, the arrival and condition of Vaughan's battalion and the twelve companies from England, the state and immediate mobility of any part of the corps about Albany or at Halifax, and particularly the means of getting and preparing without the least delay sufficient transports with all requisites for such a service; it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should carry the orders for taking possession of Dominique into execution, only in the case that the above several circumstances shall, (as it is greatly wished,) happen so luckily, that the troops destined as above for Dominique may arrive at Guadaloupe pretty early in May; but if that cannot be, it is the King's pleasure that you should not send the said troops on this service.

With regard to the reduction of Martinique, mentioned in the beginning of this despatch, it is his Majesty's pleasure that as soon as the season permits, you should make all timely preparations for attempting the same with such a body of troops as may be adequate to such an enterprize; and as it may be depended upon that the troops, already in Guadaloupe, together with the marines of the squadron stationed there will be able to contribute at least better than one thousand men, it is thought here that about eight thousand men *in all* sent from North America will be amply sufficient for securing success to this essential and decisive operation. At the same time, you being the best and only competent judge of the true and exact situation of things in North America, and of the force which may be spared from thence consistent with the entire safety of those parts and particularly with the secure possession of that most valuable conquest of Canada; and the King, relying on your known prudence and distinguished zeal for his service, his Majesty is pleased not to intend hereby strictly to circumscribe you, by orders from hence, as to the precise number of troops, be it more or less, which you shall judge most expedient for the King's service to employ against the island of Martinique.

The artillery of all sorts, together with ordnance stores already in North America, render it unnecessary to send any from hence; you will therefore immediately order the same to be put into condition for service, and cause

such a portion thereof, in all the several species, as may be amply sufficient for this service, to accompany the troops to Martinique: you will also appoint proper and sufficient engineers, together with a suitable detachment of the royal artillery regiment.

I am further to inform you that a number of transport vessels will be sent from England, sufficient to contain eight or ten thousand men, and that it is hoped the same will reach New York, so as that the troops may be embarked in the most proper time, in order to arrive off Martinique the end of September or the first days of October; but in order to be provided against all accidents, as well as to secure every possible facility with regard to transports, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should take up and fit in the proper manner an ample quantity of transport vessels, to be in readiness to supply any deficiency and to be applicable to any services.

I am now only to add, that the King, considering the importance and extent of all the various objects, which demand in the person of a Commander-in-chief in North America those distinguished abilities, prudence, and application, with which you have discharged, so greatly to your own honor and to the advantage of his Majesty's service, the high trust reposed in you, his Majesty judges it essential to his service, that you should remain in North America, and as a signal mark of his confidence in your zeal and judgment, the King is pleased to leave it to you to appoint such officer to command the expedition against Martinique as you shall think best qualified for this arduous and most important undertaking.

14. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, March 24, 1761.

I hope that the orders contained in my letter of the 7th January, for attempting the reduction of the island of Martinique, (of which, for the greater certainty, I enclose a quadruplicate,) will have reached you long ago, and that you will have found them sufficiently ample for your conduct. I will however add here, that as an early impression on the enemy in America could not fail to have the most material and probably a decisive influence on the Court of France; for that essential reason, as well as from all other considerations, it is greatly wished that the actual attack of Martinique might take place immediately after the hurricane months shall be over; and that this important operation might be pushed with as large a force as shall be consistent

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with the great objects already recommended to your attention in my letter of the 7th January, viz. the entire safety of North America, and particularly the secure possession of that most valuable conquest of Canada. I am now further to signify to you that in order to give room for any larger number of forces, you shall judge expedient for his Majesty's service to send on the said expedition against Martinique, as well as to prevent the least possibility of delay, either from any deficiency in the transport vessels, (mentioned in enclosed quadruplicate,) to be sent from England, or from their not arriving all in due time, it is the King's pleasure that you take up forthwith, and fit in the proper manner, six or eight thousand tons of transport vessels, to be early in readiness, and applicable in such manner as you shall judge proper to the above service.

I have regularly received and laid before the King, your despatches of the 8th December, and 7th and 18th January, and I have a very sensible satisfaction in acquainting you that his Majesty continues entirely to approve your whole conduct; and particularly your intention to complete in the spring the works of the fortress of Crown Point, and of the forts of Oswego, Pittsburgh, and Fort Stanwix, and to employ the provincials on this service; and you will give all due attention to Fort Niagara, and in case any thing shall be wanting there to put that important fort into a thorough good condition of defence, you will not fail to add whatever you shall find to be necessary to that end.

15. *Mr. Pitt to Major-General Amherst.*

Whitehall, June 18, 1761.

It is with great satisfaction that I can now inform you of the success of his Majesty's arms agsinst the island of Belle-isle, by the reduction of the citadel of Palais, which capitulated on the 7th instant, as you will see by the enclosed gazette, to which I refer you for particulars. The duration of this siege and the many reinforcements and supplies of stores which it was judged proper to send to Belle-isle, having employed a very large quantity of transport vessels, (some whereof it became necessary to take from those which were actually preparing for North America,) will unavoidably occasion some delay in the arrival of the transports which I acquainted you were to be sent from hence; but all possible expedition will now be used in preparing them, and you may be assured that due care will be taken for their arrival

at New York in proper time for the service on which they are destined; and I shall very soon have his Majesty's commands to despatch a man of war to America with the King's final orders and instructions to you with regard to the expedition you are to undertake against Martinique after the hurricane months shall be over, for which you will in the mean time continue to make with all possible diligence, the necessary arrangements and preparations, agreeably to the orders contained in my letter of the 7th January, which are fully enforced by that of the 24th March, a duplicate of which last you will find herewith enclosed.

On the 6th past, I received your despatch of the 6th April by the Tamar sloop; but as the General Wall packet-boat, which sailed from New York on the 3rd March was unfortunately taken by the enemy in her passage home, and all the mails and despatches flung overboard, an account of which accident it is hoped will have reached you long ago by the Earl of Halifax, which sailed from Falmouth the 29th March, five days after the General Wall, which had been ransomed, came into that port. I am not yet fully informed of the detail of the measures you have taken in consequence of the very important orders of the 7th January; but as it appears by your letter of the 6th April, that you hoped the troops destined for the attempt to be made during the earlier part of the year would be ready to proceed from New York, that they might arrive at Guadaloupe in proper time, there is great reason to trust that that essential operation will have been undertaken in the manner prescribed, and to hope that we may soon receive accounts of its success.

The several gazettes transmitted to you from my office by this conveyance, will inform you of the occurrences that have happened on the continent since the sailing of the last packet. You will also see in them the declaration made at Paris on the part of the two Empresses, the Most Christian King, and the Kings of Sweden and Poland, as well as the counter declaration in answer thereto on the part of his Majesty, and the King of Prussia, together with the names of the ambassadors appointed by his Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Prussia, for the Congress to be assembled at Augsburg. I am farther to inform you that some *Pourparlers* are opened between his Majesty and the Court of Versailles, and that M. de Bussy is in London and Mr. Stanley at Paris, with the characters of ministers from their respective courts for this purpose. But I have the King's commands to recommend it to you in the strongest manner not to suffer any

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appearances tending towards peace, to suspend or slacken in the least degree any of the preparations for the enterprize you are directed to make against Martinique; and you will be most particularly attentive to the effect the knowledge of a Congress may produce in the several provinces, and will exert your utmost endeavors and influence, in the manner you shall judge most proper, to prevent any ill consequences arising therefrom to his Majesty's service, by the levies required becoming slow and insufficient. You will naturally observe that these overtures for peace have not prevented the prosecution of military operations in Europe, the expedition to Belle-isle having been pushed with the greatest vigor, and the armies in Germany being all in the field, and on the point of commencing their several operations, as well on the side of Silesia as in Westphalia.

16. *Mr. Pitt's Letter to General Monckton, Governor of New York, accompanied with the Red Ribbon, for Major-General Amherst.*

His Excellency Major-General Monckton, Governor of New York, and several officers of the army being present, Major-General Monckton read Mr. Secretary Pitt's letter, as follows:

Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

Sir,

His Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his royal approbation of the many and eminent services of Major-General Amherst, to nominate him to be one of the Knight Companions of the most Honorable Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the Ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity: I am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should perform that ceremony, and it being his Majesty's intention, that the same be done in the most honorable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with General Amherst, such time and manner for investing him with the Ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's order, and as may, at the same time, mark in the most public manner, his Majesty's just sense of the constant zeal, and signal abilities, which General Amherst has exerted in the service of his King and country.

I am, &c.

W. Pitt.

Major-General Monckton then proceeded to put the ribband over Sir Jeffery Amherst's shoulder, making an apology, that circumstances would not admit of a more formal investiture.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, upon receiving this Order, addressed himself to Major-General Monckton, in the following terms:

Sir, I am truly sensible of this distinguishing mark of his Majesty's royal approbation of my conduct, and shall ever esteem it as such; and I must beg leave to express to you the peculiar satisfaction I have, and the pleasure it gives me, to receive this mark of favor from your hands.

17. *Mr. Pitt to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

I am now to signify to you his Majesty's final pleasure that you should lose no time in embarking with all expedition the troops, artillery and all requisites which you shall have allotted and prepared for this important service; and that you do cause the same to repair forthwith, first off Guadaloupe, where Sir James Douglas will be in readiness to join them, and from thence proceed immediately, together with such of the troops already in those parts as shall be found applicable for this service, to their destination against Martinique, so as to begin the operations there as soon as may be after the hurricane months shall be over, agreeably to the instructions you have already received by my letter of the 7th January and 24th March. And it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do give the fullest instructions and orders to Major-General Monckton, (the appointment of which brave and meritorious officer to this command the King entirely approves,) to exert the utmost efforts for the reduction of the island of Martinique, and for the maintaining possession of the same, in case, by the blessing of God, he shall succeed in the said attempt; and that you do further acquaint General Monckton, that his Majesty, relying on the continuation of his distinguished zeal for the honor of his arms, does not doubt that he will prosecute this essential and decisive enterprize with due vigor and perseverance.

His Majesty reposing a constant trust in your known prudence and approved abilities, continues still to allow you not to circumscribe yourself to the number of six thousand men, which, (over and above the two thousand men already gone on the expedition under Lord Rollo,) you give to understand by your letter of the 27th February, may be sent from North America,

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consistently with the safety thereof, and particularly with the secure possession of that most valuable conquest of Canada; and the better to ensure success in this arduous and most important enterprize, the King leaves it to your judgment, whether some addition may not be made to the said six thousand men, according as from your knowledge of the actual and exact situation of things in North America, you may possibly find such addition can be safely spared, consistently with the great objects already recommended to your particular attention.

With regard to what you suggested in your letter of the 18th October last, as the best and easiest means for completing the regiments under your command; namely, "by the several provinces furnishing the men by the proportion of the quota that they have raised for the campaigns." As you have not entered into any explanations how such a method might be rendered practicable, and it not appearing here by what means Government could enforce, in case of a refusal, a compliance from the provinces with the said proposal, and as a failure therein might be attended with consequences disadvantageous to the King's service, it has not been thought advisable to come to a resolution thereon. In the mean time it is hoped that the reinforcement of Vaughan's battalion, and the twelve companies from England will have put the several corps under your command, according to their present establishment, into a proper state for service.

I have only further to inform you that Sir James Douglas, who commands his Majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, will receive full instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty to co-operate with Major-General Monckton or the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces employed in the expedition against Martinique; and the King does not doubt but that perfect harmony and good understanding will subsist between his land and sea officers which is at all times so indispensably necessary for the good of his Majesty's service.

18. *Mr. Pitt to Sir Jeffery Amherst.*

Whitehall, July 21, 1761.

That you may have the fullest information in all points relating to the important expedition against Martinique, I enclose to you herewith copies of the orders which the Lords of the Admiralty have given on this subject to Captain Hankerson, who commands the convoy that goes with the transports from hence to New York, to Lord Colvill, Commander-in-chief of the King's

ships in North America; and to Sir James Douglas, Commander-in-chief of the squadron at the Leeward Islands.

With regard to that part of my letter of the 17th instant, relating to the attack of Martinique, whereby you are directed to cause the troops under General Monckton to repair first off Guadaloupe, and from thence to proceed immediately to their destination against Martinique, I am now to acquaint you that the transports with the said troops on board are to repair first directly off the island of Barbadoes, from whence they are to proceed, agreeably to what you will find contained in the enclosed instructions to Captain Hankerson, and in those to Sir James Douglas.

I acquainted you in my letter of the 17th instant that the King entirely approved your appointing Major-General Monckton to the command of the troops destined for this enterprize; and lest any doubt should arise with regard to General Monckton's absence from his government of New York, his Majesty has been pleased to sign a licence, authorising him to be absent from that province during the time he shall be employed elsewhere by orders from you, which licence you will receive herewith and will deliver the same to Governor Monckton.

It is with the highest pleasure that I inform you of the great and glorious event of the reduction of Pondicherry, which surrendered to his Majesty's arms at discretion the 15th January last, for the particulars of which most important success, I refer you to the enclosed gazette, wherein you will also see an account of the disaster on the coast of Coromandel, to some of Admiral Steevens's ships; but at the same time you will have the satisfaction to observe how respectable a squadron was, in a very few days, rendered fit for service, by the resources of mind and the vigor exerted by the Admiral under this misfortune; and that the blockade of Pondicherry was equally maintained.

Last night I received letters from Lord Rollo, giving an account of his having on the 6th June taken possession of the island of Dominique, notwithstanding the tedious passage he met with from New York, and the unlucky dispersion of the greatest part of the transports with the troops under his command.

19. *Mr. Pitt to Lord Rollo.*

Whitehall, August 5, 1761.

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I am now commanded by the King to inform your Lordship in the greatest confidence that his Majesty has come to a resolution to attempt with the utmost vigor the reduction of the island of Martinique, by a body of troops from North America, and that you may expect Major-General Monckton, (whom Sir Jeffery Amherst, in consequence of the power given him by his Majesty, has appointed to command on this expedition,) with the forces destined for this most important enterprize to arrive in your parts towards the end of October: it is therefore his Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should, with the utmost secrecy, make all timely preparations for co-operating with Major-General Monckton or the Commander-in-chief of the troops above mentioned, with as large a number of the men under your command as can be spared consistently with the security of the island of Dominique; and your Lordship will concert with Sir James Douglas or the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, and with the Governor of Guadaloupe, the proper time and place for such troops as you shall be able to furnish, to join the forces under the command of Major-General Monckton, in order to proceed with him against Martinique; in the execution of which service the King has the firmest reliance that your Lordship will continue to exert the same zeal and abilities, which you have already so conspicuously manifested for the honor of his Majesty's arms.

N°. V.

CONTAINING STATE PAPERS; AND THE GREATER PART OF THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. HANS STANLEY AND MR. SECRETARY PITT, RESPECTING THE NEGOCIATION FOR PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN 1761.

1. *The Declaration of his Most Christian Majesty on the 26th March, 1761.*

THE pacific dispositions which the Kings of England and Prussia expressed the last year, and which are conformable to the sentiments of all the belligerent powers, having met with some difficulties which have proved obstacles to their success, the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have unanimously agreed to invite those of London and Berlin to the renewal of a negociation so expedient for the welfare of mankind, and which ought to interest all the powers at war in the cause of humanity.

With this view, and in order to proceed towards the re-establishment of peace, they propose the meeting of a Congress, at which they think it will be convenient to admit, with the Plenipotentiaries of the principal belligerent powers, no other than those of their allies. If the Kings of England and Prussia adopt this measure, his Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, propose the town of Augsburg as the place of Congress, which they only point out as a town within the reach of all the parties interested, which by its situation seems to suit the convenience of all the States, and they will not oppose the choice of any other town in Germany which their Britannic and Prussian Majesties may deem more convenient.

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His Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Sweden and Poland, declare farther, that they have made choice of Plenipotentiaries, to whom they will commit their interests at the Congress, in expectation that the King of England, the King of Prussia, and their allies, will speedily make choice of their respective ministers, that the negociation may not be retarded.

The sincerity of this declaration, which the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have, out of regard to the general good, determined to make to the Courts of London and Berlin, gives them to hope that their Britannic and Prussian Majesties will signify, by a speedy answer, their sentiments on a subject so essential to the peace and welfare of Europe.

By order, and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty,

THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL.

2. *Letter from the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.*

March 26, 1761.

SIR,

The King my master acting in conformity with the sentiments of his allies, in order, if possible, to procure the re-establishment of a general peace, has authorised me to transmit to your Excellency the memorial hereto annexed, which solely concerns the interests of France and England, with respect to the particular war between the two crowns. The King has reason to hope, that the sincere manner in which he proposes to treat with his Britannic Majesty will banish all mistrust in the course of the negociation, if it takes place, and will induce his Britannic Majesty to make the King acquainted with his real sentiments, whether with regard to the continuance of war, or with respect to the conclusion of peace, as well as in relation to the principles on which they ought to proceed, in order to procure this blessing to the two nations.

I will add, that I am likewise authorised to assure your Excellency, that in relation to the war in which the King of Prussia is concerned, the allies of the King my master are determined to treat of their interests in the future Congress with the same frankness and sincerity of which I can give your Excellency assurance on the part of France; and that, so as not to depart from what is due to their dignity, their situation, and the demands

of justice, they will bring with them to the negociation all the acquiescence, which their humanity dictates for the general good of Europe. APPX. No. V. 1761.

The King, my master, and his allies, do not doubt but that they shall find the heart of his Britannic Majesty and his allies impressed with the same sentiments. I esteem it a happiness that my office makes me the instrument of conveying such favorable sentiments, which give me an opportunity of assuring your Excellency with what distinguished consideration I have the honor to be, &c.

3. *Memorial of the Most Christian King.*

The Most Christian King wishes that the separate peace of France with England could be united with the general peace of Europe, which his Majesty most sincerely desires to establish; but as the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England is totally foreign to the disputes in Germany, his Most Christian Majesty has thought it necessary to agree with his Britannic Majesty on the principal articles which may form the basis of their separate negociations, in order to accelerate as much as possible the general conclusion of the peace.

The best method to accomplish the end proposed, is to remove those intricacies which might prove obstacles to its success. In the business of peace, the disputes of nations concerning their reciprocal conquests, the different opinions with respect to the utility of particular conquests, and the compensations for restitutions, generally form matter of embarrassment at a negociation of peace. As it is natural for each nation, with regard to these different points, to endeavor the acquisition of all possible advantages, interest and distrust occasion oppositions and produce delays. To obviate these inconveniences, and to testify the sincerity of his proceedings in the course of the negociation of peace with England, the Most Christian King proposes to agree with his Britannic Majesty, that, with respect to the particular war of France and England, the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered from each other, and that the situation in which they shall stand on the 1st of September, in the year 1761, in the East Indies; on the 1st of July, in the same year, in the West Indies and in Africa; and on the 1st of May following in Europe, shall be the position which shall serve as a basis to the treaty which may be negociated between the two powers. Which shows that the Most Christian King, in order to

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set an example of humanity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity, will make a sacrifice of those restitutions which he has a right to claim, at the same time that he will maintain those acquisitions which he has gained from England during the course of the war.

Nevertheless as his Britannic Majesty may think that the periods proposed of the 1st of September, July, and May, are either too near or too distant for the interests of the British Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty may judge it proper to make compensation for the whole, or for part of the reciprocal conquests of the two crowns, the Most Christian King will readily enter into negociation with his Britannic Majesty in relation to these two objects, when he shall know his sentiments concerning them; the principal view of his Most Christian Majesty being to testify not only to England, but to the whole world, his sincere disposition to remove all impediments which might defer the salutary object of peace.

The Most Christian King expects, that the disposition of his Britannic Majesty will be correspondent, and that he will, with equal sincerity, answer all the articles contained in this memorial, in which the two powers are so essentially interested.

March 26, 1761.

4. *Counter-Declaration of his Britannic Majesty.*

The dispositions of their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, for the re-establishment of the general tranquillity of Europe, having been steady and sincere, could not have undergone any alteration, through the space of time, which has elapsed since their declaration of the 25th November, 1759. Their Majesties, therefore, with satisfaction, accept the offer of the assembling of a Congress at Augsburg, contained in the five declarations made at Paris, the 26th of March last, and delivered at London the 31st of the same month, in the name and on the part of their Majesties the Empress Queen, the Empress of all the Russias, the Most Christian King, the King of Sweden, and the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. The Courts of London and Berlin equally acquiesce in the clause of this declaration, which relates to the rule that is proposed to be laid down, in regard to the admission of the plenipotentiaries who shall have a right to be received at this Congress.

For the rest, as their zeal for the advancement of the salutary work of a general pacification perfectly corresponds with that which appears to animate

the Courts of Vienna, Petersburg, Versailles, Stockholm, and Warsaw, their Britannic and Prussian Majesties will not delay to name incessantly their plenipotentiaries, being disposed to concur, with one and the same pace, in every thing that may accelerate the opening of the Congress, which has been offered to them.

In the name and by order of the King,

BUTE.

London, April 3, 1761.

5. *Mr. Pitt to the Duke de Choiseul.*

London, April 8, 1761.

SIR,

The King my master has authorised me to transmit to your Excellency, with all the despatch which was found possible, the Memorial hereto annexed in answer to that of the 26th of the last month, made by the order, and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, solely concerning the interests of England and France, relative to the particular war between the two crowns, which was accompanied by a letter from your Excellency of the same date, transmitted to me by M. the Prince Galitzin.

His Majesty has published his real sentiments, with regard to the salutary business of peace, with the sincerity which his Christian Majesty desires, and of which he himself set the example; the King my master, on his part, desires nothing more than, by the sincerity of his conduct, to remove all distrust in course of the negociation.

I will likewise acquaint your Excellency, that the King learned with great satisfaction, that your Excellency was authorized to give assurance that, in relation to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, the allies of his Most Christian Majesty are determined to treat with the same openness and sincerity as the Court of France, and that they will bring with them to the negociation at the future Congress all the acquiescence which their unanimity dictates for the general good of Europe.

I must add that, with regard to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, as well as with respect to the other allies of the King my master, his Majesty, always constant in fulfilling the engagements of his crown with the most scrupulous exactness, can never fail to support their respective interests, whether in the course of the negociation, (which may God prosper,) or

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in the continuance of the war, (if contrary to all expectation this misfortune should be unavoidable,) with the cordiality and efficacy of a sincere and faithful ally.

As to what remains, it is superfluous to mention to what degree his Majesty wishes for this speedy establishment of the general peace in Germany, after the distinguished proof his Majesty has given, in so readily consenting to the proposition of so distant a place as the town of Augsburg for the meeting of the Congress.

Such are the sincere and upright intentions of the King my master for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. I think myself happy in having the charge of conveying such sentiments, and of having an opportunity of assuring your Excellency of the distinguished regard with which I have the honor to be, &c.

W. PITT.

6. *The Memorial of his Britannic Majesty, of the 8th of April,* 1761.

His Britannic Majesty, equally desirous with the Most Christian King, that the separate peace of England and France could be united with the general peace, for which the King of Great Britain is so sincerely interested, that, in regard to this point, he even means that the contests, which might arise between the two crowns concerning their particular differences, should not occasion the least delay to the speedy conclusion of so salutary a work as the general peace of Germany; and his Britannic Majesty is the more confirmed in this sentiment, dictated by humanity towards so many nations, that he feels in all its extent the proposition which the Most Christian King establishes as a fundamental principle; that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between England and France, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany.

In consequence of this incontestible principle, the King of Great Britain entirely adopts the sentiment of his Most Christian Majesty, that it is necessary to agree between the two crowns on some principal articles, which may form the basis of their particular negociations, in order the more to accelerate the conclusion of a general peace.

The King of Great Britain equally agrees in general to the proposition which the Most Christian King has made with an openness, in which his Britannic Majesty will concur throughout the course of the negociation; that is

to say, that in relation to the particular war between England and France, 1. The two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered, one from the other. 2. That the situation, in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty which may be negociated between the two powers.

With regard to the first branch of the aforesaid proposition, his Britannic Majesty takes pleasure in doing justice to the magnanimity of his Most Christian Majesty, who, from motives of humanity, determines to sacrifice to the love of peace the restitution which he thinks he has a right to claim, maintaining at the same time what he has conquered from England during the course of the war.

With respect to the second head of the aforesaid proposition, concerning the reciprocal conquests made by the two crowns, one upon another; that is to say, that the situation, in which they shall stand at the respective periods assigned for the different quarters of the globe, shall serve as a basis for the said treaty, the King of Great Britain again acknowledges with satisfaction the candor which is manifested on the part of his Most Christian Majesty in this article, by obviating, as he has done, the extreme difficulties, and by anticipating the indispensable objections, which could not but arise on such a subject; it being in fact self-evident, that expeditions at sea requiring preparations of long standing, and depending on navigations which are uncertain, as well as on the concurrence of seasons, in places which are often too distant for orders relative to their execution to be adapted to the common vicissitudes of negociations, which for the most part are subject to disappointments and delays, and are always fluctuating and precarious: from whence it necessarily results, that the nature of such operations is by no means susceptible, without prejudice to the party who employs them, of any other epochas, than those which have reference to the day of signing the treaty of peace.

Nevertheless as this consideration, as well as that which respects the compensations, (if such shall be found proper to be made between the two crowns,) on account of their reciprocal conquests, comprehend the most interesting and capital articles of the treaty, and as it is upon these two decisive objects, that the Most Christian King voluntarily offers to enter into a negociation; the King of Great Britain, desiring to concur effectually with the favorable dispositions of the Most Christian King, in order to remove all impediments which might defer the salutary object of peace, his Britannic Majesty declares that he is ready on his part to enter upon the proposed

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negociation with speed and sincerity. And more authentically to demonstrate to what extent the sincerity of his conduct proceeds, his Britannic Majesty declares farther, that he should be glad to see some person at London sufficiently authorised by a power from the Most Christian King, to enter upon this subject with the British ministers, in regard to the several articles contained in the letter of the Duke de Choiseul of the 26th March, 1761, to the Secretary of State of his Britannic Majesty, which points are so essentially interesting to the two powers.

By the order, and in the name of the King of Great Britain my master.

W. PITT.

7. *The Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.*

Versailles, April 19, 1761.

SIR,

I made the King my master acquainted with the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 8th instant, as well as with the memorial thereto annexed.

His Majesty has remarked with real pleasure the conformity of his Britannic Majesty's sentiments with his own, in regard to the sincere and open conduct which it becomes two such great powers to observe in the negociation of a peace.

The King has not delayed, Sir, the nomination of an Ambassador to represent him at the Congress at Augsburg. His Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul, at present his Ambassador at Vienna, and he will repair to the town appointed, at the beginning of July, in the expectation which we entertain here, that his Britannic Majesty will send his Ambassador thither at the same time.

The King has commanded me, Sir, to observe on this occasion to your Excellency, in answer to the declaration contained in your letter, that his Majesty, as constant as any other power in fulfilling the engagements he has made with the allies with the most scrupulous punctuality, will continue, with that fidelity which is consistent with the integrity and dignity of his character, to make his cause common with theirs, whether in the negociation for the peace of Germany, or in the continuance of the war, if to the misfortune of mankind the favorable dispositions in which the belligerent powers are at present should not be attended with the success which is so earnestly desired.

I ought not, on this occasion, to omit informing your Excellency with what concern the King would see himself obliged to continue such a destructive war, after having entertained a confidence that all the parties were interested in putting a stop to the calamities it occasions.

As to what relates to the war in particular between France and England, I have annexed to this letter a memorial in reply to that of your Excellency. We cannot be too zealous in explaining the upright intentions of our masters, in order to remove, at the beginning of this interesting negociation, those misunderstandings which often augment, instead of lessening the delay.

You are a minister, Sir, too enlightened not to approve of this principle.

I have the honor to be, with most distinguished regard, &c.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

8. *Memorial of his Most Christian Majesty of the 19th April,* 1761.

The Most Christian King perceives with satisfaction, that his Britannic Majesty agrees that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England is totally foreign from the disputes which have given rise to the war in Germany; it is in consequence of this principle that his Most Christian Majesty offered the King of England to treat concerning the preliminaries relative to the particular interests of the two crowns; but in making that proposition, the King of France did not understand, as the beginning of the memorial of London of the 8th April seems to intimate, that the peace of Germany could take place, without the differences between France and England being adjusted. His Most Christian Majesty has sufficient confidence in his allies to be certain that they will neither conclude a peace nor a treaty without his consent. He did not understand therefore, that the peace of Germany could be concluded distinctly from that of France and England, and he only proposed to the King of England to separate the discussion of the two wars, in order to bring about a general peace for all parties.

His Most Christian Majesty renews the proposition which he caused to be made in the first memorial, that the two powers should remain in *statu quo* with regard to their possessions and conquests according to the periods stated in the said memorial; but his Majesty observes, that the basis of the proposition is necessarily connected with the epochas proposed; for it is easy to conceive that such events may happen on either side, as may abso-

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lutely prevent an acquiescence to the *uti possidetis*, if the epochas are distant; and his Most Christian Majesty has the more reason to recal the whole proposition, if the King of England does not acquiesce to the epochas annexed to it, since no one can doubt but that those periods were proposed at a time when they were not advantageous to France.

It is certain that the reciprocal conquests cannot be ascertained but on the day of signing the peace; but it is no less certain, that it is impossible to fix the basis of a negociation for peace, otherwise than according to the situation in which the belligerent parties stood at such or such a period of the war. This is the light in which the King of France understood the proposition which he made to the King of England; and it is upon this principle, if his Britannic Majesty adopts it, that his Most Christian Majesty will send a minister to London with credentials, and charged with full power sufficient to treat with the ministers of the King of Great Britain, either with respect to the ground of the dispute, or in regard to the compensations proper to be made to the two crowns, as well as concerning the interests of their colonies and their commerce. The disposition of his Most Christian Majesty to put an end to the miseries of war, which divides the two nations under their government, is equal to that of his Britannic Majesty; but as the zeal on both sides should be alike, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send M. de Bussy [a] to London, he hopes that the King of Great Britain will send an English minister to France, to treat concerning the same objects with his ministry. His Most Christian Majesty expects the answer of his Britannic Majesty on the contents of this memorial, in order to expedite and receive the reciprocal and necessary passports.

By the order, and in the name of the King, my master.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

9. *Mr. Pitt to the Duke de Choiseul.*

Whitehall, April 28, 1761.

MONSIEUR,

I have laid before the King my master the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me the 19th of this month, as also the memorial which was annexed to it.

[a] Formerly secretary to the Duke de Richelieu.

His Majesty sincerely wishes to maintain an entire conformity of sentiments with his Most Christian Majesty, in relation to the uniform and direct method which it is proper to pursue in a negociation equally delicate and important.

The King understands, Sir, with pleasure, that his Most Christian Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul to represent him at the Congress at Augsburg, and that that ambassador will repair to the destined town at the beginning of July; and the King has charged me to inform your Excellency, that he has nominated the Earl of Egremont, Lord Viscount Stormont, and Sir Joseph Yorke, to represent him at the said Congress, and that his ambassadors will likewise repair to Augsburg at the beginning of July.

It becomes me, on this subject, to acquaint your Excellency, that the regret of the King my master would not be less than that of the Most Christian King, to see the war continued in Germany, which is destructive to so many nations.

I annex to this letter a memorial, in answer to that of your Excellency of the 19th instant, in relation to the war in particular between Great Britain and France. It is true, Sir, the principle of removing misunderstandings in business upon all occasions cannot be too highly approved; therefore it cannot escape the observation of your Excellency, that at the beginning of an accommodation unexpected alterations naturally have the effect of involving the overtures in obscurity and uncertainty, rather than of introducing that perspicuity and confidence, so indispensable in a negociation between two such great powers. As the natural remedy against inconveniencies of this nature seems to be the presence of reciprocal ministers, who, treating by word of mouth, may give an explanation immediately on starting of a doubt, your Excellency will see by the memorial hereto annexed, the disposition of his Majesty in this respect.

I have the honor to be, with the most distinguished regard, &c.

W. PITT.

10. *The Memorial of his Britannic Majesty of the* 28*th April,* 1761.

The King of Great Britain, always influenced by the same desire of putting an end to the miseries of the war, which is unhappily kindled

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between Great Britain and France, has with pleasure concurred in every measure which tends to remove the obstacles which impede so salutary a work. It is with this view that his Britannic Majesty will readily send Mr. Stanley to France, in the quality of his minister, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send M. de Bussy to London.

As to what remains, his Majesty does not find by the memorial of the 26th of last month, made in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, that the ground of the proposition therein contained, concerning the reciprocal conquests, is necessarily connected with the periods proposed; quite on the contrary; it is expressly about those very periods that the Most Christian King offers to enter into a negociation. These are the express words: *Nevertheless, as his Majesty may think that the proposed periods of September, July, and May, may be either too near or too distant for the interests of the British crown, or that his Britannic Majesty should think proper that compensation should be made for the whole or part of the reciprocal conquests of the two crowns; upon these two points, the Most Christian King will readily enter into a negociation with his Britannic Majesty, when he shall be acquainted with his intentions.*

It was in consequence of an offer so clearly expressed, and not capable of misconstruction, that his Britannic Majesty resolved to declare, that he was ready on his part to enter, with speed and sincerity, upon the proposed negociation. The King of Great Britain, persevering in his intentions, renews his former declaration; and his Britannic Majesty, to leave no doubt with regard to his inclinations, has forwarded the passport hereto annexed, and will be glad to receive one immediately in return from the Court of France, that, by means of a treaty by word of mouth, as well with respect to the grounds of the dispute, as in relation to the epochs, as also in regard to the compensation which may be agreed on between the two crowns, they may be better able on both sides to clear up doubts, and remove all ambiguities from the negociation, which, in order to be effectual, should be conducted on both sides with sincerity, precision, and expedition.

By the order, and in the name of the King, my master.

W. Pitt.

11. *The Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.*

SIR,

The King, my master, entirely adopts the principle advanced in the letter with which your Excellency honored me on the 28th of last month, as likewise in the memorial thereto annexed, with respect to the necessity of despatching respective ministers, in order to elucidate a number of difficulties, which it is impossible to obviate by letters and memorials. I should nevertheless have been proud of the honor of negociating so important an affair personally with your Excellency. No one has a higher confidence than myself in the integrity and the uncommon talents which your Excellency possesses, and I do presume, that the intentions of the Kings, our masters, being at once determined on peace, the sagacity of your Excellency, joined to my zeal for so precious a blessing, would have smoothed all difficulties; but as our employs necessarily keep us at a distance from a personal negociation, M. de Bussy, who is used to transact business with me, will supply, near your Excellency, the desire I have of concurring in the salutary views of peace, which seem to animate all the belligerent powers. I entreat your Excellency to grant him your favor, and I am certain that he will use his utmost endeavors to deserve it. APPX. No. V. 1761.

Your Excellency will see by my private letter, to which his Majesty's passports for Mr. Stanley are annexed, some precautionary arrangements, which I propose to be settled, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise on the first despatch of the respective ministers.

I have the honor to be, &c.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

12. *The Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.*

May 4, 1761.

I have received the passport of the King of Great Britain, which your Excellency did me the honor to send for M. de Bussy, in the quality of minister of the King, my master; and I send you in return his Majesty's passport for Mr. Stanley, whom his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to appoint, in order to come to this court in the same capacity. I think it my duty on this occasion, Sir, to make observations which seem to me

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necessary to warrant the execution of the commissions of those two ministers.

1. The King thinks, that his Britannic Majesty will judge it convenient that the two ministers should be charged with full power from the respective courts to use upon occasion.

2. That the two ministers should each of them have letters of credence from the Kings, their masters, which they shall deliver to the respective Secretaries of State only; that is to say, in France, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs; and in England, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

3. As his Majesty's intention is, that the English Minister shall enjoy the same privilege in France, as if the two Courts were in the midst of peace, as well with regard to the common intercourse of life, as in maintaining a correspondence with the Court of England and the other Courts of Europe, and lastly, for the despatch of his couriers, and with respect to all the prerogatives and franchises in general incident to his character; his Majesty relies that M. de Bussy will absolutely enjoy the same rights, prerogatives, franchises, and liberties at London; it being understood nevertheless, that when one or the other are about to despatch their couriers to their own or any other Court, they shall be obliged to require a passport from the Secretary of State in that department, which shall not be refused to them, any more than the necessary vessel to transport their couriers from France to England, and from England to France.

4. We desire to know when Mr. Stanley will be ready to leave London in order to repair to Calais, in order to direct M. de Bussy's journey, so that he may repair to Calais at the same time, to be transported to England in the same vessel which brings Mr. Stanley over, if that is agreeable to the Court of Great Britain: if not, the King will keep a vessel in the port of Calais, which shall transport M. de Bussy to England, in which case it will be proper to know what kind of vessel his Britannic Majesty will choose to bring Mr. Stanley to Calais.

I believe your Excellency will find these observations proper, and that you will send me your answer as soon as possible.

13. *Mr. Pitt to the Duke de Choiseul.*

May 11, 1761.

SIR,

The King my master has learned with real satisfaction, by the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write of the 4th of this month, that the sentiments of the most Christian King are conformable to those of his Majesty with respect to the mutual despatch of the Ministers from the two Courts. APPX. No. V. 1761.

I hope your Excellency will be persuaded, that I have a lively sense of the value of those obliging sentiments with which you have been pleased to honor me, and that, conscious as I am of your superior qualities, which have engaged the approbation of every Court, I perceive in its full extent how flattering a circumstance it would have been for me to have had the honor of treating personally with your Excellency upon so interesting an object, and to have shared with you, in point of zeal for the prosperous conduct of the peace, the satisfaction of co-operating more immediately to give the people assurance of the effects of the salutary dispositions of the Kings our masters. I shall, nevertheless, take real pleasure, upon all occasions, to pay the respect due to M. de Bussy's character, as well as to his merit; and I can assure you, Sir, that the happiness which that minister has had, of being used to transact business with your Excellency, is an additional circumstance which cannot but interest me extremely in his behalf.

I am persuaded that Mr. Stanley, who is descended from an illustrious family, and who entertains noble sentiments, will use all his endeavors to merit the honor of your Excellency's esteem, and he wishes to be recommended to your favor.

You will see, Sir, by my private letter, the reflections which have occurred in relation to the precautionary arrangements, which your Excellency proposed to settle, and I hope that no farther impediments will remain on this subject.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. PITT.

14. *Mr. Pitt to the Duke de Choiseul.*

May 11, 1761.

SIR,

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I have received the three pasports, which your Excellency has done me the honor to transmit for Mr. Stanley, in quality of Minister from the King my master, and I in return transmit to you a second, which his Majesty has granted for the vessel which the Most Christian King shall think proper to order for transporting M. de Bussy into England; and I annex the order to the Officers of the Customs, for the free importation of the effects and baggage of the said Minister.

As to what relates, Sir, to the observations which you thought yourself obliged to make, to warrant the execution of the commission of those two Ministers, it is with great satisfaction I assure your Excellency, that the King, in conformity with the sentiments of his Most Christian Majesty, is of opinion,

1. That the two ministers should be charged with ample power from the Kings their masters, to make use of as occasion shall offer.

2. That the two ministers ought, each of them to have letters of credence from their Majesties, which they shall not need to deliver but to the Secretaries of the respective states, in the manner specified by your Excellency.

3. It is the intention of his Majesty, that M. de Bussy should absolutely enjoy in England, the same rights, prerogatives, and franchises, and liberties, as if the two courts were in the midst of peace, and which Mr. Stanley, in pursuance of the intention of his Most Christian Majesty, is to enjoy in France; and as to the despatch of couriers, as well as every thing else which concerns the two ministers, the tenor of the third article of observations relative to this head, shall be observed in every respect.

As to what remains, concerning the time of the departure of their crossing the sea, the King is of opinion, that in order to obviate all difficulties, Mr. Stanley and M. de Bussy may respectively repair to Dover and Calais, to cross the sea each of them in a vessel appertaining to their own nation, which the Kings their masters shall keep ready for that purpose in the two ports aforesaid. It is in confidence of this disposition, that I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency, that the King will despatch Mr. Stanley from London, so that he may reach Dover on the 23d of this month, unless we

learn that a time so near at hand should be inconvenient to the Court of France; and the King my master relies, with full confidence, in M. de Bussy's repairing to Calais on the aforesaid day, that the two ministers may cross the sea without delay, as far as the circumstances of wind and navigation will permit them. I will add to your Excellency, that Mr. Stanley will make use of a packet-boat from Dover, and that M. de Bussy may cross from Calais to England in whatever vessel his Most Christian Majesty shall judge convenient.

I flatter myself that your Excellency will find that these arrangements will equally facilitate the method of the two ministers repairing to their reciprocal destinations without inconvenience.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. PITT.

15. *The Memorial of the British Minister, of the 17th June,* 1761.

Mr. Stanley having represented by his letter of the 8th of June[b], that the Duke de Choiseul, in the course of their conferences, had agreed, *That the epochs must still remain a matter of negociation, but that his Excellency nevertheless was of opinion, that in the present state of that affair, according to the natural and usual course of things, his Most Christian Majesty having already named the first of September, July, and May, his Britannic Majesty should proceed, either by accepting of those days, or by naming others more agreeable to his intentions, which were probably regulated by preparations and designs of which the Court of France was ignorant; that this method appeared to him more likely to expedite the business than the making of reiterated propositions on their part, which could only be grounded on mere conjecture.* It is upon this footing, that, in order to make a return to the above invitation on the part of France, as well as in consequence of his Majesty's having accepted the proposition of the said court of the 26th March last, his Majesty offers to agree with the Most Christian King, that the first day of July, September, and November following, shall respectively be the different periods or epochs, to fix the *uti possidetis* which France has proposed to make the basis of the treaty which may be negociated between the two powers. All other conquests made beyond these periods shall be mutually restored. But as his Majesty is of

[b] See that letter in Chapter xviii. vol. ii.

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opinion that epochs, which have no reference to the actual signature of something obligatory between the two crowns, must necessarily be only a vain illusion, void of use or reality; or that it might even happen that in the end they may prove the source of intricate disputes, and dangerous and captious altercations; and the King having no other view but to concur with the upright intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, in accelerating and confirming the blessings of peace to both nations, his Majesty only offers to agree to the aforesaid epochs, on the two following conditions:

1. That every thing which shall be happily adjusted between the two crowns, in relation to their particular war, shall be made obligatory, final, and conclusive, independent of the negociation at Augsburg, which is to compose and terminate the disputes of Germany, and to re-establish a general peace.

2. That the said definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France shall be concluded, signed and ratified, or preliminary articles to that end, between this and the first of August next.

The restitution of the prizes taken at sea shall be regulated according to the respective terms which are usual for different parts of the globe; which terms are to be computed from the day of the signature of the said definitive treaty, or of preliminary articles of peace, in case a ratification ensues.

The King desiring farther to facilitate the salutary work of peace, as far as reason and justice will admit, declares moreover, that with regard to Belle-Isle, his Majesty will agree, in the said future treaty, to enter into compensation for that important conquest.

With regard to farther compensations for any part of the other conquests made by the crown of Great Britain, his Majesty reserves himself, till he shall learn what are the Most Christian King's desires in that respect, which when we shall know, his Majesty will open himself with perfect sincerity and good faith.

16. *Mr Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, June 28, 1761.

Monsieur de Bussi was originally private secretary to the Duc de Richelieu, who is the nearest relation and dearest friend of the D'Aiguillon family. His son, the Duc de Fronsac, is contracted to their heiress. I have

observed that both the young Duchess and the Dowager speak of him with uncommon regard, and even affection. The Duc de Choiseul found him an old experienced *commis* established in his office, and barely left him there. He was nominated minister at our court, before the expedition against Belle-Isle was even thought of here. This affair has made very near an open rupture between the above mentioned family and his Excellency. They blame him for having left the coasts unguarded by sending so many troops to Germany; and he retaliates, by condemning Monsieur D'Aiguillon's neglect of Monsieur de Sainte Croix. This dispute is become a party matter, though the majority are on the side of power.

Your own inferences upon these facts will be strengthened by knowing some expressions of the Duke about him. When he informed me of the awe with which he was struck by you, he said he was not surprised at it, "*car le pauvre diable trembloit de peur en partant:*" he was so much frightened that he wrote for a passport to return; the Duke shewed me this request in his own hand. Most of the despatch, wherein it was contained, was in cypher: the Duke was with the King at Marli when he received it, and his secretary was absent, therefore he could not read the remainder. His reflexion upon it was, "*apparemment, Sire, qu'il a déplu à Monsieur Pitt, qui l'aura fait sauter par les fenêtres.*" I replied, "*Je n'aurois pas trouvé bon en ce cas de faire la même gambade par manière de represailles.*" He appeared to me to talk of this imaginary leap with great coolness.

The Duke is incessantly tormented by Messrs. Staremberg and Grimaldi, who are in the highest degree provoked at my reception. He argues to me about the justice of France making her separate peace, with as much warmth as if I denied the proposition: he said to me, "*ils voudroit me manger.*" The Duchess of Grammont, whom I seldom meet without hearing her profess the utmost hate and contempt for the Germans, however numerous and however composed the company may be, does wonders in keeping up his spirits. I am not useless in it.

I now live with his Excellency upon terms that may be called familiar. There are very few days, if he is at Paris, when I do not see him and his sister. Our intercourse, which is often clear of all politics, is carried on with the greatest ease. I do them but justice in observing that they are of a very agreeable turn in society. He invited me yesterday to dine with him *à petit couvert;* I excused myself, being engaged at Monsieur Tiepolo's, but called

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upon him as soon as I rose from table. I found him in some emotion; he had lately heard from the German ministers, "that you had repeated to their colleagues, or correspondents at London, discourses which had passed between yourself and Monsieur de Bussi:" to which they added, "that you used to these persons very strong and offensive expressions upon the insincerity of the French Court." I gave him the firmest assurances of your honor and secrecy, as to any overture made you in private confidence between the two crowns; but at the same time I said, "that as Monsieur de Bussi's negociation was communicated to their allies, we had an equal right to inform ours: that you might very easily have mistaken the timidity of that minister for prevarication: that some warmth of expression was very natural on such a supposition; and that besides all this, the reporters of this matter might have misrepresented it, *parceque nous faisions un métier, où l'on a toutes les peines du monde à être honnête homme.*" He shewed me a letter he was writing to Monsieur de Bussi, full of warm expressions upon this occasion. I freely found fault with them, and he in terms of real conviction readily consented to alter them. The minister of Bavaria is said to be one of those you conversed with, but I have not heard that he repeated you here.

I am fully informed of the scope of the arguments held by Monsieur de Staremberg, &c.: they are to this effect, "that you are absolutely against peace; and that I either maliciously deceive the Duc de Choiseul, or am myself very grossly imposed upon; for that your real views are to divide France from her allies, by an insidious negociation, tending only to destroy all confidence between her and them: that as soon as by these means she stands single, you will compel her to accept any terms however hard and disgraceful; that with regard to his Excellency, your sole aim is to engage him in overtures, which you never mean to accept, and which will be afterwards to the ruin of his credit at home, and of his honor with the rest of Europe." It is extremely obvious that the House of Austria dictates these insinuations, to draw the subsidies from hence, without which she cannot possibly continue a war, whereby she hopes either by arms to recover Silesia, or at least by terror; and from the lassitude of an exhausted enemy to obtain very considerable concessions: she therefore incessantly pursues the plan of carrying the negociation both of the British and Prussian wars to Augsburg, where she will be a party in the treaty, which here she cannot be. Thus she expects to make the result of the conferences fruitless, or she hopes at

least, that Great Britain seeing the whole mass of affairs blended there together, and those advantageous terms which the success of his Majesty's arms must finally obtain, open to our private views, will in a great measure abandon the King of Prussia to such a pacification as she in her discretion shall prescribe to him: in the course of which transaction, you may, Sir, with tolerable certainty conclude, that she will not very seriously support the affairs of France whom she detests *as* cordially as France hates her; to say *more* is impossible.

For these reasons, the proposal of March 25th was most grievous to her; so has likewise been the resolution of rendering the treaty between the two crowns conclusive, whatever the event may prove at Augsburg. I believe there is much acrimony in her reproaches. The Duc de Choiseul chuses, I think for this reason, to have the proposal of making the conditions, thus definitive, seem rather to have arisen from us than from him.

I dined at his house to-day, with a very small party: he shewed me his whole letter to Monsieur de Bussi, whence he had effaced what related to your repeating the conversations with that minister, and most other parts to which I had objected. The expression of an *appel au dernier coup de canon* he would not give up, being pleased with it: the alternative mentioned, of making the present negociation only preliminary, to be confirmed by the treaty of Augsburg, or of concluding it independently of all which shall pass there, ought not to alarm you: it is in the letter totally, and in the strongest terms, submitted to the decision of his Britannic Majesty: France would be deeply grieved if we made the first option, and never would have left us that power if she did not know our determined resolution upon the point. My last paragraph explains why this is inserted. The sincerity of Monsieur de Bussi's offices may be tried, by seeing whether he represents this matter as I now state it.

In one of our late conversations the Duc de Choiseul confessed to me, that when he made the offer of the *uti possidetis*, leaving the matter of compensations apparently so as to be either accepted or declined by England, he well knew that this proposition could not be received in its first simple form, because he had stated the British war, wherever carried on, as an object entirely distinct from the Prussian war. In this view the *uti possidetis* made the King of Prussia Landgrave of Hesse, (these were his words,) and master of Wesel, &c. As his Britannic Majesty could not concur in this part, he was extremely sure that a treaty upon compensations

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must follow if England desired peace, and that consequently our reciprocal interests must be negociated *nominatim*. I rejoice exceedingly, Sir, to find by your last that this is agreeable to you: I acted very strictly, in receiving the ideas of these particular compensations, so as not to exceed my instructions, or involve you in any difficulties.

It is much more prudent to have one good plan with the Duc de Choiseul followed frankly and closely, than to amuse him by fallacies. Notwithstanding some peculiarities, I find him a man of very quick, apprehensive parts; he is indeed generally allowed to be such, even by his enemies. I labour incessantly to detach him from Louisburg and the fisheries. I declare myself not fully apprised of the importance of those possessions to either crown, but perfectly informed of that price of affection which the English nation affixes to them, and consequently of the difficulty there is to make peace without them. I argue upon the precarious tenure France will have there, as well as upon the inutility and inconvenience of this establishment, when she has no colonies in those parts to supply it with provisions. I represent how much the duration of the future peace depends upon keeping our affairs and our interests separate. Though he hears me patiently and civilly, I gain but little ground, for he understands this point much better than I wish he did.

I heartily desire a speedy conclusion, for I am apprehensive that if any action favorable to France or her allies happens in Germany, the Austrian attacks will be redoubled, the Dauphin and Dauphiness will give them powerful aid, and the inconstant stream of public opinion will flow back that way.

It is now clear to all who have attention, and the means of information, that the Duc de Choiseul has *subjugué* Madame de Pampadour: she meddles very little with business, and dares give no answers without consulting him: it is not thought, however, that he will aim at her dismission. The King wants a companion, and the Duke believes her to be as little dangerous to his power as any new object he could place about his Majesty.

17. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, June 29, 1761.

I formerly mentioned the civilities I received from the House of Rohan. Nothing then induced me to enlarge upon this subject, but what has since

occurred leads me to inform you that they arose from my connection with the *Chevalier*, who commanded the *Raisonable*. When he was on his parole at Rumsey, I did the honors of my house and of the country in the best manner I was able. From living daily together, there grew between us a friendship, which we have since cemented, and kept up by letters. He staid at Paris as long as his duty would allow, to see me on my arrival. His family have considered the little services I formerly did him rather with that generosity which becomes persons of their high rank, than according to the importance of them. All the Princes de Rohan visited me immediately on my coming hither, and offered me all in their power that might contribute to make my residence here agreeable.

Mesdames de Rohan and de Guimené being obliged to go for some days to Trianon, made a party with me to dine there at Madame de Marsan's, their niece, who married a prince of the House of Lorraine. She is Gouvernante des Enfans de France, who were then at that place. Thus I had an opportunity of seeing the Comptes of Provence and Artois[c], who walked about the park with us in the evening. They are very handsome, agreeable children, bred hardily in the sun and air, and well educated in all respects. I have promised the eldest to press the conclusion of the peace, because his grandpapa has promised to build him a menagerie upon that event.

We anti-Austrians love Madame de Marsan for having humbled the pride of M. de Caunitz. He dined one day at her house, when in rude and very familiar terms he blamed the ceremony of a handsome entertainment which she had exhibited, desiring to be received *sans facon;* to which she replied, "*Je n'en ferais certainement point pour le Compte de Caunitz, mais je voulois faire politesse à l'ambassadeur de l'Empereur mon parent;*" adding to the person who sat next her, "*Il me traite comme une petite bourgeoise.*" This rebuke was very popular, because it came from a person of admirable good sense, known to be totally void of vanity or ostentation.

Madame de Marsan regrets extremely the Duke of Burgundy, whom she represents as a young prince of most promising parts and of the sweetest temper imaginable. I have heard the same account from all hands.

On the 23rd I had the honor of being presented to the rest of the Royal Family. Discourses proper for a circle do not hold any very inte-

[c] Charles X. the present King of France.

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resting place in correspondence of business: I shall therefore only say that my reception was such as his Majesty has the fullest reason to be satisfied with, and extremely gracious to myself personally. No matters relative to my commission were mentioned. I was introduced by the officer assigned for these ceremonies.

The King of France is grown leaner since I last saw his Majesty; his appearance more nervous and robust.

His Royal Highness the Dauphin is likewise rather thinner.

The Duc de Berri does not seem so lively and healthy as the princes his brothers.

As I had on this day no opportunity till after dinner of conversing with the Duchess of Grammont, I went to speak to her. When we retired to take our coffee, she made me set down next her, entirely apart from the other foreign ministers. All the while they stayed, we talked in a low voice, laughing a great deal together, which much puzzled their Excellencies. When they went away, she desired me to stay with her; and we had a full hour of conversation upon all sorts of subjects, not without a mixture of light politics; at the end of which Messrs. de Staremberg and Grimaldi came in much disquieted and chagrined to find us *tête à tête* as they had left us; nor was the notice she took of them such as could give them any comfort: their visit was consequently extremely short. After some time there came in a lady who had business with the Duke, and a gentleman of my acquaintance. M^e^. de Grammont assured the former that her brother would soon wait upon her, if Staremberg had left him alive; for that he had not been satisfied with one long conference in the morning, but had returned to the charge that afternoon. The company diverted themselves very much at the expence of the Germans, nor was the formality of M. Grimaldi forgot. I own I was as indiscreet as the rest.

M^e^. de Grammont, while we were alone, gave me a very kind invitation. I had dined a few days before at the Hôtel de la Tremouille in a very private party. The Duchess after dinner proposed drinking *to the peace,* which I pledged in a bumper. I added, not at all seriously, that I had designed to give the same toast at the Duc de Choiseul's public day, but that looking to the right and left, (i. e. upon Messrs. Staremberg and Grimaldi,) I had doubted whether it might be absolutely agreeable to the whole company. M^e^. de Grammont informed me that this had been repeated, and by whom; telling me at the same time how much I was observed and watched; though,

she added, that every body worth my attention was very well pleased with what I said upon that occasion, and that her brother was so much satisfied with my conversation and behaviour, that he would always interpret favorably whatever came from me. These confessions will not I hope prevent your believing that I am much more reserved than any man I have yet seen in France.

It may not be improper to this digressive letter to give you some account of the foreign ministers employed at this court, as far as my short acquaintance or my informations, which are very good, extend.

M. de Staremberg is not intentionally ill-bred, but too attentive for the ease of conversation, to what he thinks politeness: in a word, he is a German who has travelled in France; his talents are held to be quite of the inferior order. I have heard no objections against his honor or probity; but his precise manner, and his pedantic method of treating affairs make him highly disagreeable to the Duc de Choiseul.

M. Grimaldi is more displeasing and much less a gentleman. I am told from the best authority that his genius goes no farther than a mean *ruse* and cunning of the Newgate style. This circumstance, which is well known here, makes him as little dangerous as his own ill intentions and the power of his court can give you reason to wish. As his parts may be very easily surpassed, so even his most distinguishing characteristic, his pride, will never stand before a man of real spirit, which I have tried in such little instances not worth mentioning.

Both these persons are very unpopular with the French, who, though not void of vanity, are neither haughty nor ceremonious.

The two ambassadors best received here and most acceptable to the minister are Monsieur de Solare and M. Tiepolo: the frank original wit of the former, mixed with a degree of sarcasm, is very entertaining. He flatters, I had almost said, he spares nobody, and he tells this nation what he thinks ridiculous in them with so much pleasantry, that they laugh with him at themselves.

But my affection leads me to M. Tiepolo. I flatter myself that a connection is growing between us that will last for many a day: we reciprocally seek every opportunity to improve it. He is about thirty years of age; nothing can be more amiable or graceful than his person, manner, and behaviour; he is deeply read not only in all polite learning ancient and modern, but in every point of legislature and government; upon all which he speaks, when

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the occasion requires and not till then, with the soundest judgment and most exquisite taste. His natural and acquired advantages have given him neither pride, vanity, affectation, nor pedantry. I desire that M. de Luccato, for whom he has a regard, may be told how sensible I am to M. Tiepolo's friendship; and that you will do me the honor of expressing to him that this circumstance gives you pleasure.

Monsieur de Berkenrode is civil, friendly, obliging, very well disposed to our court, and extremely kind to me.

Monsieur de Czernizen is well known to you. There is a sort of frankness and plainness in his address that succeeds very well here; but he is unfortunate in having succeeded Prince Galitzin, a person of most extraordinary merit.

18. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, July 1, 1761.

It was not the Duc de Choiseul's demeanor, or his words alone, (though these have their weight,) but it was my knowledge of the terms on which this court stands with those of Vienna and Madrid, as well as of many interior matters, of which some go to the highest springs of business; it was I say the combination and comparison of such premises which induced me to think that his desire of secrecy was sincere, nor does the language held to you by M. de Bussi on Tuesday the 23rd, (so essentially necessary to be imparted to me,) contradict my opinion. I began my last letter, as you will see by the date, in the middle of the night; I sat up most part of it for that despatch. I had no other time free from those indispensable cares which attend my present commission. This letter was for these reasons incorrect and short in many respects, but I very distinctly remember that the Duc de Choiseul told me "he should *prepare* M. de Bussi, so as either to impart this transaction to him less abruptly or totally to conceal it, as he thought proper upon hearing how his overture was received at London." I have as little doubt that this *preparation,* (which probably went so far as to say that new methods were thought of,) was the cause of M. de Bussi's discourse to you, as that he was then a stranger to the specific exchanges contained in the note which I sent you. If I did not know it to be needless, I cannot recommend secrecy too much, I am contending with the minister of Vienna, (seconded I believe by Spain,) upon the point whether there shall be a peace

or no, for I am well informed that the success apprehended here has drawn from the first of these courts a measure no less extravagant than a remonstrance upon my being here, and M. de Bussi at London, but this was yesterday rejected with disdain. The above-mentioned ambassador has also said "that his court is determined not to make peace at Augsburg." I am very hardly pressed, being obliged to contend with every weapon and by every influence I can find. In such a state, even an indiscreet expression maliciously construed as a breach of faith, would give my adversary great advantage.

I sent you, Sir, last night a note by Mr. Fox; I beg pardon for its inaccuracies. I was just returned from Marli when I wrote it, and had only a few minutes for that work. I shall now proceed to inform you more clearly and fully how I have obeyed his Majesty's commands.

In the mode of communicating the affairs entrusted to me, I have omitted or softened such expressions as I thought were intended only for my private direction; but I have no where altered or diminished the substance.

After giving the Duc de Choiseul the assurances of secrecy on the part of our ministry authorised by your letter, I explained to him his Majesty's just, wise, and magnanimous sentiments with regard to his allies, as they are there stated. He allowed that they agreed with all my former representations, and did not deny that they were very proper for England, separately considered, to entertain; but he insisted "that the state of the British war in Germany was originally by agreement, and ever must be comprehended in our negociation." He likewise asserted, "that France could, from the possession of those territories, form and carry into execution other views very essential to her interests, for that if the peace between the two crowns was not concluded, there was a power ready to stipulate an exchange of these countries with her for others contiguous to the kingdom, a power able to procure the consent of the empire or to disregard it." Nor do I believe that this is mere boast or imagination, but on the contrary, that the Court of Vienna, more exasperated than ever, has made a fresh proposal of *dedomagemens* in Flanders, for the consequences which may attend the rupture of a separate treaty with us; but whether such an arrangement could have any solidity, or whether it would tend merely to embroil Europe farther in war, must be submitted. Thus far is certain, that till now he has not spoke so assuredly upon this matter. I have been diligent in urging how little Austria would regard her engagements with France, if the vicissitude of human affairs

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gave her, notwithstanding his Majesty's royal constancy and fidelity, an opening for her own personal interests in Silesia.

I gave the fullest force to my instructions as to the limits of Canada and Acadia. My former letter assured you that no difficulty would occur with regard to the boundary towards Louisiana. It is agreed that Canada, as that province is determined by their geographers and historians, as well as by the respective civil and military departments, shall be ceded undismembered and entire to Great Britain. The Duc himself was the first to say, that the country uninhabited or possessed by savages was to remain in *statu quo*, for those reasons which you have assigned.

We had a very obstinate struggle for Cape Breton qualified as in his paper. I thought more than once we should have broke upon this point; at last he proposed "that England should name at her own choice, a port totally defenceless, at all times in her power, without military of any kind, having only a civil judge to decide such disputes as might happen;" in short "that this spot should be merely meaned to give shelter, or be an *abri* to her fishermen's barks, and that these should not trespass upon or interfere with our coasts; which transgressions, (he said,) as well as all other contraventions, it would by the nature of this establishment ever be in our power to restrain." Thus far he will go, and I think he will throw himself into the arms of Austria, rather than proceed farther, unless some new plan should be proposed to make amends for the entire loss of the fishery, as to which he very much and perhaps not in the last place considers appearances as they may affect his own credit and interest at home.

His Excellency was much less attached to the privileges granted on Newfoundland by the 18th article of the Treaty of Utrecht, after I had mentioned the other point therein contained, and insisted upon, Sir, by you; but he embraced very eagerly your idea *that this treaty subsists no longer*. Our conference was very incomplete on this head, for in the little I said I treated this matter as not ripe for immediate consideration though not refused.

I did not fail clearly to state my instructions with regard to Dunkirk, although he had declined making the above-mentioned treaty the basis of a future negociation. He said, "that according to his opinion, every sovereign should be master at home, that he had rather give up to us the possession of that town than be liable to the visits of English commissaries, as well as to perpetual complaints and embroilments, whenever a sluice was mended or a dyke repaired, that nature and the course of years had made that harbour

neither formidable to us, nor useful to them, since it was very near choaked up with sands, which notwithstanding a very great expence, they had not been able to clear away, and which they now despaired of overcoming." I agreed with him, "that all rights of sovereignty were to be considered as independent;" but asserted, "that it had been usual for princes, by their own will and consent, to enter into such compacts as this in question, as well as to remove and raze fortifications on their territories, when the other conditions of agreement with their neighbours made these measures eligible."

I stated some instances of this sort which at the time occurred to me, and I ended by saying, "that I did not see how the function of royalty was more impaired by attending to stipulations thus taken, than by any other act of government." He rejoined, "that if he had found the treaty of Utrecht subsisting, he would have religiously observed it; but as he would have consented to most alternatives, rather than to those terms, so he was determined not to renew them." He added, "that if I doubted of the alteration time and nature had made at Dunkirk, he would give me an order to view and sound that harbour." I hinted somewhat of this in former intelligence conveyed to you before this came to be mentioned. I believe it to be very true, that the waters in this and in other parts of the German Ocean are become much shoaler, and that their depth decreases. I hope, in mentioning this fact, I shall not be construed to give any opinion upon the greater or less importance of an article which may probably be connected with other matters of which I am and ought to be totally ignorant.

The Duc de Choiseul agreed to the article relating to the neutral islands, seeming in the alternative to prefer an equal division of them.

As to the evacuation of Hesse, Wesel, &c. if the treaty is in other respects agreed, and the terms of Great Britain appear finally preferable to those of Austria, I will presume to assure you, that the minister, the generals, and every individual, will be as glad to consent to it as you can wish.

The Duke does not know whether Bencoolen and the settlements on Sumatra are evacuated; but he appeared to me to make very little difficulty on this as well as on other points in the East Indies. My crude perceptions lead me to conclude, that the field for advantageous negociation lies most open in this quarter of the world, whether that matter be separately treated, or whether cessions in these parts be agitated as equivalents for other points in dispute.

Upon my stating the exchange of Belle-Isle for Minorca, together with

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those arguments upon which you offer it as such, he said, "that island lay convenient to their coasts and for their trade; that if any circumstances of situation or economy rendered the restitution of it less eligible for us than a new acquisition, his only scruple in treating for it would be the apprehension of giving offence, because this island had belonged to Great Britain." He hinted "that Ponticheri and other distant settlements might perhaps suit us better." I replied, "that possibly this first place was already ours." He rejoined, "that he was well persuaded of the contrary." The restitution of Minorca is agreed to.

As I have made it a constant rule to adhere literally to my instructions, I never mention any matters to the Duc de Choiseul from my own mere motion; but I content myself with communicating to him what I am ordered, and with receiving his proposals *ad referendum*. This restriction prevented my asking him any question about Senegal, though he gave me the fairest opportunity by saying, "*vous aurez autre chose dans ces qualités.*" I have always understood that the possessions not mentioned on his little leaf, stand upon the first terms of the *uti possidetis*. When, according to my fresh directions, I named Senegal, he assured me that he had no intentions to reclaim it by negociation.

Our conference with relation to Goree was warmer: he said, "*il y avoit de la mauvaise volonté dans cette demande.*" I begged "that those expressions might be laid aside, because an inclination for peace was as probably and as fairly supposed on our part as on theirs." He very civilly said, "that he meaned no more by those words than to intimate the difference which lay, as he conceived, between our retaining Cape Breton, and our insisting upon Goree; that we should in the first case catch and sell those fish, with which France would otherwise trade; but that Senegal and our other African settlements gave us every advantage that we could draw from Goree; that consequently our holding that island would deprive them of a benefit, and be no gain to us, which, according to all general notions, was not the nature of a fair and amicable treaty; that not only Guadaloupe, if restored, but all their other sugar-islands, would become useless, if they had no place where they could buy slaves, they actually possessing only one small castle, totally insufficient for that purpose." I urged, "that Goree was entirely necessary to the safe enjoyment of Senegal, which we so firmly believed in England, that this first conquest had been considered as very insecure till it was strengthened by the latter." He alleged, "that our

naval superiority was a very sufficient defence." I replied, "that though a maritime force appeared to be more permanently established in Great Britain than it had ever been elsewhere, his Majesty could not relinquish his other means of protecting his subjects."

He concluded by saying, "that they only desired an opportunity of purchasing slaves," and gave me fair room to suppose, that if an expedient of this sort was furnished them, the reddition of Goree would not be insisted upon; or, in short, that this might take the same turn as the demand of Cape Breton.

It is certain that the Duc de Choiseul's paper is, in shape and size, more like a *billet doux* to a lady, (a correspondence in which he is much versed,) than the memorial for a peace between two great nations: this he readily allows. No very extensive detail was however then required, to state a proposal referring merely to *particular* exchanges and compensations, supposing the other points left upon the *uti possidetis*. I perceive that a distinct nomination of those objects, upon the treaty will turn, is preferred; I am therefore still more satisfied in having implicitly obeyed my orders, and left the whole matter at large. I do not believe, from the conversation that has hitherto passed, that any new pretensions will be set up in consequence of the more exact definitions now required; and I conceive, that if, in some points, epochas referring to future days were still adopted, the negociation would be shortened.

The Duc de Choiseul thinks that the comparison of one part of the state in which this war between the two crowns now stands against another, and the balancing particular objects reciprocally, as well as the sentiments of the belligerent powers with regard to them, (which, he observes, they themselves only know;) for instance, what is the value of Belle Isle or Minorca to either? how far is Hesse dear to us, or useful to them? is rather a source of altercation, than the way to a conclusion; because, as no specific article will readily on both sides be allowed equal to another, or in fact separately exchanged as such, it is easier to treat these matters *en bloc*. This plan, (advantageous to those who have the least in value to offer,) obliges me to keep a steady eye upon my instructions.

I ought not to omit what I have already hinted in my note delivered by Mr. Fox; that the Duc de Choiseul, not having seen the King upon this conference, his sentiments, where they exceed the little leaf, are merely his own; and his words do not bind him as a minister. He told me that if these

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terms were not accepted by England, he would sign no farther concessions, and that if a disgraceful peace was concluded, it should pass through some other hand, as he would retire from foreign affairs to the single department of war. Though I do not believe this will be the case, I thought it no more than due and decent, to express the regret I should have, if public affairs in which I was concerned personally affected his situation, as well as in my not continuing to transact business with a minister who had behaved to me with such constant politeness and affability.

I have already mentioned my presentation: it was exactly like that of all other foreigners who have no public commission nor ambassadors resident from their courts. As you do not instruct me to desire audience, I barely repeat this. The Duc de Choiseul has however said to me, "that I may see the King *in private* when and as often as I please if it is desired by me, or if I have any business which I choose to transact with his Majesty in person." This was not proposed as a point of ceremonial, though I suppose it would induce the same by way of *etiquette* to Monsieur de Bussi: but when the court comes to Versailles, I will go there for some days in order to put myself in the way of his Majesty, who has done me the honor to express himself very graciously about me.

Monsieur Grimaldi is more quiet than formerly about the prizes, which affair, I hear, is in some degree settled; but he is very turbulent with regard to that of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, and endeavours by all offers and protestations, to make France a party to this dispute: he has likewise some other point in view which I have not yet penetrated. The connexion between the two Crowns is very intimate, but I am myself persuaded, (how extraordinary however this opinion may appear,) that France has rather cooled than inflamed the quarrel, which I believe she wishes extinguished as soon as her own war is ended. This minister, being an *ambassadeur de famille*, has resided at Marli ever since my arrival, which prevents my being more acquainted with him. Perhaps my journey to Versailles may produce some intimacy, though he is of a reserved character, and though I shall on all occasions observe the rules of prudence and discretion in my advances to his Excellency.

You will, Sir, forgive my taking notice that where the restitution of Guadaloupe is mentioned, you speak hypothetically, "*If the King consents, &c., it can only be in consideration of, &c.*" I translated this *verbatim* to the Duc de Choiseul; from the context he understands it *positively*, espe-

cially as in the sixth article the compensation attributed to that if is positive. He has proceeded in his offers upon this supposition. As I devoutly adhere to my instructions, I should be glad if in your better judgment there be no objection to receive them express and absolute, or to have some light given me why they are not direct, that I may commit no errors and best suit my own discourse to the several matters in question.

The equivalent that France might hope to gain for Hesse, very naturally introduced the declaration I was commanded to make with regard to Nieuport and Ostend, in executing of which part of my instructions, I did justice to his Majesty's general zeal for the liberties of Europe. I have received no explanation on this head. Born and educated a whig, it is the desire of my heart that France should at no rate retain them, but the real state of the war makes it necessary for me to receive his Majesty's very definite orders not only what declaration I am to make, but likewise upon what system and by what methods I am to proceed in preventing that event.

France and Austria are independent powers, the latter betraying all who have formerly supported her, has made an alliance by which she cedes two towns which however she may have preserved them, or what construction soever we may put on her right, are actually a part of her territory. We do not demand them for ourselves, or for any ally. France is in possession: Austria neither asks nor will resume them. We have declared that as auxiliaries we will assist the King of Prussia. France has declared she as an ally will succour the Empress Queen; she has terms of advantage stipulated; will she give up these, and prefer to assist her *gratis?* How is this to be negociated without blending the British and Prussian wars, agreed to be kept separate? In whose hands are these towns to be deposited during that interval, which will pass between the conclusion of our peace, and the termination of the King of Prussia's war.

How are they to be forced back into those of the Empress Queen?

Can she not in full peace at any time surrender them? How can this be avoided but by a new war? For what security is there in bare words given upon any peace, when the possession of the object in view may pass at will from one hostile hand to another?

The only solution I have heard is the common but imperfect one, viz. that the treaty is conditional, and that if Silesia is preserved to the King of Prussia, Nieuport and Ostend must be restored to the Empress Queen. I add that if the separate peace between the two crowns be concluded; France

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and Austria will quarrel, Silesia will be saved. If this treaty on the contrary should fail, it will be a great misfortune to Europe that it was ever proposed, since I am convinced that the fear of it has obliged Austria to propose very great concessions in the Netherlands, which she would not otherwise have offered, and that France will turn herself entirely to the acquisition of Flanders and to exchanges of what she acquires on the continent, if unfortunately for us, she succeeded there.

I acknowledge therefore, Sir, the wisdom and solidity of your apprehensions, and I beg leave to add, that as far as sentiments of reconciliation can go in matters so important, those of our old foes the French are amicable, I had almost said fraternal, compared to the malicious and implacable hatred of the Austrians. I do not advance this at hazard, for I have the best reasons to think they will hesitate on no step which will distress us, however prejudicial it may finally prove to themselves.

P.S. *July 5th*, 1761.—Yesterday I dined with the Duc de Choiseul at Versailles: we did not sit down to table till an hour and half after the usual time; for he was at council, considering the heads of a memorial which you will soon receive. I believe they occasioned some debate.

I read over to the Duke, according to custom, the passages in this letter which refer to our last conversation. He said they were very faithfully related, and would not have any thing altered, though I offered it in case I had mistaken him. I find, however, that the opinion settled in council is, that instead of our naming a port in *the first instance* for their fishery, they will propose to us several alternatives, of which we may choose. Some of these will perhaps be qualified with cessions of settlements still in their possession:—such is their desire of preserving some share in this branch of trade, which I believe is so absolutely necessary to the kingdom, that they would hardly relinquish it totally if an army was in the heart of their country. It may upon this not be improper to consider what passed relative thereto at Gertrudenberg and at Utrecht. I am, however, of opinion that they will accept any modifications or restrictions that can make this establishment in other respects no object of jealousy to us; and that they will consent to such inspections and regulations as we shall fix to secure their adherence to the terms of the treaty, allowing them their own laws and a civil magistrate; nor do I think they will refuse any tolerable port named by us.

Thus far and no farther I humbly conceive this matter to be negociable;

nor do I believe it will become more so even after still greater successes to his Majesty's arms.

The island of Goree did belong to the East India Company, for which reason the extract of the memorial relating to it is now laid before a few principal persons of that society. I do not absolutely despair of getting it for nothing if other points can be agreed; at least I will struggle hard for it.

They remain inflexible with regard to Dunkirk, but I believe they would agree to any visit or examination on our part to convince us that the facts advanced with regard to this harbor are true.

The Duke has been induced to come out into daylight, so far as you now see him, upon finding that the sentiments of the two crowns were not opposite as to those two great points of Canada and Guadaloupe. The council of France being now informed, I conclude that my engagements no longer preclude any persons of equal rank in his Majesty's business: till yesterday I have not said any thing to Mr. Sloane, whose dexterity, diligence, and talents, will, I hope, some day make him a very useful subject.

As you see, Sir, that the material points insisted upon are not agreed, I did not enter into lesser affairs, of which the first opening is left to me; but I mentioned to his Excellency that part of your letter wherein I am commanded to consult the true interests of my country, without such an inflexibility as to smaller objects as may prevent the certain and speedy conclusion of a peace, in case his Majesty's principal conditions should be complied with; intimating at the same time, that therein nothing would be asked by us, or yielded to them, but what was reasonable, fair, and equal to both parties. He received with satisfaction the pacific and benevolent ideas thus imparted to him. My reason for this degree of communication was to lead him to the mention of future epochas, that I might in this respect previously know your orders. I find that they appear to him the most convenient method of determining what is not otherwise previously settled. He complained that our privateers had put to sea after the signing of the last preliminaries, in order to take fresh prizes; which he says is not fair play.

The Duc de Choiseul, after earnestly assuring me how much he preferred any practicable peace, clearly and formally told me what I knew before, viz. that propositions have been opened to France, in case she chooses to continue the war. He likewise hinted "that they should have new allies," meaning Spain. Your comprehensive information and superior discernment must decide how far this is to be credited: my best intelligence leads me to

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think it very true. I know that Monsieur Grimaldi's ill offices towards defeating the present treaty, though less open than Monsieur de Staremberg's, have been much more ungenerous and malicious. I presume he has acted therein by authority, on account of the disputes existing between his court and ours.

I forgot to mention above that the Duc de Choiseul argues that the demolition of Dunkirk is a new condition which cannot be insisted upon according to the terms of the *uti possidetis* already agreed on both sides; the treaty of Utrecht having, by your own avowal, ceased at the war. He likewise denies that it can be asked under any idea of exchange and compensation. As he did not mention this till yesterday, I conclude that it came from some other of the council.

There dined with us yesterday, besides the Duke, his sister and another relation, only Monsieur de St. Croix, who appears to me a most sensible, worthy, and agreeable man. He does the highest justice to the behaviour of our troops, as well as to the polite and generous treatment he met with, not only in the capitulation, but in every other transaction from Mr. Hodgson and our officers. The King has made him Maréchal de Camp, upon which preferment I cordially congratulated him, that we had an equal reciprocal esteem for his humanity and valor.

The Duc de Choiseul has often told me, "que la pêche est sa folie," (Anglicé, his hobby-horse.) Yesterday, on parting, he said, "Donnez nous de la pêche, et sauvez nous le point d'honneur pour Dunkerque, car ce n'est que cela la paix est faite."

If, in the present state of affairs, my personal presence is thought necessary to explain matters, better than my despatches, I shall readily ask here to come over for ten days. I neither have grudged nor shall spare my fatigue in his Majesty's business, and the ordinary course of it, during this interval, may be very safely trusted to Mr. Sloane.

19. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, July 14, 1761.

His excellency received on Sunday the 12th, under cover to Mons. de Czernizen, a letter from M. de Bussi, of which he communicated to me some passages; the most remarkable of these is so obscurely worded, that I do

not comprehend it. He hints at a *mesentendu*, with regard to that part of my instructions which relates to the privilege of drying fish upon the coast of Newfoundland. No misunderstanding upon this point can possibly have arisen from me, because I literally translated to the duke from your letter which I had in my hand, what you were pleased to order me to impart to him on that occasion. I recollect that your mention of the demolition of Dunkirk carried us almost immediately away from this topic: however, the sense which he gave to your words was, that you neither complied with nor absolutely rejected his demand, until the terms were stated by France, upon which she chose to purchase this valuable privilege, and more particularly until she submitted to the above-mentioned stipulation. I believed him, indeed, to be so disgusted with the condition positively annexed, in case this demand should ever eventually take place, that I was surprised to find the request inserted in the rough draft of his memorial. I read over to him again what you had instructed me to deliver. If in this predicament the duke, either because he intended to yield such an equivalent as he thought you would accept, or because he hoped to convince you, that the harbour of Dunkirk is no longer formidable, or from both these motives, or indeed for any other reason, chose to continue his conference; I am bound to receive, *ad referendum*, whatever he communicates to me, until such time as you authorise me to break off the negociation: I have done no more.

I have constantly observed the same conduct in our conversations about Cape Breton. I informed him, in the first place, most fully of your sentiments, when he mentioned *seriatim* various islands and promontories, of one of which France would desire the restitution as an *abri* to her fishermen. I told him in the most discouraging and coldest tone, "*that it was my duty to transmit whatever he directed;*" nor did I, either as a minister or as a private man, give the least assent to his other idea, which was that of leaving to His Britannic Majesty the choice of such a port; I merely answered, "*that his own reason must direct him, whether in the case of a settlement* thus supposed by him, *their own option or our's was the most proper offer for him to propose to us.*"

I have certainly much studied and laboured in order to be able to submit to you the lowest terms upon which France would sign a treaty of peace; but I have in no instance either deviated from the letter, or relaxed the spirit of my instructions. I resolved on this conduct for two reasons most essential to me; first, because I would not compromise the reputation of my country,

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by her retracting what I had rashly or insidiously proposed; secondly, because I would not impair my own honour, by having ever given the Duc de Choiseul room to assert, at home or abroad, that I had drawn him, by false hopes, into confidences which I had abused.

Confining myself strictly within these bounds, I have consulted my own disposition in making every return of respect and complaisance to the duke's affability. I have likewise drawn from his public approbation of me, many helps to direct my conduct, without which I should have committed many errors.

As my letter in cypher bears so late a date, I have little to add. I have observed, that arguments resisted at the time, sometimes gain weight upon reflection. The Duc de Choiseul has struck out of the memorial his proposal for the guarantee of Spain, which I had so warmly combated. I see no reason to alter my opinion about the part France will finally act in these affairs. She who acquiesces in the loss of Canada, will not soon enter into a war for the logwood of Honduras. I this day again represented in the strongest terms to his excellency, the inutility, as well as the danger, of trusting to any effects which apprehensions of Spain would operate upon our ministry. Before I had quite ended, I opened the door to go away: he told me, "that the Spanish ambassador was in the next room, and would overhear me;" to which I replied, "that if he pleased to call him in, I would repeat, in his presence, every word I had said."

The enclosed memorial is neither the *ultimatum* of France, nor any answer to your verbal propositions; it will admit of many alternatives and changes. M. de Bussi's discourses to you, and the Duc de Choiseul's farther explanations to me, will prove the best commentaries upon it; and in consequence of these, his Majesty must decide how far and how long this treaty will deserve his royal attention.

In so important a case, I should be guilty of the highest presumption, if I conveyed to you my own sentiments; but I should be guilty of still worse a breach of duty if I omitted to inform you of those which I believe are entertained at this court. I could never forgive myself if, through my want of zeal or through my timidity, my country missed the least advantage which she could have attained.

I am convinced that France seriously desires a peace with Great Britain; and that from the necessity of her affairs, she prefers this measure to all farther attempts upon the Continent, notwithstanding the offers of Austria,

and the suggestions of Spain; which two powers, I believe, are incessantly tempting and pressing her to continue the war. She acquiesces in the loss of Canada entire,—in that of Goree or Senegal; but as I hope of both, perhaps upon some castle being granted her for the Negro trade, possibly without this condition: she will accept of almost any unfortified port subject to the residence of an English commissary, and of any tolerable conditions that can be prescribed to her, by which her fishery shall be prevented from interfering with ours; she will resign her pretensions to Nieuport and Ostend; she will be very easily treated with in the East Indies, and will even cede advantages to us in those parts; she will withdraw her troops as fast as she possibly can out of Westphalia; she will order her ministers to consult and cooperate with ours at Augsburg for the general peace of Germany; she will, if these terms are in the first place agreed to, be contented with employing her good offices for Spain.

I am as firmly persuaded, that she will strengthen her present alliances upon the continent, and form new connections there, upon proposals of acquisitions to her in the Netherlands, *if she is totally refused any share whatever in the American fisheries;* and I very much doubt that she will hardly consent to *the demolition of Dunkirk.* Such, in my poor opinion, will be the state of affairs between the two nations, and such the disposition of France when his Majesty shall make the final determination between peace and war.

20. *The following Extract from a Letter of Mr. Pitt's to Mr. Stanley, dated July* 20, 1761, *relates principally to the very important surrender of Pondicherry to the English.*

This success, of the highest importance at all times, is still more particularly interesting from the circumstances of its arrival in a moment so critical.

It is with extreme regret that I mix with this joyful news an account of the disaster on the coast of Coromandel by some of Admiral Stevens's ships; but at the same time, you will have the satisfaction to see how respectable a squadron was in a very few days rendered fit for service by the resources of mind, and the vigour which the admiral exerted under this misfortune; and that the blockade of Pondicherry was effectually maintained.

I have at present no new orders from the king to transmit to you with

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regard to the negociation between the two courts. I will only acquaint you, that though M. de Bussi, the day after Monot arrived, which was on the 7th instant, came to me to tell me that his letters by our messenger apprized him that he was to receive shortly, (*incessament,*) a memorial from his court, containing propositions in form for a definitive peace between the two crowns, and that he assured me at parting that he made no doubt of receiving the same within the course of that week. That minister has ever since observed a perfect silence on this matter, nor have I seen him from that time to this. In this unexpected and strange state of things, which cannot continue, his Majesty has been pleased to order a meeting of his servants to-morrow, and it is probable that I shall soon have the King's commands to write to you again. In the mean time, it is unnecessary to excite your zeal for the King's service to be attentive to the impressions which this great blow in India may make in France.

21. *The French Memorial of Propositions, 13th July,* 1761.

The negociations of peace entered upon between France and England, have proved that the Sovereigns sincerely wish to re-establish that union and amity, so agreeable to humanity, between the two crowns; and the resolution in which the King concurs, in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty, to terminate by a precise and durable treaty, the differences which have occasioned the present war, has determined his Majesty, always maintaining the spirit and letter of the declaration of the 26th March last, in relation to the means of procuring peace, to explain more precisely by this memorial, the conditions, which appear to him most proper to accomplish the desirable end which influences him as well as the King of England.

But the King declares at the same time, that he entrusts this proposition with the King of Great Britain, that if it should not be accepted by his Britannic Majesty, or should not serve as a basis for the negociation of the future peace, the Court of London shall in no circumstances take advantage of it, the said proposition made in confidence to the King of Great Britain having no other object than the accelerating of a negociation in which the two crowns are so much interested.

The *uti possidetis* expressed in the declaration of the 26th March, is adopted on both sides; it would be difficult for either party to reject it; for though it was not expressed, it is properly according to what they possess

only either lawfully or by conquest, that the parties can negociate together concerning peace, and the compensations requisite for that purpose.

The periods of the *Statu Quo*, which form the second essential article in the declaration of the 26th March, and which have remained in negociation between the two Courts, have not yet been settled.

The Court of France has proposed the epochs of May, July, and September; that of England has proposed the epochs of July, September, and November. That question will be determined without farther negociation, if the scheme of the following treaty is adopted by the Court of London, for then all the epochs will be valid, as that of the peace will unite the sentiments and opinions of the two Kings.

It is the compensations therefore which will determine the epochs and the peace, and it is to settle them that his Majesty proposes the following articles to the King of Great Britain.

ARTICLE I. The King cedes and guarantees Canada to the King of England, such as it has been and in right ought to be possessed by France, without restriction, and without the liberty of returning upon any pretence whatever against this cession and guarantee, and without interrupting the crown of England in the entire possession of Canada.

ART. II. The King in making over his full right of sovereignty over Canada to the King of England, annexes four conditions to the cession. First, that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained there, and that the King of England will give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may, as heretofore, make public profession of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church.

Secondly, That the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the King in Canada, may retire into the French colonies with all possible freedom and security; that they may be allowed to sell their effects, and to transport their property as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, on any pretence whatever, (except for debt;) and the English government shall engage to procure them the means of transportation at as little expense as possible.

Thirdly, That the limits of Canada, with regard to Louisiana, shall be clearly and firmly established, as well as those of Louisiana and Virginia, in such manner, that after the execution of peace, there may be no more difficulties between the two nations, with respect to Canada, or the other possessions of England.

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[M. Bussi has a memorial on the subject of the limits of Louisiana, which gives him power to come to a final treaty on that article with the ministry of his Britannic Majesty.]

Fourthly, That the liberty of fishing, and of drying their cod-fish on the banks of Newfoundland, may be confirmed to the French as heretofore: and as this confirmation would be illusory, if the French vessels had not a shelter in those parts appertaining to their nation, the King of Great Britain, in consideration of the guarantee of his new conquests, shall restore Isle Royal, or Cape Breton, to be enjoyed by France in entire sovereignty. It is agreed, to fix a value on this restitution, that France shall not, under any denomination whatever, erect any fortifications on the island, and shall not continue herself to maintain civil establishment there, and the port for the convenience of the fishing vessels landing there.

ART. III. France shall restore to England the Island of Minorca, and Fort St. Philip, in the same condition it was in when conquered by the King's forces, together with the artillery belonging to England, which was in the fort at the time of taking the island.

ART. IV. In consideration of this restitution, England, in her turn, shall restore to France the Island of Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and those two islands shall be ceded in the same condition they were in at the time they were conquered by the arms of England.

ART. V. The islands called neuter are, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago. The two first are occupied by the Carribees, under the protection of France, according to the treaty of 1660: they shall remain in the condition they have been since that treaty.

The Crown of England has not yet shewn any title which gives them a right over the two last; nevertheless, it shall be a matter of negociation between the two crowns, either that the four islands shall remain absolutely neuter, or that the two possessed by the Carribees alone shall be declared neuter; and that England shall enter into possession, as sovereign, over the island of Tobago, in the same manner as France over that of St. Lucia, saving, at all times, the right of a third person, with whom the two Crowns will explain themselves, if such a right exists.

ART. VI. It would be advantageous for the companies of the two nations in the East-Indies to abstain for ever from all military views and conquests, to restrain themselves, and mutually to assist each other in the business of commerce, which more properly belongs to them. The precise

situation in which the two nations stand is not known to France; wherefore the King, in order to confine himself in that respect to the object most useful both for the present and hereafter to the two companies, proposes to the King of England the treaty concluded between Sieurs Godeheu and Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of the peace of Asia.

ART. VII. The colonies of South America in possession of the French, necessarily require negroes to cultivate them; the French settlements of Senegal and Goree supplied the wants of the French colonies in this respect. England, in keeping those settlements, would prejudice France, without procuring any positive advantages for herself; and the union which the two Sovereigns so sincerely wish to establish between the two Crowns, leaves no room to suppose that the court of London has any such intentions of mischief. Nevertheless, France, with a view to the blessings of peace, offers England the choice of the possessions of Senegal or Goree, meaning that one or the other possession shall be restored and guaranteed to the King by his Britannic Majesty.

ART. VIII. The island of Belle-Isle and the fortress conquered by the arms of England shall be restored to France, together with the artillery therein at the time of conquest.

ART. IX. In consideration of the eighth article to be granted by England, the King will cause his forces in Germany to evacuate the Landgrave of Hesse, the county of Hanau, as well as the town, which shall not be occupied by the troops of either power, leaving the navigation of the Maine free, and those parts of the Electorate of Hanover occupied by the French troops; and these evacuations shall be preceded by a suspension of arms between the two Crowns, which suspension of arms shall take place from the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or the article of the definitive treaty, not only in Germany, but in all parts of the world where France and England are at war.

ART. X. As the King is under an engagement with the Empress Queen to stipulate nothing in his treaty of peace with England which may be disadvantageous to her Imperial Majesty; and as it was foreseen that, in case of a suspension between the French and British forces, the German troops in the pay of England might join those of the King of Prussia against the Austrian armies, the King, faithful to his engagements with his allies, and very far from intending to settle any thing to her prejudice, proposes to the King of England, that it may be agreed between them, that his Britannic

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Majesty will undertake that no part of the forces which compose Prince Ferdinand's army shall join his Prussian Majesty, or act offensively against the Empress Queen or her allies; and in like manner, no French forces, under any pretence, shall join the Imperial army, or serve against the allies of Great Britain. To ascertain these positions, it shall be farther concluded, that after these evacuations, the army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Marshal Broglio, shall retire towards the Maine, the Necker, and the Rhine, occupying Franckfort; and that of the Lower Rhine, commanded by Marshal Soubise, shall, on the other side, retire towards the Rhine, occupying Wesel and Guelders.

The countries belonging to the King of Prussia, on the Lower Rhine, have been conquered, and are actually governed in the name of the Empress Queen; the King would not undertake to evacuate them without the consent of her Imperial Majesty, and before the success of the negociations at the congress at Augsburg, which is to restore peace between the Empress and the King of Prussia; but as it would be disadvantageous to the two Crowns to maintain a considerable body of national forces in Germany, which, in time of peace, would remain in absolute inactivity, and, by the conventions of the treaty, would become useless in every respect to the allies of France and England, the King undertakes that, from the time that his Britannic Majesty do recal the English whom he has sent to his army in Germany, he will cause double the number of French forces in his Majesty's army on the Upper and Lower Rhine to return to France, so that no French troops shall continue in those parts, but in proportion to those which the King of England shall keep in pay.

ART. XI. If, before the execution of the treaty, one of the two powers should make any conquests, in whatever part of the world it be, they shall be restored without hesitation, and without requiring any recompence.

ART. XII. The captures made at sea by England, before the declaration of the war are, objects of legal restitution, and which the King will willingly submit to the justice of the King of England and the English tribunals; in fact, subjects who, under the faith of treaties, the law of nations, and in time of peace, follow their trade and navigation, cannot without justice become sufferers by the misunderstandings subsisting in the cabinets of the two courts, before they have any intimation of it. Declarations of war are established by the law of nations for no other purpose but to make public to the people the contests between their sovereigns, and to give them warning

that their persons and fortunes are in danger of an enemy. Unless such declaration is agreed upon, there can be no public security; every individual would be in danger or in fear every moment that he stepped beyond the limits of his own country. If these principles are incontestible, nothing remains but to examine the date of the declaration of war between the two Crowns, and the date of the captures; all that has been taken prior to the declaration cannot be adjudged lawful prize, without overthrowing the most salutary laws; it will be in vain to allege that the French began hostilities, and that the captures were taken by way of reprisal. What connection can there be between supposed hostilities offered at Fort Duquesne, and the capture of trading vessels in the south part of America? These hostilities are the motives for the declaration of war; but the effects of that declaration is made public, and it would be unjust to make individuals sustain a loss, who are totally ignorant of the facts and circumstances of a latent hostility in a corner of the world which has occasioned a general war between the two nations.

This argument is deemed unanswerable in France; and it is on this footing that the King challenges the right of nations, to the end that some expedient may be agreed upon in the future treaty as a recompence for the captures made upon his subjects previous to the declaration of war, without entering into any discussion about reprisals, which should be forgotten when the two courts draw near to an agreement. France consults nothing but the interest of the individuals who have been sufferers, and does not pretend to include the King's ships taken before the declaration in the settlement of the captures, as the loss of King's ships may be considered as a consequence of the motives of the war.

Art. XIII. Though, during the course of the present war, the article of former treaties which guarantee the succession to the throne of Great Britain, according to the present establishment, has not been infringed, nevertheless the King is well disposed to comprise that guarantee in the future treaty, if the King of England desires it.

Art. XIV. The prisoners made on each side, as well by sea as land, shall be set at liberty, and sent home without ransom, immediately on the ratification of the peace.

His Britannic Majesty will readily perceive, that these articles are not drawn in the form of a treaty; they are only offered to him as articles explained in their full extent, which elucidate the sentiments of France,

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and put the two Crowns in a condition to treat upon certain and distinct objects.

22. *The private Memorial of France, of 15th July, 1761, relating to Spain.*

As it is essential, and agreeable to the desire of France and England, that the projected Treaty of Peace should serve as a basis for a solid reconciliation between the two Crowns, which may not be liable to be interrupted by the interests of a third power, and the engagements which either one or the other may have entered into previous to their reconciliation, he proposes that the King of Spain shall be invited to guarantee the future treaty of peace between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain. This guarantee will obviate all present and future inconveniences with regard to the solidity of the peace.

The King will not disguise from his Majesty, that the differences of Spain with England fill him with apprehensions, and give him room to fear, that, if they are not adjusted, they will occasion a fresh war with Europe and America. The King of Spain has communicated to his Majesty the three articles which remain to be discussed between his Crown and the Crown of Britain; which are,

1. The restitution of some captures which have been made during the present war upon the Spanish flag.

2. The privilege for the Spanish nation to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland.

3. The demolition of the English settlements made upon the Spanish territories in the Bay of Honduras.

These three articles may be easily adjusted agreeable to the equity of the two nations; and the King earnestly wishes, that some accommodations may be thought on, to the satisfaction of the Spanish and English nations, with regard to these articles; but he cannot disguise from England the danger he apprehends, and of which he must necessarily partake, if these objects, which seem nearly to concern his Catholic Majesty, should be the occasion of a war. His Majesty therefore deems it a principal point of consideration in concluding a firm and advantageous peace, that, at the same time that desirable point shall be concluded between France and England, his Britannic Majesty should terminate his differences with Spain, and agree

to invite his Catholic Majesty to guarantee the treaty which is to reconcile, (pray Heaven for ever,) his Majesty and the King of England.

As to what remain, his Majesty does not intimate his apprehension in this respect to the Court of London, but with the most sincere and upright intentions to obviate every impediment which may arise hereafter to disturb the union of the French and English nations; and he desires his Britannic Majesty, whom he supposes influenced by the same good wishes, freely to communicate his sentiments on so essential an object.

23. *M. Bussi's Note to Mr. Pitt.*

Since the memorial of the propositions from France was formed, and at the instant that the courier was ready to set out for London, the King received the consent of the Empress-Queen to a separate peace with England, but upon two conditions:

1. To keep possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia.

2. That it shall be stipulated, that the King of Great Britain, neither in his capacity of King or Elector, shall afford any succor, either in troops, or of any kind whatever, to the King of Prussia; and that his Britannic Majesty will undertake that the Hanoverian, Hessian, Brunswickian, and other Auxiliaries in alliance with Hanover, shall not join the forces of the King of Prussia, in like manner as France shall engage, on her part, not to yield succor of any kind to the Empress Queen nor her allies.

Both these conditions appear so natural and equitable in themselves, that his Majesty could not do otherwise than acquiesce in them, and he hopes that the King of Great Britain will be ready to adopt them.

24. *Mr. Pitt to M. de Bussi.*

July 24, 1761.

SIR,

Having explained myself, in our conference yesterday, with respect to certain engagements of France with Spain, relative to the disputes of the latter crown with Great Britain, of which your Court never informed us, but at the very instant of making, as she has done, her first propositions for the separate peace of the two crowns; and as you have desired, for the sake of greater punctuality, to take a note of what passed between us upon so weighty a subject, I here repeat, Sir, by his Majesty's order, the same decla-

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ration, word for word, which I made to you yesterday, and again anticipate you with respect to the most sincere sentiments of friendship and real regard on the part of his Majesty towards the Catholic King, in every particular consistent with reason and justice. It is my duty to declare farther to you in plain terms, in the name of his Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negociation of peace between the two crowns; to which I must add, that it will be considered as an affront to his Majesty's dignity, and as a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negociation, to make farther mention of such a circumstance.

Moreover, it is expected that France *will not* at any time *presume* a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain. These considerations, so just and indispensable, have determined his Majesty to order me to return you the memorial which occasions this, as wholly inadmissible. I likewise return you, Sir, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt upon the honor of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. PITT.

25. *Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley.*

July 25, 1761.

Before I enter with you into the result of that deliberation, and communicate to you the King's orders in consequence thereof, it is highly material for your rightly understanding this matter, to inform you, that the said meeting[d] stood fixed for Tuesday the 21st, by his Majesty's orders on the preceding Friday; the King having at that time more than begun wisely to consider the affected slowness in the negociation on the part of France, combined with the vivacity of her operations in the field, as being too dangerous to the sum of affairs, and too interesting to his Majesty's honor, to be longer acquiesced in.

In this council thus convened, the memorial which arrived the night before came under consideration; and if the remarkable silence of France had created most unfavorable impressions here of the candor and sincerity of

[d] Meeting of the Cabinet, alluded to in Mr. Pitt's letter of 20th July.

her proceedings in the salutary work of peace; I am to acquaint you, that what she has at last said, now that this long-promised memorial is produced, has left no room to doubt, that the main object of the Court of France has been to gain time, hoping, by the amusement of an ineffectual and delusive negociation, to be able to push her one great operation in Germany, and in the mean time to slacken and suspend those of Great Britain in all other parts of the world. APPX. No. V. 1761.

The council was unanimous in thinking, not only that the conditions of the above memorial are highly unsatisfactory, but that it appeared from the glaring retractation which this piece contains of what had passed with you in conference, relative to so capital and indispensable a condition of compensation, as the immediate restitution and evacuation of the places and territories conquered by France on his Majesty's allies in Germany, and namely those of the King of Prussia, that the whole of this paper had been calculated by the French ministry, not to promote but to retard the conclusion of peace. Moreover, with regard to the strange idea of the proposed guarantee of Spain, mentioned in your letter, as also with respect to the engagements with Spain concerning our disputes with that crown, which the Duc de Choiseul now avows to have been taken before the first overtures of France for the particular peace with England; and which, consequently, had been from that time as disingenuously suppressed as they were in the moment insolently produced. The King's servants were further unanimously of opinion, utterly to reject the thought of suffering those disputes to be mixed in the negociation with France, and submitted to his Majesty, that a peremptory declaration to that effect should be made to M. de Bussi, giving that minister withal clearly to understand, that it would be considered here as offensive to the dignity of the King, that farther mention should be made of such an idea; and that it is likewise understood here, that France in no time has a right to meddle in such discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

In consequence of the same unanimous opinion, his Majesty also came immediately to a resolution, that as soon as I should have seen M. de Bussi, which it was expected would be the next morning, Wednesday, I should despatch a messenger to you with the strongest instructions again to renew to the Duc de Choiseul, with firmness and precision, the several heads contained in my despatch of the 26th June[e], as points fixed and unalterable in his

[e] See Chap. xviii.

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Majesty's mind, without which he will consent to no peace with France; and that you should give that minister plainly to understand, that it is more than time to come, on one side or the other, to clear explanations, categorical answers, and final determinations. I am also to acquaint you, that in the mean time orders had been already given, the end of last week, for despatching the transports with decisive orders to General Amherst.

Thus stood the resolutions of the King before the arrival, on Wednesday towards noon, of the account of the great and glorious event of the 16th[t]; a circumstance in point of time which it is highly material France should be informed of, and which I have taken care fully to explain to M. de Bussi.

Two striking objects of gratitude and reverence present themselves on this occasion; first, the King's unshaken firmness and immutable concern for the honor of the British crown, in a moment so precarious and critical for his electoral dominions; next, his Majesty's moderation, magnanimity and wisdom amidst all the present prosperities and glories which, by the blessing of Heaven, have attended the justice of the arms of his Majesty, who, from a happy effect of his royal virtues, still continues to wish to restore peace to the two nations, provided France will decide, without farther protractions, to accept those reasonable conditions which the King thinks fit to grant.

In this view, therefore, and in consequence of the unanimous opinion of a second council held yesterday, his Majesty has commanded me to send you the inclosed paper, containing conditions of peace between the two crowns, from which the King will not depart, and which, (having first made a careful and exact translation of the same,) you are to deliver to the Duc de Choiseul, to serve as an answer to the French memorial of the 13th, and as the *ultimatum* on the part of Great Britain; and taking care to accompany this decisive measure with a demeanor as free from all asperity, as full of firmness, you are to give that minister clearly to understand, that, as soon as his Excellency shall have duly weighed the contents of that paper, your court desires a categorical answer and a final determination thereon; intimating at the same time, with politeness and regret, that otherwise your stay at Paris cannot probably be long.

With regard to Dunkirk's being reduced to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, as it is expressed in the paper of points herein inclosed, the King entirely relies on your zeal to use your utmost endeavors to procure, in the

[t] Prince Ferdinand's victory in Westphalia.

full extent, the condition therein prescribed. But his Majesty reposes that confidence in your discretion and discernment, that in case you shall perceive the success of the peace agreeable to all the other fixed and ultimate conditions, will be lost by adhering inflexibly to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht; the King is pleased to permit you so far to relax on that article, as to accept of the terms of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle; but on no account whatever are you, with regard to the indispensable object of Dunkirk, to go any lower than this last-mentioned condition.

Concerning the means of the French being supplied with Negroes, it is not judged proper on our part to propose any thing specific on that subject; but you will let the Duc de Choiseul understand, that if they have any reasonable idea to suggest for their being supplied with Negroes in a manner not too prejudicial to the advantages we are possessed of in Africa, it will be taken into consideration here.

I must not omit to acquaint you that M. de Bussi did not come to me till Thursday morning, when, after having delivered to me the same memorial which you had received from the Duc de Choiseul and transmitted to me, he also gave me two supplemental memorials of a most extraordinary nature, copies whereof I send you inclosed for your information, together with a copy of my letter to that minister, returning the two said memorials as totally inadmissible.

The inclosed gazettes will inform you of all the circumstances which are come to us relating to the great and glorious event in Westphalia; and I most heartily congratulate you on this happy and most important success, as highly advantageous to his Majesty's affairs, as it is full of honor to his arms.

The reduction of Dominique is also an additional and very considerable advantage in America.

26. *The Answer of the British Court to Memorial of the French Propositions, 29th July,* 1761.

His Britannic Majesty will never recede from the entire and total cession on the part of France, without any new limits, or any exceptions whatever, of all Canada and its appurtenances; and his Majesty will never relax, with regard to the full and complete cession on the part of France, of the Isle of Cape Breton, and of all the other islands in the Gulph or in the River

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St. Lawrence, with the right of fishing, which is inseparably incident to the possession of the aforesaid coasts, and of the canals or streights which lead to them.

2. With respect to fixing the limits of Louisiana, with regard to Canada, or the English possessions situate on the Ohio, as also on the coast of Virginia, it can never be allowed that whatever does not belong to Canada shall appertain to Louisiana, nor that the boundaries of the last province should extend to Virginia, or to the British possessions on the borders of the Ohio; the nations and countries which lie intermediate, and which form the true barrier between the aforesaid provinces, not being proper, on any account, to be directly, or by necessary consequence, ceded to France, even admitting them to be included in the limits of Louisiana.

3. Senegal, with all its rights and dependencies, upon the river which bears its name, shall be ceded to Great Britain in the most full and ample manner; as also the island of Goree, so essentially connected with Senegal.

4. Dunkirk shall be reduced to the condition in which it ought to have been after the treaty of Utrecht, without which no peace can be concluded; and upon that condition only can his Majesty ever consent to enter on the consideration of the demand which France has made, viz. the restitution of the privilege granted by the thirteenth article of the said treaty, with certain limitations and under certain restrictions, for the subjects of France to fish and dry their fish on part of the banks of Newfoundland.

5. Though the titles by which the kingdom of Great Britain has, on many occasions, maintained its right to the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago have never been refuted, and though his Majesty, by force of arms, has acquired possession of St. Dominica, and of the French colony established before the commencement of the war; nevertheless his Majesty, from that principle of moderation which is so becoming to kings, will consent to an equal partition of the four islands, commonly called the Neutral Islands, which partition shall be regulated in the ensuing treaty.

6. The island of Minorca shall be immediately restored in the condition it was at the time of its being taken, together with the artillery, &c. appertaining to that island.

7. France shall immediately restore and evacuate the conquests she has made over his Majesty's allies in Germany; that is to say, of all the states and countries appertaining to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the electorate of Hanover, as also of Wesel, and of all the

places and territories belonging to the King of Prussia, in possession of the arms of France. In a word, France shall make a general evacuation of all her conquests on the side of Hesse, Westphalia, and its countries.

8. The King of Great Britain, on his part, agrees to surrender to his Most Christian Majesty: 1. The important conquest of Belle-Isle. 2. His Majesty likewise consents to surrender to the Most Christian King the opulent island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante.

9. The treaty concluded between Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu, cannot be admitted as the basis of the re-establishment of the peace in Asia, because that provisional treaty has had no consequences, and because those provisions are by no means applicable to the present state of affairs in the Indies, by the final reduction of the possessions and settlements of the French company in the East Indies; but as the perfect and final settlement with regard to that country can only be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and as the King cannot justly dispose of their rights without their consent, it must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, according to those rules of reason and justice which the state and circumstances of their affairs may require and mutually point out; provided, nevertheless, that those conditions are not repugnant to the designs and equitable intentions of their sovereigns for the peace and reconciliation of the two crowns.

10. The demand of the restitution of the captures at sea before the declaration of war cannot be admitted; such a claim not being founded on any particular convention, and by no means resulting from the law of nations, as there is no principle more contestible than this, viz. that the absolute right of all hostile operations does not result from a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor has first offered.

11. As the indispensable care which is due from his Majesty to his people, and the just and invincible motives which concern the preservation and security of his kingdoms, authorized by the most formal stipulations of solemn treaties, (viz. those of Radstadt and the Barriere,) and even by the express and irrevocable conditions of the cession of the Low Countries, will not allow France to retain possession of Ostend and Newport, the two places aforesaid shall be evacuated without delay by the French garrisons; it is for this reason declared that the restitutions spoken of in the preceding articles of this memorial, and particularly the convention which is to be framed and

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regulated with respect to the Indies, cannot take place till the aforesaid evacuation of Ostend and Newport shall be faithfully executed.

12. The cessation of arms between the two crowns shall be fixed and take place on the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or of the definitive treaty, and all the articles relative to the cessation of hostilities, shall be settled and take place, according to common usage in such cases, and as the circumstances in different parts of the world shall require.

13. His Majesty having, from the first overtures made on the part of France, declared, that in case the separate peace between the two crowns should be concluded, his Majesty would continue as an auxiliary faithfully to assist the King of Prussia, with efficacy and good faith, in order to accomplish the salutary purpose of a general pacification in Germany: it shall be free to Great Britain and France, to support, as auxiliaries, their respective allies, in their particular contests for the recovery of Silesia, pursuant to the respective engagements which those crowns have entered into.

14. The prisoners taken on one side and the other, both by sea and land, shall be released in the usual manner, saving the terms which may exist, by virtue of some cartel, or some convention, which may have relation to this particular.

These articles are not digested into the form, nor in the detail of articles of peace; but it is hoped, that, with regard to essential points, this memorial has that precision and perspicuity which leaves nothing doubtful, and which evidently demonstrates the sincerity and perseverance of his Majesty's disposition, with respect to his intentions and resolutions for the accomplishment of so great a blessing as that of an entire peace between the two crowns.

27. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, July 30, 1761.

Before I relate the effects which this great and unexpected event of the 16th [s] has had in this capital, it may not be improper shortly to delineate some circumstances of this country in that particular juncture when this important news arrived; the distresses in France have, as you have long and sufficiently been informed, obliged the government to lay many heavy and grievous taxes on the people. The King had for some time demanded of

[s] Prince Ferdinand's victory at Kirch Denkern in Westphalia.

the Parliament a third *vingtieme*, or twentieth penny on the produce of all the lands in the kingdom. This imposition was first created in 1761. The Parliament was ready to enregister this subsidy for one additional year, but remonstrated strenuously against a longer continuation of the term. I am informed that this situation occasioned great differences of opinion in the court. Madame de Pompadour was unwilling to recur to the last resource of holding a *lit de justice*, and the Duc de Choiseul as determined for that measure; from whence, as I am informed, a very warm dispute arose between them; but the latter prevailed, and a resolution was taken at Versailles late in the night of the 21st to hold a *lit de justice* as immediately as the 23rd. There was sent together with the summons for that assembly, orders which would have been extremely unnecessary in London, viz. that the officers of the police should take care that the King was received with proper marks of respect and satisfaction; but as absolute power cannot here command those sentiments which love and duty spontaneously produce in England, the procession was received with a cool and sullen demeanor, and only a few hired acclamations. The private conversations of those who assembled to see the cavalcade were full of dissatisfaction. From among those who expressed themselves somewhat more openly, seventeen persons were seized in the Thuilleries and committed to prison.

I must observe to you, that an express had arrived on the 22nd at night, with an account of the defeat in Germany, but that this packet and all private letters were suppressed, until the ceremony in question was over. It soon became impossible to conceal this mortifying conclusion of an enterprize, upon which they had founded their greatest, or rather their only expectations. I shall not enter into a description of the affliction it produced in families, nor of the alarm it raised in this great city. As some of those regiments, which were cut off on that day, are esteemed the flower of the French infantry; and as many persons of great name and quality fell in that battle, the regret and consternation was extreme.

It is unnecessary for me to give you a narrative of this action, as it is proper that I should communicate to you the effect it has had in the interior of the French Court.

M. de Broglio is generally held to be an officer of merit in some parts of his profession; though not a consummate general, he is thought to understand the formation and discipline of an army, and to be endowed with activity and presence of mind on a day of battle, though he does not possess

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that extent of genius which embraces the plan and conduct of a great campaign.

The Prince de Soubise is described in still fewer words; they give him nothing more than much personal courage.

If the latter of these two persons is superior by his quality, and by his alliance with the house of Condé, the former, whose birth is also very high, and whose connexions are likewise very distinguished and numerous, has, from the reputation of his talents perhaps, an equal number of partizans both at court and in the public. I have hinted, in former despatches, the dissension which prevailed between them. The defeat of the 16th has excessively inflamed and exasperated them and their friends. This division has penetrated, as I have information, so far into the interior of Versailles, that M. de Choiseul warmly espouses the cause of M. de Broglio, and Madame de Pompadour as eagerly embraces the interests of the Prince de Soubise. Two relations, composed by each of the Generals, are privately handed about here; I have procured copies of both, which I enclose together with the gazette published by authority. As your superior discernment will make better observations than I can suggest, it is sufficient for you to peruse and compare them. The scene is grown so serious, that some of my oracles are mute; and I have been able to procure few particulars beyond those which you find inserted there. It is said that Mareschal Broglio attacked the enemy on the evening of the 15th, contrary to the resolution jointly taken with the Prince de Soubise; who is charged by the other side with not having given a proper support to the former on the 16th, in a juncture which would have decided the day in their favor. Messieurs de Mesnil and de Voyer are likewise grievously blamed for not charging our army, and there is a discourse of military procedure to be held on their conduct.

I had taken the first indulgence of more than one day to refresh myself in the country, when I received your packet informing me of the surrender of Pondicherry, which came exactly on the same day that the news of the German defeat was spread through Paris. I judged it expedient for the public service, and suitable to that humanity which, notwithstanding the state of war, was due to the friends and parents of those who were taken in Pondicherry, (which motives are by no means inconsistent,) to communicate this event to the Duc de Choiseul, which I did immediately by a letter of which I enclose a copy. I am very happy to find that this step will be approved by you, since you have acted in the same manner towards M. de Bussi. You

will see that I express to his Excellency the same pacific and moderate dispositions which are contained in your note; with that difference of style which the superior rank of the person to whom it is addressed, and the manners of this country require.

These two successive blows have had that effect on the minds of the people which you will easily conceive, and I believe that the impression which they have made thus combined and united is greater than if they had arrived separately at such intervals as would have given them leisure to recollect their spirits. Our acquisition in the East Indies has affected the fortune and subsistence of many individuals, whose calamities, though due to the ambition and injustice of their government, I cannot help compassionating. It is true that the effects of the company from preceding losses, and from the impending terror of this enterprize, were already at so great a discount as it became hardly commercible*. The branches that bore fruit had been already lopped, the root is now cut up. One of the directors told a friend of mine, that M. Lally, who was sent by the King to India contrary to their inclinations, had declared before he sailed, that he would ruin two companies; that indeed he had kept his word as to the French company, but that he hardly would complete his promise with regard to the English.

I would not interrupt the order of facts to enter into farther particulars of the transactions which passed on the 23d, when the second and third capitations were also enregistered in Parliament. There was likewise created a loan of thirty millions, leaving 3 per cent. interest on the duties upon leather; out of which duties one million five hundred thousand livres per annum are to be employed to the payment of the interest, and a gradual reimbursement of the capital.

Thus the supply stands:

For the 3d Vingtieme . . . . . 20,000,000 per annum.
From the 2d Capitation . . . . . 26,600,000 do.

It is to be observed, that the first capitation on all the kingdom, Paris included, amounts to more than the said sum, so that we are greatly within bounds in computing this second capitation as above, because several professions, such as financiers of all ranks, bankers, &c. are tripled.

I shall dwell no longer on this topic, because I have at length completed the laborious work which I promised to send early after my arrival. It does

* Sic in MS.

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not become me to enter into the method therein observed, as I have some share in it. I shall only say that I believe it will not be found deficient in point of clearness and perspicuity, but I may say that I have been admirably served in the execution of this plan; and I do not believe that any minister of France has so complete an account of their finances. There are only two points on which it would be possible to add the least farther information, viz. some deficiencies in collections through the provinces, and some excesses in the King's private expenses beyond his regular establishment. These were not to be attained without a very tedious search, attended with still greater risk. I have added a complete collection of their edicts, and the history of their East India Company, which may not perhaps be so easily found in England.

I must beg leave, Sir, under your protection, which has hitherto been so auspicious to me, to lay at his Majesty's feet what my poor services have been able to effect as to this article contained in his commands. I am not to learn that, among his other royal cares, that most important study of public finances and their economy wisely claims a great share of his attention. The gracious condescension, which engaged him personally to express to me his desire to be satisfied in this particular, emboldens me to take this liberty. I have some distant hopes, if my stay here should be prolonged, to obtain some more perfect informations as to the number of the people, the riches and produce of the several provinces, and the history as well as the present state of their trade, than may perhaps have come by other means into his royal hands. I shall certainly spare no pains to effect this second design.

As soon as I am able to get a second copy transcribed, I shall entreat you, Sir, to do me the honor of accepting it. I need not hint that it will not be safe to allow this communication to go farther, on account of those whom it may very seriously affect.

I write to you by Mr. Mackenzie, to whom I have endeavoured to shew all the respect which is due to his merit and family: I am very sorry that his short stay here hindered him from accepting my poor services to make his time at Paris more agreeable.

I received late on the 28th your packet of the 25th, which I communicated to the Duc de Choiseul. His Excellency received the contents with great personal civility to me, but with an emotion that does not give me any sanguine hopes of his compliance with the terms there specified: I am to see him on Tuesday.

I am a minister of peace, and I will most invariably discharge my duty

as such; therefore I shall not enter into any premature, unnecessary, imperfect accounts of what passed on that occasion, because it might have effects that my strongest wishes incline me to avert. As soon as I have conferred with him in cooler hours, and as this affair is properly ripe, you shall receive the fullest and most complete information.

P.S. *August* 1, 1761.—I saw the Duc de Choiseul yesterday for a very short time. He seems entirely determined to continue the war, if he is refused an *abri* for the French fisheries; and I do not believe you will have any satisfactory answer as to other points in which their foreign alliances are concerned, though, in my own opinion, these matters would be easily adjusted to his Majesty's satisfaction, if that first difficulty did not intervene. It is extremely plain and obvious that the French ministry never will make a declaration that must divide them from their allies, till they see that their own personal point is first settled; and therefore, though in obedience to my instructions I confer upon these matters, I am sensible that, with regard to any real progress in business by open and decisive communications, I might as well talk upon any thing that passes in Japan. You will likewise find, that by a progression almost as regular as any operation in geometry, the French, as this favorite object grows desperate, become, in their fresh declarations, more attached to the above-mentioned connections, and more desirous to retreat from any former advances, which, as I had informed you, had created jealousies with Spain and Austria. I am very glad to learn that final orders are sent to General Amherst. I have, without discontinuation, inserted in every despatch, since the Duc de Choiseul first gave me the little leaf, my firm and full opinion that France would never entirely give up the fisheries. I thought it my duty to be thus earnest in the representation of this matter, lest the progress of his Majesty's arms should be retarded by any vain expectations of a concession, which, from the best information I could have, would as little be agreed to as the surrender of a province in Old France. I most heartily wish that the great and favorable change in the most critical part of the war, and the other two blows received by the enemy, had proved that I was mistaken. I am sure that neither argument, application, nor, in a word, the most absolute, devoted, and incessant direction of my faculties for repeated hours, have been wanting to prove that I had erred in that opinion. No man could have more ardently wished to have given you more agreeable intelligence on this head, if it could have been consistent with truth and with my duty.

28. *Ultimatum of France in Reply to that of England, 5th of August*, 1761.

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The King renews the declaration which he made to his Britannic Majesty, to the memorial of propositions for peace, which has been transmitted to Mr. Stanley, and to which the Court of England has given no answer, either by word of mouth or in writing: his Majesty again declares, that if the negociation entered into at Paris and at London, for the re-establishment of peace between the two crowns, has not the desired success, all the articles agreed to in that negociation by France cannot be represented, on any occasion, as settled points, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, relative to the *uti possidetis*.

1. The King consents to cede Canada to England in the most extensive manner as specified in the memorial of propositions; but his Majesty will not recede from the conditions he has annexed to the same memorial relative to the Catholic religion, and to the power, facility, and liberty of emigration for the ancient subjects of the King. With regard to the fishery in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the King means to maintain the immemorial right which his subjects have of fishing in the said gulph, and of drying their fish on the banks of Newfoundland, as it was agreed by the treaty of Utrecht. As this privilege would be granted in vain, if the French vessels had not some shelter appertaining to France in the gulph, his Majesty proposed to the King of Great Britain the restitution of the Island of Cape Breton; he again proposes, either that island, or St. John, or such other port, without fortification, in the gulph, or within reach of the gulph, which may serve the French as a shelter, and secure to France the liberty of fishing, from whence his Majesty has no intention to recede.

2. The King has in no part of his memorial of propositions affirmed, that all which did not belong to Canada appertained to Louisiana; it is even difficult to conceive such an assertion could be advanced. France, on the contrary, demands that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, as also between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as neutral nations, independent of the sovereignty of the two crowns, and serve as a barrier between them. If the English Minister would have attended to the instructions of Mr. de Bussi on this subject, he would have seen that France agreed with England as to this proposition.

3. No answer has been given by England to the plain argument, that if Senegal cannot be enjoyed in security without Goree, England will make no great sacrifice in keeping Goree, and restoring Senegal to France. Upon this article, Mr. Stanley has acquainted the D. de Choiseul, that some expedients may be agreed on between the two crowns: in consequence of which, his Majesty, out of regard to the blessing of peace, has authorised M. de Bussi to treat concerning these expedients with the British Ministry.

4. The Court of London, when they mean to secure, in pursuance of his Majesty's consent, the conquests they pretend to maintain, readily rely on the memorial of *uti possidetis;* but they take no notice of that memorial when they advance claims at the expense of France. It cannot be denied, but that the state of the town of Dunkirk is not included in the *uti possidetis.*

According to the treaty of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk was not assented to, as a compensation for the liberty of drying cod-fish on the banks of Newfoundland; it is the cession of Newfoundland, on the part of France, which is the ground of that compensation: but the King, to testify to all Europe his sincere desire of peace, and to remove all obstacles which the enemies to peace may throw in the way, authorises his Minister at London to negociate concerning the state of Dunkirk, so soon as a convenient port shall be agreed upon in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or within reach of the gulph, which shall be ceded to France, to serve as a shelter for our fishing vessels.

5. France has refuted the title of England to the Antilles, which are pretended to be neutral: his Majesty, nevertheless, from a principle of moderation, accepts of a partition of the said islands; but such partition cannot take place but in the form specified in the first memorial of the French propositions.

6. It seems as if England, by her propositions, offered the Island of Belle-Isle as a compensation for the Island of Minorca: as France does not allow the importance of the conquest of Belle-Isle, the two courts will retain their several opinions; England shall maintain her conquest, and France shall keep Minorca.

7. France is willing to evacuate, in consideration of the restitution to be made by England of the Island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante, the countries belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Electorate of Hanover, which are or shall be occupied by his Ma-

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jesty's forces, and of which the conquest is connected with the British war, since the rupture of the capitulation of Closter Seven, and which may be separated from the war of the Empress-Queen with the King of Prussia.

But as to what concerns Wesel, Gueldres, and other countries in Westphalia belonging to the King of Prussia, which are actually in the possession of the Empress-Queen, and where justice is administered in the name of her Imperial Majesty, the King cannot stipulate to surrender the conquests of his allies; and such an evacuation, neither in fact nor by right, can take place without the consent of the Empress-Queen at the congress of Augsburg; that congress being to assemble, in order to terminate the differences which have arisen in the empire, and particularly those which have occasioned the war between her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia.

8. The King accepts of these conditions; and in consideration of the cessions made by France, in North America and Africa, as well as in regard to the settlement of Dunkirk, the restitution of the Island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante.

9. The French East India company have fulfilled the conditions of the treaty made between Messrs. Godeheu and Saunders: that of England has not observed the same punctuality. However that may be, the King is willing to acquiesce in the ninth article of the *ultimatum* of England, in relation to Asia.

10. The king persists, with regard to the captures made before the war, in the contents of the twelfth article of the first propositions. M. de Bussi is authorized to deliver a memorial expressly on this subject; and every one is persuaded in France, that this object neither can nor ought to break off the negociation between the two crowns.

11. The Empress-Queen enjoys full sovereignty in the towns of Ostend and Newport; the King has only lent his forces to his ally to secure those places. England has no right to impose laws upon the King and the Empress contrary to the will of the King and her Imperial Majesty, who do not in the least violate the treaties of the House of Austria with the States-General. As to what remains, his Majesty readily declares, that his intention never was to keep possession of the said places after the establishment of peace.

12. The twelfth article of the *ultimatum* of England does not seem liable to any difficulties, while the terms of the intended suspension shall be observed and maintained with sincerity.

13. In answer to the declaration made by Mr. Stanley, that, in case of a separate peace between France and England, his Britannic Majesty would constantly continue, in the capacity of an auxiliary, to aid his ally, the King of Prussia, with all his power, and with the utmost integrity, in order to accomplish the happy issue of the war and the pacification of Germany, the Duc de Choiseul, in the name of the King his master, has declared to Mr. Stanley that his Majesty, with the same view to the general pacification, will also support his faithful allies with all his forces, and to the utmost of his power, and will take every precaution which his approved sincerity and integrity shall suggest to him, in order to prevent the separate peace of France with England from being prejudicial to them.

It is in consequence of these sentiments that the King, with the consent of his allies, is willing to stipulate that he will grant no succour of any kind to his allies for the continuance of their war against the King of Prussia; but his Majesty neither can nor will enter into such an engagement, unless his Britannic Majesty will enter into the like agreement with respect to the King of Prussia.

The proposition of leaving France at liberty to send forces into Silesia is unfavorable, from particular circumstances, to the interests of the Empress, and consequently inadmissible.

The King, therefore, persists in the propositions contained in the 10th article of his first memorial. All that can be negociated with respect to these points, must be the liberty of affording succors in money to the respective allies, so soon as it shall be positively ascertained, that no power shall be at liberty to furnish them any supplies of men or warlike stores, under any denomination whatever.

14. The King accepts the 14th article of the *ultimatum* of England.

It is hoped that the court of Great Britain will allow the precision of the answers to their *ultimatum*, as well as the readiness with which the King endeavors, even to his prejudice, to use all means to bring about a reconciliation with the King of Great Britain.

29. *French Memorial concerning the Vessels taken before the War.*

The reclaim of the captures made by the English before the declaration of war is founded on the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle.

It is not necessary to contest the principle, that the right of exercising

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hostilities does not always result from the formality of a declaration of war; but as it is impracticable for two princes, who make war on each other, to agree between them which is the aggressor with regard to the other, equity and humanity have dictated these precautions, that where an unforeseen rupture happens suddenly, and without any previous declaration, foreign vessels, which, navigating under the security of peace and of treaties, happen at the time of the rupture to be in either of the respective ports, shall have time and full liberty to withdraw themselves.

This wise provision, so agreeable to the rules of good faith, constitutes a part of the law of nations, and the article of the treaty which sanctifies these precautions ought to be faithfully executed, notwithstanding the breach of the other articles of the treaty, which is the natural consequence of the war.

The courts of France and Great Britain used this salutary precaution in the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle; in the first, by the nineteenth article of the treaty of peace, and in the second of the treaty of commerce: in the second, by the third article, which renews and confirms the first.

If these treaties allow a protection to the respective subjects who may have ships in the ports of either of the powers, because, having no opportunity of knowing that a rupture has fallen out, they sailed under the security of peace, and under the faith of treaties; by a parity of reason, all the other subjects who are not inhabitants of the respective ports, who have ships at sea, should enjoy the same security for their vessels, in whatever part of the sea they should be sailing, otherwise it would follow, that the sovereigns provide for the preservation of one part of their subjects from the miseries of a sudden rupture, to which they expose the rest, which is absolutely repugnant to the humanity of sovereigns, and contrary to right reason.

It is upon this principle, that the King of France restored to England the English vessels which were found in the ports of France, at the time of the rupture, or taken at sea before the declaration of war. If his Majesty had not caused those vessels to be restored, his Britannic Majesty might have alleged that he retained the French vessels by way of reprisals; but the punctuality of France in conforming to the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, and to the principles resulting from thence, give the English no pretence for refusing to fulfil engagements which are reciprocal. The court of France, therefore, does not doubt but that the court of England will agree to order the restitution of the ships taken by the English from the French before the declaration of the war."

30. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, August 6, 1761.

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About eight o'clock the same evening I received your letter of July 25th together with the enclosed memorial. I resolved, for the reasons against delay which it contains, to present it with the utmost speed to the Duc de Choiseul. Accordingly I applied without loss of time to the translation of it, which was finished the next day before my conference.

I hope you will not imagine that I desire to spare my trouble in his Majesty's service, if I entreat you on any future occasion to be pleased to direct this work to be done under your own perusal and inspection. No person, who has attended to my conduct here, can possibly think I mean to save my labour, which indeed has been incessant; but as all your papers are composed with a singular energy of style, and as every word carries a distinct idea, which can in no other way be with equal force expressed, I am much embarrassed in finding terms which convey neither more nor less than your meaning. Though you are extremely skilled in the French language, I believe that you would find it difficult precisely to translate your own memorial, and that you would often be obliged to exercise your judgment in the choice of phrases, which though they did not exactly render your own idea, came the nearest to it. There arises hence a distress to me, who warmly desire to execute your commands with spirit, and who am at the same time unwilling for the sake of the public service to use more asperity than you think it necessary to convey in your expressions.

On the 29th I informed the Duc de Choiseul that I had fresh matters to communicate to him. His Excellency, who was then at St. Hubert, by a short note, gave me an appointment to meet him at Versailles the same evening.

I found him much discomposed, for he had just received a letter from M. de Bussi, from whence he had collected most of those particulars which I was enjoined to impart to him. After some short civilities, I entered plainly and gravely into the matter, by declaring to him, that the purport of the several articles which I had to impart was conformable to those expectations I had conceived, and to those opinions which I had very early, as well as very frankly and fairly communicated to him, that neither his Excellency nor myself had any reason to imagine that the events, which had happened since, would relax or lower conditions, which had before appeared equal and reasonable; but

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on the other hand he would not find that success had raised the demands of Great Britain. He made no reply, but said with more gravity than I have seen him assume, though with politeness, that if I had any memorial from my court, he was ready to receive and lay it before his Most Christian Majesty. I therefore, according to my instructions, delivered to him your memorial with the translation, which I told him was done by myself, and for the errors of which, if any should be found, I was alone answerable.

He read it over with great impatience and with frequent interruptions wherever those passages occurred, in which you are pleased to express the settled determination of his Majesty not to relax any of the conditions, and particularly those in which the words *must* and *never* are used. He complained with warmth of the authoritative tone and imperious superiority which they implied, as if neither time nor events could change our fortune, and as if we meant to treat France as a power, in rank and dignity inferior to Great Britain: he added, that though less a master of stile than yourself, he could easily have conveyed the same determinate sense in less offensive expressions, and that your choosing the contrary method was a clear proof of what he had doubted from the first, and had constantly been told, that you personally never had any real intention to conclude a peace. I replied, that I was fully convinced he had been misled by the impressions which he had received upon this subject; that your candor and sincerity in all your actions had ever stood clear and unimpeached; that I supposed, (uninformed as I was of what passed in the cabinet,) that no public papers issued thence without the participation of other most confidential servants of the crown; that I was convinced no offence or indignity was intended, but that his Majesty, who was to judge equally of the modes and terms of his own negociations, had directed you thus to signify to his Excellency the unalterable firmness of those resolutions which the memorial contains; having judged it expedient for the interests of Great Britain to come with speed and certainty to a categorical answer, and to a final determination.

As I perceived by his countenance, and by the manner in which he received this assurance, that he had not recovered that state of temper, in which I wished to find him, and as I saw with great regret that his disgust, arising from forms, might prejudice the essence of those more solid and important matters which are entrusted to me, I renewed the conversation by asking, whether he desired that I should speak to him no longer as a minister, but as an individual? which he very readily accepted. I then told

him that the austerity of language which he called imperious, and which I must call plain and ingenuous, arose in my private opinion from three causes; viz. from the part he had taken, contrary to my earnest and humble representations, of intermixing the British disputes with Spain in the present business; from the delay of his last answer; and from the appearance of retractation, which his error about the Reddition of Wesel carried with it. You will find in the subsequent part of this letter what he then, and at other times has said to me upon these points. I have placed them together in order to avoid repetitions, with a few observations of my own upon his conduct. I may be mistaken in many of them, but they are dictated by the most entire and unprejudiced candor.

He then observed to me that several parts of his memorial remained entirely without answer, either in the negative or affirmative; specifying particularly those conditions which were requested in favor of the inhabitants of Canada. He took notice of some obscurity in that article, which relates to the partition of the Neutral Islands; he complained of the hardship denounced against individuals, ruined by captures which had preceded the war, and combated upon reasons drawn on that head from the law of nations; but as these several points are set forth in his last memorial, and will certainly be sustained by better arguments than those which I was able to find, I shall only say that I omitted nothing in my power to assert and justify your several propositions, upon such foundations as you will find in my former despatches.

When I perceived that the conversation in which we had been engaged had in some degree calmed his mind, after the most proper expressions of my personal good wishes, and of my own regret if the treaty should be broke off, I resolved entirely to drop for the present all inferior considerations, and to try whether the strong impression which he had just received had shaken him upon the capital point of the entire fishery. In order to bring every engine to bear with the utmost force, I not only seized that minute to communicate to him that his Majesty was ready to take into consideration any reasonable idea for the supplying of France with Negroes, but I ventured so far as to give him a distant hope, that, if this first condition was complied with, another article of the terms might be softened: inferring from these overtures the sincere and real desire of my court for a reasonable peace, but concealing so perfectly my secret instruction with regard to Dunkirk, that I am very sure he did not in the least surmise that I had any liberty upon that head.

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I am extremely sorry to be obliged always to return answers so distant from my own wishes and from your expectations; but I must fairly confess, that every argument, that I with the most strenuous exertion employed during this long part of our conference, proved as useless as my former unwearied applications; I observed during our conference, that he once addressed himself to speak on the affairs of their allies, but that he interrupted himself and told me in a very solemn manner, that he asked for nothing but a rock that would afford shelter to the barks of their fishermen, which they were ready to receive on almost any terms that England would prescribe; he pressed me most earnestly to inform him whether there was a possibility of obtaining it. I answered him with an emotion which his manner of speaking very naturally excited, that I had known from the first instant how much you had the entire possession of the fishery at heart; that every subsequent information and despatch had confirmed me in this persuasion; that it was impossible to arrive at absolute certainty upon any event which depended on the will of man; but that I had so entire a conviction, that this resolution was unalterably fixed in the mind of his Britannic Majesty, who would risk not only all his acquisitions by the present war, but his own territories rather than depart from it, that I was ready to stake upon my opinion all I possessed in the world against the most beggarly equivalent that could be named.

On the 30th July I saw his Excellency at Paris, having called upon him that morning to borrow the copy of your memorial, which I had not entirely transcribed. As that day was appointed for his audience as Secretary at War, my visit was very short: he spoke to me with more coolness and composure than in our last conference, and entered again upon the subject of the fishery. He said, that France had formerly enjoyed this advantage, if not entirely to herself, at least with a very great superiority over other nations; that we had by degrees established ourselves upon those coasts which were most proper for this trade, and had acquired a very great ascendant over her, which the treaty of Utrecht had confirmed to us, and had increased; but that the total exclusion of France from any share whatever in that branch of commerce was a condition no minister ought or durst comply with; that he continued ready to consent to every limitation which he had proposed, and particularly to the residence of an English commissary on the spot, whose presence would secure to us the actual observation of the treaty; that as the French inhabitants had not, as formerly, any colony to supply them with necessaries and provisions, they would, in point of consumption, &c. be almost

equivalent in profit to planters of our own. Upon my urging the necessity of keeping our several interests as distinct and separate as possible, to avoid future disputes, he replied, that, on the contrary, in this particular view, the peace was likely to be more stable and durable if we consented to his demand; because, notwithstanding all disadvantages, their fishermen would sometimes frequent those seas, and that, when they were obliged to put into our ports, contentions would very probably happen between the English and them; which would be avoided if they had a retreat, no way formidable to us, where they were governed by their own laws.

In this conference he likewise told me, that it would be impossible for France, without incurring the most indelible stain of perfidy, to consent to any peace by which the army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick should be let loose on the Empress-Queen; that he should not presume to object to any other modes of assistance by money, &c. which we could afford to our ally the King of Prussia, or to any equal restrictions prescribed by us in their succors granted to the Empress-Queen; but that the march of the army above mentioned was, in the nature of things, very unequal, because the French had no possibility of conveying their armies into those countries to which the theatre of war would be then removed. I replied, that I had not the slightest intimation or knowledge how long his Majesty would keep on foot the army which Great Britain paid under Prince Ferdinand, or what operations he would direct his Highness to pursue, upon the supposed event of a pacification; that I hoped he would not think me guilty of any ostentation if I repeated to him what he had so often allowed, viz. that his Britannic Majesty had a very evident superiority in the present war, that therefore on that account, as well as on consideration of what was due to his high dignity, he would certainly think it improper and unreasonable that terms should be prescribed to him with regard to the modes and degrees in which he thought proper to support his alliance, especially by direct and formal memorials.

He had invited me to dine with him in private at Paris on the 4th of August, but this appointment was put off by a journey of the King's to Choisy; he desired, however, to see me at nine o'clock in the morning; there were several people in the room the greatest part of the time I stayed with him. He lent me a letter from M. de Bussi, the copy of the memorial transmitted to you; and another letter proposed to be addressed, Sir, to you by M. de Bussi. In the cursory reading I was able to give these papers, I made a few observations, which I mentioned to him during the short time

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that we afterwards remained alone. The first of these is, that M. de Bussi has said to you, that I yielded to the Duc de Choiseul the right of drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland. I do assure you, upon my honor, that I never went one iota further in this matter than the reading and translating to him out of your letter the passage which refers to this point, and which puts off the consideration of this privilege till the demolition of Dunkirk, and other points of the treaty of Utrecht came under consideration. I reminded the Duc de Choiseul of this circumstance of our conversation, which he allowed; interpreting this part of the letter to carry only a conditional sense, exactly such as I have always stated.

I remarked that, in your communication of my conversation with the Duc de Choiseul at Versailles, upon his first mention of the Spanish affair, you had represented to M. de Bussi, (as he pretends,) the language which his Excellency held towards me as stronger than I really thought it, and as a direct offer of the mediation of France in our disputes with that crown. This was not exactly the case; for, however offensive that proposition might essentially be, from its indecent impropriety, and from its evident tendency towards a menace, it was, notwithstanding, couched in terms of great modesty and address. It was I who replied, that this interposition would be considered as a mediation totally unacceptable in the respective state of our courts.

I observed in the memorial the proposal of leaving Minorca in the hands of the French, while we retained Belle-Isle; the Duc de Choiseul has often mentioned this to me, but I always looked upon it as no more than a common topic, by which he meaned to shew the disparity between these two islands. I wish it had not found a place in so serious a paper; but as it no way enters into real compensations, which we have so amply discussed, I consider it merely as one of those peculiarities to which he is liable. The letter which M. de Bussi is to send you is full of very warm expressions, and written, as I conceive, in the heat of passion. When the Duc de Choiseul first perused those papers which I have mentioned above, being a reply to what he thinks offensive in them, I have urged him very strongly, though with dignity, from considerations both of the public interest of his country and of humanity in general, to alter several expressions. He will have a few days of reflection before the courier goes to M. de Bussi; I heartily wish that my advice may have its due effect.

As this will probably be the last despatch you receive from me at Paris,

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I think it expedient to lay before you, on this occasion, a general delineation of the state of the country, of the temper of the people, and of the dispositions of the court, as far as I have been able to inform myself, and as far as they contain any useful knowledge relative to my commission. I shall previously observe to you, that, in executing this duty, I do not forget that I am no member of his Majesty's council, and that I pretend no more to decide on the wisdom of any measure which my intelligence may lead to, than the geographer, who draws the map of a country, assumes to himself the office of conducting that army, which may some day march over it.

The accurate account of the public finances, which I have had the honor to lay at his Majesty's feet, makes it unnecessary for me to enter now upon a subject of that great extent and intricacy.

No foreign minister at this court ever had a freer admission than myself into the different classes of company which are to be found in this capital. I have dedicated to the study and observation of their sentiments all the hours at which I could have intercourse with them, having taken from my sleep the greatest part of that time which I am obliged to give to the recollection and digestion of my materials, as well as the composing of my despatches. I have frequented ministers, in and out of place, magistrates, and the persons of the first houses in this country. I have likewise succeeded in procuring very ample intelligence of the temper and thoughts of the commercial part thereof, as well as of the inferior classes of society. I can, without hesitation, confirm to you all that I have ever asserted as to their eager and universal desire of peace; but I am sorry to add, that nothing can be more vague or puerile than their ideas of it. Most of these good people are so simple-hearted as to imagine that England will grant it out of mere love and pure kindness, because they beg and pray for it. I have been very reserved in my conversations upon any particular stipulations; but I am sure I do not err in asserting that I have not seen a single person above or in the rank of a private gentleman, who has expressed to me the least serious wish of obtaining peace upon higher terms than those which are now offered, although their aversion to the Austrian alliance is equal to all that I have represented; although their complaints of the expense which attends this unnatural connexion are frequent and grievous; and although the King of Prussia has here a very strong party, both from political reasons and from that admiration which he so highly deserves: therefore I think it would be inconsistent with sincerity and with my duty to flatter you that an appeal

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to the nation in general, upon a rupture of this negociation, would be decided in our favor against their own administration; or that any public corps of the kingdom, or any weight which the numerous consent of individuals can here carry along with it, would exert itself to compel the Government, (even as far as might be possible in an absolute country,) to farther concessions. At the same time, I believe that my departure hence, and M. de Bussi's arrival here, will be attended with a very general concern and affliction of the whole country, and may perhaps create great discontent and dissatisfaction: those who know how unconsequentially and unlogically the people reason, will find no difficulty in reconciling this inconsistency. In those conversations I have had with the Duc de Choiseul, wherein I have urged the entire surrender of the fishery, with every argument, and with all the force and vehemence that I could on any occasion exert, he has repeatedly answered me, that no company would speak to him or receive him, and that the populace would mob him or stone him in the streets if he consented to it. I have represented to him very fully that ardor and impatience for peace, that loathing and aversion for the war, which I had every where observed; to which he has constantly replied, that he was not ill informed of the sentiments and conversations of the public, whose weak illusions led them into such discourses as I had heard, but that he doubted very much whether those terms, which he had already offered, being once known, would not contribute to make him more unpopular than his ill success in arms; adding, that the motive of his resolutions was the will of the King his master, and the necessity in which a man who has played finds himself of paying what he loses.

I have observed, with the most sensible regret, that it is the general and received opinion among all orders, that peace is still very distant, and that the reddition of Pondicherry, as well as the German defeat, were lamented, not only as immediate losses, but as events which would probably break off the negociation. I learn that the same notion has prevailed in Holland and in Germany. As I am persuaded that, notwithstanding every precaution of secrecy, the resolutions of Government transpire more or less, I have but too good reason to doubt, that this nation is not yet reduced to accept the terms proposed.

If there remains a hope that France will, in any moderate distance of time, submit entirely to the demands of England, I rest it solely and entirely upon the dispositions of the King. I am convinced that the present pro-

posals of peace have originally arisen personally from his Majesty as his own private sentiments, and that his antipathy to the war is stronger than that of his ministers, or almost of any of his subjects, but he is, as I understand, greatly chagrined at the turn which this negociation has very lately taken. APPX. No. V. 1761.

As far as the Dauphin and Dauphiness are consulted in business, which is not much, I conceive their influence, and the hopes or fears which they may inspire, with regard to eventual prospects in future days, to be totally adverse to a pacification upon these conditions. It is very natural to conclude that the former would rather wish to see the storm grow high in his father's reign, and to wait for what events may at length produce, than submit, by an irrevocable stipulation, not only to a great defalcation of territory, but to an incurable wound in the vitals of that kingdom which he expects to inherit. As he is likewise of a bigotted and superstitious temper, entirely devoted to the Jesuits, and to all their doctrines for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith, he wishes well to Spain and Austria, from religious as well as political motives. I have observed that he addresses himself in public almost entirely to the ambassadors of those two courts, and he has always shewn them the greatest marks of complacency before me. The Dauphiness is a daughter of Saxony.

The Duc de Choiseul is not only the first person of the court, but to all intents and effects the sole minister. I sent you, early after my arrival, an abstract of his character from that high and superiorly well-informed fountain of intelligence, which I have never found mistaken either in judgment or information; my enquiries have traced his Excellency from a boy at school to the present hour; and I do not see, from the least particular I have learned from others, or observed myself, any reason to alter an *iota* of what I then wrote you; I shall only add some farther observations upon this subject.

You may entirely depend upon it, that the Duc de Choiseul, though he may have his superiors not only in experience of business, but in depth and refinement as a statesman, is a person of as bold and daring a spirit as any man whatever in our country or in his own. In his military professions, though bravery is far from uncommon among the French gentry, he was always distinguished. It has been his constant maxim to play the whole, for the whole in the cabinet. As soon as the Cardinal de Bernis admitted him into a share of administration, he took a very decided resolution to have all or nothing. Madame de Pompadour has ever been looked up to by all preceding courtiers and ministers as their tutelary deity, under

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whose auspices only they could exist, and who was as much out of their reach as if she were of a superior class of beings; but this minister is so far from bearing a subordination to her influence, that he seized the first occasion to deprive her, not of an equality, but of any share of power; reducing her to the necessity of applying to him even for those favors that she wants for herself and her dependants. He has effected this great change, which every other man would have thought impossible, in the interior of the court, not by plausibility, flattery, and address; but with a high hand, with frequent railleries and sarcasms, which would have ruined any other, and in short by a clear superiority of spirit and resolution. The only person who has any weight with him, is his sister, the Duchess of Grammont, who, it is said, might have supplied the place of Madame de Pompadour if she had pleased. She never dissembles her contempt or dislike of any man, in whatever degree of elevation; she treats the ceremonies and pageants of courts, as things beneath her; she professes an indifference and disgust for most of those objects which others pursue; it is but justice to add, that she possesses a most uncommon share of understanding, she has very high notions of honor and reputation. I have heard her tell the Duc de Choiseul, that she heartily wishes him out of place; and she has asserted the same thing to me in the most serious manner. I am persuaded that as far as her counsels go, which is a very great way, he will not submit even to the utmost necessity of affairs. He has acquired one of the greatest fortunes in this country by marriage, and has made the most ample use of the King's favor by securing rich and valuable grants of crown lands. He has likewise strengthened himself by alliances with the most considerable and opulent families in France, so that his dismission can never carry with it any personal consequences to himself beyond his retirement from business, whatever may happen to the public. He cannot be sent to Bourges, like some of his predecessors.

After this full historical illustration of the personage, it is my duty to repeat to you, that he has told me frequently and solemnly, that his honor would be exactly the same fifty years hence as it is now; that he was as indifferent about his place as you can be, (those were his very words,) that he has allowed, without the least reserve or diminution, and even in stronger terms than any other man has used, the King's extreme propensity for peace, and has never denied that there was a possibility of his Majesty's signing a treaty such as England demanded; but he at the same time as strongly asserted that his hand should never be to that deed: upon which declaration

as well as upon all other points, I shall leave all inferences and conclusions entirely to yourself. APPX. No. V. 1761.

The Prince of Conti, who, though of the court, is less with the court than any man in France, will I suppose be equally against whatever measure is taken. If the Duc de Choiseul was not a courtier and a minister, or should ever cease to be such, no man would be in such favor with his Highness.

I am extremely sorry that the preceding picture is not in all its features what we wish; it contains the exact truth to the best of my knowledge. I should never enjoy any satisfaction of mind, if I imitated the example of Mirepoix, who, when he was ambassador in England, either saw affairs in a very flattering light, or wrote his court accounts more agreeable to their inclinations than to reality, by which he engaged his country in the present unfortunate war.

The same motives, pursued with the same integrity, oblige me to enter without reserve upon a subject, which a self-interested and narrow mind would avoid, especially when a continuation of war between France and England is perhaps unavoidable. When you named me to his Majesty as the public minister of Great Britain, I cannot doubt that you believed and knew me, (as far as general knowledge of character can induce opinion of particular conduct in any future event,) to be a man whom frowns and haughty speeches would not intimidate like a coward; whom flattery and fair words would not win like a girl; upon my conscience you did me but justice in both.

I have always held it to be the highest breach of respect towards any man, to deal with him in falsehoods; and the second degree of offence, to conceal from him truths which he has a right to know. My open explanations on every occasion are not only a duty to myself, but a proof of that grateful attachment which you shall invariably find in me, as well as the most acceptable retribution for your favors.

I cannot have the least connection of passion or interest with the French minister. I was sent here by you to use my good offices in treating a peace: my first and immediate crime must be committed against you, if I was base enough from any bias or motive whatever to conceal or alter facts and circumstances.

I shall therefore lay before you every circumstance, which I know, relating to the Duc de Choiseul's conduct, every argument he uses to justify

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it, and every thought of my own, with the same candor as if a treaty was to-morrow to be signed between the two crowns. Far be it from me, by this information, to abate your cautious vigilancy; though on the other hand, if, not my weak opinions, but facts themselves, should dissipate any unfounded jealousy, I conceive that a question of this weight on its last and final contemplation, deserves a scrutiny free from every passion and prejudice.

When you last delivered to me in England the papers which had passed between our court and that of France, there was room for a man, so uninformed as myself, to doubt whether France designed any thing more than to engage the inclinations of the rest of Europe on her side, by a transient appearance of moderation; but no other power could be gained, and Spain was already sufficiently disposed to adopt the interests of France, without her entering into this humiliating and discouraging avowal of her own weakness. She wanted no incitements whatever, but, on the contrary, has been checked and restrained.

I can only form conjectures upon the exact terms which the French court would accept; but I have no more reason to disbelieve their sincerity in a desire of peace, than to doubt of the domestic distresses of their country, and of the glorious success of his Majesty's arms. There is not a foreign minister here, nor a court in Europe, where the contrary opinion prevails:—that Austria and Spain have thought so with dismay and anxiety, is proved by facts, some of which I have transmitted to you.

I have remarked that, in more than one passage, you have found inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the language held to you by M. de Bussi. As these smaller circumstances may have influenced your opinion upon matters of more moment, and of greater doubt, I shall begin with one observation, which does not at all savor of panegyric. In doing business with the Duc de Choiseul, I have often seen him write on the most serious subjects: he uses his pen with very extraordinary rapidity, but with little attention or accuracy; he undertakes more affairs than any man can execute exactly; he is likewise very fond of society, and of his pleasures. A continual attendance upon the King's private parties is necessary to maintain his favor; thus, his rough drafts come incorrect into the hands of his secretaries, and he very often does not sufficiently revise them. When these despatches are received by persons not fully trusted, nor entirely well disposed, or of a timid temper, the errors and ambiguities which they contain, create, or afford room for much confusion, whether designed or involuntary. I have now in my hands

my notes of a conversation with him on the 29th June, when he shewed me a letter from M. de Bussi, in which there were passages capable not only of a false, but of a very offensive construction. I pointed them out to him. His ready acquiescence, and his immediate alteration, (in some of them dictated by myself,) convinced me fully that in these points he had not the least ill intention. One of these negligences had entirely altered his own meaning upon a fundamental point, wherein we were fully agreed. His letter refused that reddition of Senegal, to which he consented in his own memorial which was enclosed therewith.

It is impossible to read distinctly in the hearts of men, when any transactions occur which are capable of various constructions: the best commentary I know upon them is a due and cool consideration of the interests of the person; joined to a fair examination, whether or no the result he can reasonably expect from that part of his conduct would promote or hinder the designs in which you have reason to think him engaged. Upon these premises, where there is no external evidence, we usually pronounce upon the veracity or falsehood of others.

It is difficult to conceive, on so solemn an occasion as the first overture of the present treaty, a circumstance of equal size, which shews a more improper inattention to very grave and serious engagements, than M. de Bussi's delay in coming to Calais. You thought that France, feeling too late, perhaps, the humiliating extent of her own propositions for peace, wished to put off the evil hour, by working up a squabble, to prevent entering into the matter: but nothing is more clear, from the subsequent explanations of the minister which have been submitted to you, as well as from the whole tenor of my intelligence, that this step had no meaning at all, and had arisen only from an encroachment upon the Duc de Choiseul's careless indulgence.

His inconsistency upon the affair of Wesel is of more importance, but not of a more extraordinary nature; the explanation of it must rest entirely upon two circumstances: one of which is, that the stipulation between the Empress-Queen and France being made before his administration, and the jurisdiction she exercises there being a mere matter of form, not attended to in the contributions and other transactions which passed through his office, he might possibly, being so formed as I have represented him, have, from ignorance, committed this capital mistake; or, in that state of emotion which I described in my letters sent with his little leaf, and which appeared to me to be very real, have been guilty of an inattention for which he can make no

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better excuse. He very frankly owns, that he said what he ought not; but he urges, that a rash promise, of what never was in his power, is a very different failure from a retractation of any engagement, where he is absolutely the master, and which he can directly execute; that his intentions could not be insidious, because, having taken the earliest opportunity to digest those ideas of which he had given me so rough a sketch, he had afforded me an opportunity of setting this error right as soon as he himself knew it; that no prejudice to our court, or profit to France, could possibly arise in this interval; that the impressions, which this incident must make, were incapable of promoting any design in which you can suppose him engaged, and must impede the progress of his other propositions: upon the whole, his atonement for this behaviour, from whatever cause it has arisen, will best be found by his contriving expedients for his compliance with his original promise, which I humbly suppose he would not long delay, if the articles particularly relating to France were once settled.

I remonstrated very strongly against the strange idea of the Spanish guarantee, which he founded upon a claim that crown makes to the neutral islands, treated however by him as a pretension that would be entirely removed, and not stand in the way of an accommodation between our two courts.

I cannot help remarking, that, since the late instance of his Majesty's royal moderation upon this article, he has been totally silent as to this claim.

He has never represented to me the other engagements with this crown as obstacles that would prevent his signing a treaty of peace; nor does the tenor of them, as stated by him, bind his hands in this respect; it being very inconsistent that France should make war for Spain, while the latter in her trade and commercial concerns enjoys all the benefits of a profound peace. He represented them as the seeds of future disputes more or less distant. It is impossible for any man to have treated this matter in a higher tone than that with which I received it. I considered it rather as an act to improve those conditions, which were to be stipulated between the two crowns, by setting up an imaginary terror from that quarter, than as a solid obstacle either in present or future to the peace; never having once entertained a single thought that France would do for the Bay of Honduras, in the hands of another power, more than in defence of her own Canada and Goree. I concluded, therefore, that this phænomenon would have no real effect at all, or would contribute to produce coolness and disunion between France and

Spain. As I am not enough attached to the honor of Gallic faith, or to the Spanish interest, to think it my duty, or to feel it my inclination to see that the first is punctually kept, or the second strenuously promoted, I treated the importance of this measure, (now produced as a new discovery, but which every politician in a coffee-house, either here or in England, has long known,) as slightly, if not contemptuously, as I thought it deserved. It was not the fact itself, it was the presumption of urging it, that I inveighed against so vehemently.

I well know, that whenever France desires to engage in a new war, she would easily find some pretence, although this pretension, for which she on her side has yet received nothing more solid than words, and in which nothing that I have ever heard has been effected by Spain, should never have existed. I observed to you in my last, that the French ministry never will make a declaration that must divide them from their allies, till they see their own personal point previously settled. I shall now add, that there is not a surer way of feeling their pulse, as to the great article of the entire fishery, than a constant attention to their degree of fondness for their allies. Fear makes the strongest leagues, and they mean to tempt new dangers.

In confirmation of my opinion, you will please to observe the date when this extreme attachment to Spain first manifested itself: you will recollect that it never was mentioned till after the receipt of your letter dated June 26th, in which you refuse her this favourite article; and though I cannot answer that the engagement in question would have been always suppressed *disingenuously, (to Spain,)* M. de Grimaldi's anxiety, during the first part of my residence here, makes me doubt most shrewdly that he was not very clear in his mind, that it would be liberally construed, or devoutly observed.

I asked the Duc de Choiseul the other day a sudden question, why he never thought of this engagement with Spain, till the *abri* on the Gulph of St. Lawrence was refused? he was embarrassed, and did not immediately answer. At length he said, with some hesitation, that if we had sincerely wished a peace with France, our dispute with Spain would not have hindered it. I inquired how so? He replied, that he had a very good interest at that court.

In my letter of July 12th, I informed you, that the Duc de Choiseul had inserted an article into his memorial relating to these pretensions of Spain, but that he had agreed to leave it out upon my positive remonstrance as to the impropriety of it. I complained to him, in strong terms, of this devia-

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tion from the assurance he had given me; saying, that I had pressed this point with a warmth and vehemence, perhaps not quite consistent with that respect I owed him, merely from good and honest intentions; that I had depended upon his punctuality in leaving this matter, if he still persisted in mentioning it, to the verbal offices of M. de Bussi; he replied, that he had drawn up a separate memorial, and had left a discretionary power to M. de Bussi, to offer, or to suppress it, as circumstances should make either of these steps more expedient; that the latter had conversed with M. de Fuentes, who had eagerly solicited him to produce this paper; that the French minister was undetermined when he came to wait upon you; that you shewed so much emotion and resentment upon his entering verbally into the matter, that he on his part conceived it better to shew you the memorial, flattering himself that the terms in which it was drawn might alleviate the offence.

The Duc de Choiseul's delay in sending his memorial, received with my letter of the 14th of July, gave me reason to suspect, that he waited for some event before he made his proposition. I hinted this apprehension to you, having invariably observed to convey even the most distant surmise on every occasion which ought to excite your vigilancy. But the natural test by which his Excellency's views and intentions must be tried in order to pronounce justly upon them, is, in this case, the series of designs and incidents, which coincided with that period of a fortnight during which he suspended his answer. This criterion proves much more favorable to him than my prejudication had been; for you cannot but have observed, that although the action in Germany, which passed on the 16th, has all the air of a concerted and premeditated operation, yet the Duc de Choiseul did not stay for the issue of that affair. Delays in business at this court are an universal grievance. There is scarce a foreign minister here who does not highly complain of them. They are not owing to the Duc de Choiseul, whose fault is rather precipitation; but to the King's temper of mind, which makes it necessary for his servants, in some sort, to compound with him upon the time he bestows on the public cares of his kingdom. When his journies to St. Hubert, Choisy, Belle Vue, &c. are fixed, he will on no consideration postpone them; nor dare they press him, for fear of incurring his utmost displeasure. In these parties he will neither see his ministers, (except as private favorites,) nor read or sign any papers. The melancholy, under which his Most Christian Majesty has more frequently labored since the parricide attempted by Damien, has rendered these retirements more necessary and

frequent than formerly. The greatest part of this fortnight was passed at St. Hubert.

I shall add, that the memorial referred to points of commerce, viz. the trades of the East Indies and of Africa; that the offer was judged of such importance as to carry the form of a public act of state. The first of these circumstances required that the Duc de Choiseul should assemble the principal directors of the Company; and the second, that he should convene the council. These persons are not at Paris in the present season of the year. I know that the Duc de Choiseul had proposed an earlier day for one of these consultations, but was, from this circumstance, obliged to defer it.

With regard to the views which France may have to slacken and suspend the operations of Great Britain in any part of the world, by prolonging the present negociation, having received your instructions to accelerate a conclusion, I thought it my duty, in my first conference with the minister, to inform him that his Britannic Majesty, during the whole course of our conferences, was absolutely resolved to push his military measures with unabated ardor and spirit. I renewed this declaration on the surrender of Belle-Isle. I have many and many times vehemently, though respectfully, pressed this identical argument, to bring him to a final determination, having repeatedly represented to him, that if his Majesty's arms found that success which the wisdom with which they are directed, and the vigor with which they are exerted, gave the world reason to expect, a peace with France would become a matter still greater intricacy, if not entirely impossible.

I should be very presumptuous and weak, if, after an acquaintance of not two months, wherein, (though our intercourse has occasionally been frequent,) I once have passed a fortnight without seeing the Duc de Choiseul, and twice weeks at a time without speaking to him, I engaged myself in giving any opinion upon his political probity. It has been my constant maxim not to be off my guard with him, my reason ever having told me, that an *adroit* courtier, so skilful in domestic practices and passes of art as to have dispossessed all who preceded or could rival him, was not to be conversed with upon business, like the simple shepherd and shepherdess under an oak-tree. I have observed this rule, and I believe it will be difficult to point out that passage in my negociations wherein it appears that, in my conferences, he has had any superiority over me, or that, in my reflections upon them, I have drawn any false inferences from such a vain, ungrounded confidence. Though few statesmen have your unblemished character, whoever

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negociates with a court, must treat with the minister *de facto*, and ought always to take those measures which prudence suggests, and which custom authorizes.

Messieurs de Staremberg and Grimaldi, over whom I was formerly thought to have the ascendant, are, as I am informed, full of the highest exultation. The latter has for some time affected much more politeness and cheerfulness with me than before: I, who know him, can easily guess at his meaning. Both these gentlemen have been of late extremely busy; they have, from the circumstance of affairs, gained much ground upon me, notwithstanding my most earnest endeavors to prevent them. I avoid the mortifying sight of their joy at my ill success in this negociation, comforting myself with the hope of seeing them humbled by his Majesty's arms and those of his allies.

I should be still more unhappy if I thought myself any way culpable, either from negligence or credulity. In a country where every thread of intelligence was cut off, I have not been without due and early information to direct my conduct. I could have filled my letters with more news: I have sent you nothing but what I deemed important, and had the best reason to think was true: if my stay had been longer, it would not have proved entirely useless towards your general knowledge of this kingdom. I have not thought it either expedient or fair to write you every inconsiderate expression which has occurred in my conferences. I have equally avoided the least communication of those passages in your letters which were intended for myself alone, and which I thought would create disgust. I have faithfully explained to the French minister the very words of your letters which served to convey your public intentions. I have, on every essential occasion, translated to him those parts of my narratives which contained his conversation.

You have, without doubt, Sir, observed some levities in these narratives. I am sensible that my despatches would have made a better figure if I had omitted them; but as it has been necessary that I should receive and return this species of coin, and as they sometimes convey a more serious sense than they shew, I am persuaded that your candor has already excused them.

I am fully and clearly convinced that the sole cause of the failure of this treaty is the determined resistance of the French as to the entire concession of the fishery, although they have brought other matters already into the

negociation, and will, I doubt not, ascribe the rupture to the more generous and popular motive of fidelity to their foreign alliances.

I should not have failed in properly maintaining his Majesty's dignity and the rights belonging to my character, according to the eighth article of my instructions, if they had been attacked or infringed. I have no complaint to offer on that head, and owe this country, though an enemy, the justice to say, that not only at court and from all foreign ministers, but from every order of men, I have found nothing but the highest marks of esteem and civility. I have had the good fortune to have resided here in this critical juncture, without offending or being offended by any person whatever.

I am obliged, with great concern, to own to you, that all my arguments have been amply set forth, and are fully exhausted; that, therefore, unless some fresh event of very considerable magnitude should occur in the war, or some unexpected alteration should be ordered me in the terms of my negociation, I entirely despair of accomplishing his Majesty's wishes for a peace; but I shall, with equal zeal, execute any future instructions you are pleased to send me.

I have strictly adhered to every one of your instructions, and I believe I am in general thought to have enforced and supported them with dignity and spirit.

31. *Mr. Pitt to M. de Bussi.*

August 16, 1761.

Sir,

I made the King my master acquainted with the memorial, which, by order of his Most Christian Majesty, you accompanied the *ultimatum* of the court of France: his Majesty perceives from these two pieces, with that regret with which the love of peace inspires him, that the happy moment to put an end to so many miseries is not yet come.

As to what relates to the style of the *ultimatum* of England, in answer to the memorial of propositions from France, as likewise of the letter which I addressed to you by his Majesty's order, upon returning the two papers relative to Spain and the King of Prussia, as totally inadmissible, the King orders me to acquaint you, Sir, that his Majesty adheres both to the form and substance of those two pieces, in which his dignity concurred with his justice and good faith, leaving all the world to judge which of the two courts have shewn

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an aversion to peace during the course of that negociation; whether it be that court, which, from a principle of candor, not by way of assuming an imperative tone, has always endeavored to give open answers, in order to shorten delays, by obviating misunderstandings, and to avoid the reproach of having acted delusively even with an enemy; who, in the conditions of peace, so far from making an ill use of her prosperity, has not even insisted on all those rights which the *uti possidetis*, and the memorial of France of the 26th March, gave her; who, moreover, proposes, that after the conclusion of peace between the two crowns they shall respectively be at liberty, with regard to the contest concerning Silesia, to fulfil the engagements they have contracted with their allies: it belongs, therefore, Sir, to Europe, to judge whether this is the court which has shewn an aversion to peace, or whether it is not that, which, after so many variations and delays on her part, arbitrarily continues to insist on objects in America which we have a right to by the *uti possidetis*, and which would make a direct attempt on the essential rights of our conquests in Canada and its appurtenances in the Gulph of St. Lawrence; which in Germany, not only refuses to give up her conquests, gained over his Majesty's allies, as a just compensation for the important restitutions with which his Majesty is willing to accommodate France, but even pretends to impose an obligation on his Majesty not to fulfil the engagements of his crown towards the King of Prussia; which, moreover, not satisfied with throwing so many insuperable obstacles in the way to peace, has not scrupled to interpose new perplexities in opposition to this precious blessing for which the nations sigh, by intermixing, too late, matters so foreign to the present negociation between the two crowns, as are the discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

Such, Sir, being the conduct of the two courts, the King perceives with regret, that the peace so much desired is far distant, and that at this very moment the court of France is willing to entrust it to the uncertain fate of farther events.

If this is the intention of France, his Majesty relies on the same Providence which has hitherto blessed his arms, and the sincerity of his intentions towards peace; and hopes, that the course of events, accomplishing what his Majesty's moderation has in vain attempted, will recal the court of France to a more favorable disposition.

Nevertheless, Sir, although I am not at liberty to confer with you concerning the *ultimatum* of your court separately, yet if you desire, Sir, that we

should have a conference on the two *ultimatums* of our courts together, I will be at your command when you think proper, that I may have the honor to learn what you have to communicate to me with respect to the intentions of your court.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. PITT.

32. *M. de Bussi's Answer to Mr. Pitt.*

August 16, 1761.

SIR,

I received the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 15th of this month. I will not undertake to discuss the principal object of it, without submitting it to my court, whether it is proper to make a reply, and what that reply should be. I will confine myself, Sir, to assure you, that I accept, with pleasure, the offer your Excellency makes me, of a conference on the subject of the two *ultimatums* of our courts; as you are out of town, and as I would not trespass on the moments you devote to the establishment of your health, I refer myself to you entirely to appoint the day and hour when I may come to confer with you.

Nothing can be more true than the assurance I make to you of the respectful attachment with which you have inspired me, and with which I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) DE BUSSI.

33. *The Answer of the British Minister to the Ultimatum of France, delivered to M. de Bussi on the* 16*th of August,* 1761.

The Most Christian King having repeatedly declared, in the *ultimatum* of the court of France, remitted to Mr. Pitt by M. de Bussi, as well as in the memorial of the propositions of peace, which was remitted by the Duc de Choiseul to Mr. Stanley, that if the negociation entered upon between the two crowns has not the desired effect, all the articles conceded in that negociation by France cannot be considered in any case as points agreed upon, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, in relation to the *uti possidetis;* the King declares, in return, that if the concessions his Majesty has made to bring about peace should not be accepted by his Most Christian Majesty, the important restitutions offered to France, as well as

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the other circumstances herein after expressed, cannot for the future be considered as given up.

ARTICLE I. The King will not desert his claim to the entire and total cession of all Canada and its dependencies, without any new limits or exceptions whatever; and likewise insists on the complete cession of the islands of Cape Breton, and of the other islands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence.

Canada, according to the lines of its limits, traced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil himself, when that governor surrendered the said province by capitulation to the British General, Sir J. Amherst, comprehends on one side the lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior; and the said line drawn to the Red Lake, takes in, by a serpentine progress, the Ouabachi, as far as its junction with the Ohio, and from thence extends itself along the latter river as far inclusively as its influx into the Mississippi.

It is in conformity to this state of the limits made by the French Governor, that the King claims the cession of Canada, a province which the court of France moreover has offered anew by their *ultimatum* to cede to his Britannic Majesty, *in the most extensive manner, as expressed in the memorial of propositions of peace, of the 13th of July.*

As to what concerns the public profession and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the new subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be maintained in that privilege without interruption or molestation: and the French inhabitants, or others, who may have been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, shall have full liberty and power to sell their effects, provided they dispose of them to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and to transport their property, as well as their persons, without being restrained from their emigration under any pretence whatever; (unless in case of debt, or for breach of criminal laws;) it being always understood, that the time granted for the said emigration shall be limited to the space of one year, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. II. As to what respects the line to be drawn from Rio-Perdido, as contained in the note remitted by M. de Bussi of the 18th of this month, with regard to the limits of Louisiana, his Majesty is obliged to reject so unexpected a proposition, as by no means admissible in two respects.

1. Because the said line, under color of fixing the limits of Louisiana, annexes vast countries to that province, which, with the commanding posts and forts, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has, by the most solemn capitulation, incontestibly yielded into the possession of his Britannic Majesty, under the

description of Canada, and that consequently, however contentious the pretensions of the two crowns may have been before the war, and particularly with respect to the course of the Ohio, and the territories in that part, since the surrender of Canada, and the line of its limits has been traced, as aforesaid, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, all those opposite titles are united, and become valid without contradiction, to confirm to Great Britain, with all the rest of Canada, the possession of those countries on that part of the Ohio which have been heretofore contested.

2. The line proposed to fix the bounds of Louisiana cannot be admitted, because it would comprise in another part, on the side of the Carolinas, very extensive countries and numerous nations, who have always been reputed to be under the protection of the King, a right which his Majesty has no intention of renouncing; and then the King, for the advantage of peace, might consent to leave intermediate countries under the protection of Great Britain, and particularly the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chicasaws, the Chactaws, and another nation, situate between the British settlements and the Mississippi.

ART. III. The King refers to the third article of the *ultimatum* of England, concerning the cession of Senegal and its dependencies, as well as the Island of Goree, in the most ample manner, as expressed in the said article; and his Majesty renews the declaration which has been made by Mr. Stanley, that if the Court of France would suggest any reasonable expedient to provide themselves with negroes, which may not be too detrimental to the interests of the British subjects in Africa, he will willingly enter upon a discussion of this subject.

ART. IV. The important privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, under certain limitations and restrictions, to the subjects of France, for fishing and drying their cod-fish on a certain part of the banks of Newfoundland, has not been refused by Great Britain, but connected with a reciprocal satisfaction on the part of France, with regard to the indispensable object of Dunkirk, which the King has required, and still requires: it is, therefore, on condition that the town and port of Dunkirk shall be put in the condition it ought to have been in by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that his Majesty consents to renew to France the privilege of fishing and of drying their fish by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, upon the aforesaid district of Newfoundland.

As to the demand which his Most Christian Majesty has farther made,

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that his subjects may fish in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, as also to have a port there *without fortifications*, and subject to the inspection of England, as proposed on the part of the D. de Choiseul in his conferences with Mr. Stanley on that head, which port should merely serve as a shelter to the fishing-boats of the French nation which shall land there; the King, to manifest to his Most Christian Majesty, and to the whole world, the sincerity of his intentions with regard to peace, will consent,

1. To grant the French subjects the privilege of fishing in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, upon this express condition, that is to say, That the said French subjects shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great Britain, whether on the continent or on the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Lawrence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised; saving always the privilege, granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht to the subjects of France, to fish and dry their cod-fish on a part specified on the banks of Newfoundland, which privilege is proposed to be renewed to France as aforesaid.

2. The King will consent to cede to his Majesty the Isle of St. Pierre with its ports, which isle, with respect to that part of Newfoundland situate between the Bay of Placentia, and the Bay of La Fortune, stands east-south-east, and its port opens to the north-east, the interior part of which port is called *Bourgway;* the Island of St. Pierre, which the King is willing to cede, is divided by a little streight from another island known by the name of *Maquelon,* or of *Michelon,* which lies to the north of the said Isle of St. Pierre.

To the cession of the said isle, as above mentioned, his Majesty annexes four indispensable conditions.

1. That France, on no pretence, nor under any denomination whatever, shall erect any fortifications, either in the said isle, or in its port, and that she shall not keep any troops there, nor maintain any military establishment whatever.

2. That the said isle and the said port shall only serve as a shelter to the fishing-vessels of the French nation, and that France shall not suffer the vessels of any other nation whatever to partake of the convenience of this shelter for the fishing-boats.

3. That the possession of the Isle of St. Pierre as aforesaid shall not be constituted in any case, to confer, transmit, or participate in any matter

whatever the least right or power of fishing or of drying cod-fish in any part of the coast of Newfoundland, beyond the district expressly stipulated and fixed for that purpose by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, that is to say, *a Loco Cap Bonavista nuncupato, usque ad extremitatem ejusdem Insulæ septentrionalem, indeque ad Latus occidentale recurrendo usque ad Lacum* Pointriche *appellatum.*

4. That in virtue of the cession of the said island as aforesaid, an English commissary shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander of the British squadron at Newfoundland shall be at liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and the said port, to see that the stipulations above expressed are punctually observed.

ART. V. The proposition of an alternative suggested by the Court of France, in relation to the Isles of Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, commonly called neutral islands, is by no means admissable. The King, however, from a principle of moderation, continues his inclination to agree to an equal partition of the said four islands, to be ascertained in the future treaty between the two crowns.

ART. VI. The King consents to restore to his Most Christian Majesty,

1. The important conquest of Belle-Isle, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said island.

2. His Majesty likewise agrees to restore to the Most Christian King the fertile and wealthy island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said islands.

ART. VII. The Island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as likewise Fort St. Philip, in the condition it stood, and with the artillery therein, &c. at the time of taking the said island and fort.

ART. VIII. As to what regards the restitution and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the King's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel and the other territories of the King of Prussia, his Majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject in the 7th article of the *ultimatum* of England; it being always understood, that all the places belonging to his Majesty's allies in Germany shall be restored, with the artillery, &c. found in them at the time of taking the said places.

ART. IX. With regard to the succor to be afforded to the King of Prussia on the part of the British crown, as an auxiliary, after the conclusion of the separate treaty between Great Britain and France, his Majesty remains in the same inflexible resolution which he declared at the first overture of the

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present negociation, that he never will desist from giving constant succor to the King of Prussia, as an auxiliary, *with efficacy and good faith*, in order to attain the salutary end of a general pacification in Germany. With this view, his Majesty, far from proposing to leave France at liberty to send armies into Silesia, *without being limited to the number stipulated in her actual engagements with the Court of Vienna*, (a circumstance not to be found in any part of the *ultimatum* of England) has uniformly declared, as the thirteenth article of the said *ultimatum* professes, that Great Britain and France shall be at liberty to support their respective allies and auxiliaries in their particular contest for the recovery of Silesia, according to the engagements entered into by each crown.

The King declares at the same time, that his Majesty has neither the intention nor the authority to take upon him to inhibit and forbid any foreign troops from entering into the service and pay of the King of Prussia, however his Majesty might be inclined to consent not to furnish, but by means of subsidy, those supplies which Great Britain shall judge convenient to grant his Prussian Majesty, in pursuance of her engagements.

ART. X. With regard to the captures made after the commencement of hostilities, and before the declaration of war, the King continues of opinion, that such a demand on the part of France is neither just nor maintainable, according to the most incontestible principle of the rights of war and of nations.

ART. XI. Concerning the evacuations of Ostend and Nieuport, the King cannot but refer to the most express and irrevocable stipulation of the most solemn treaties expressed in the 11th article of the *ultimatum* of Great Britain, as also to his declaration relative to that subject: and his Majesty relies on the sincerity of the declaration on the part of France: that is to say, that *the intention of his Most Christian Majesty never was to keep possession of the aforesaid places after the return of peace.*

ART. XII. In regard to the cessation of hostilities, the King persists, in every respect, in the same intentions, declared in the 12th article of the British *ultimatum.*

ART. XIII. As to what concerns the French East India Company, he can only refer to the 9th article of the *ultimatum* of England, with regard to which no disagreement seems to subsist.

ART. XIV. As to the prisoners of war, the two courts seem to agree perfectly on that head.

The Court of France cannot but perceive from this answer the sincerity of his Majesty's intentions, as well as the moderation which directs his Majesty towards the means of reconciliation with the Most Christian King.

34. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, August 20, 1761.

In my letter by Mr. Mackenzie, I informed you of the dispute between Mareschal Broglio and the Prince de Soubise: I added, that it had produced a strong altercation between Madlle. de Pompadour and the Duc de Choiseul; neither of them acquiesced at that time in the opinion of the other: since then several documents of various sorts, viz. minutes taken at the Council of War, letters from the Generals who composed it, &c. have been sent to Versailles. I am well informed, that the result of this examination has proved favorable to the Prince de Soubise, and that it has appeared very clearly that Mareschal Broglio, in his attack on the evening of July the 15th, had acted contrary to the agreement fixed in concert between them. The manifestation of this fact has given Madlle. de Pompadour the advantage in this point over the minister. She has used it with some force, having declared to him, "that in common justice, the true state of that affair ought to be made known by publishing the said minutes." The Duc de Choiseul, who, as I have acquainted you, favors Mons. de Broglio, answered, "that this could not be done without offending the Dauphin, who protects that Mareschal." She replied, "*whom would you chuse to offend, of the Dauphin or of me?*"

This strong answer denotes a spirit not so entirely submissive to the Duc de Choiseul as she has shewn in all other instances since my arrival here. I have likewise been secretly told, that she said, "he had been very ungrateful to her:" he who gave me this information, was of opinion, that she intended to make a push against him.

Having mentioned the Dauphin, it is not improper to acquaint you, that his Excellency, at the beginning of his administration, paid his court to that Prince; who being of a character entirely the reverse of that of the minister, even to the excess of bigotry, did on the account of the irregularities of his private life and conduct, receive his assiduities with much coolness and indifference. The Duke, who has more spirit than discretion, was so sensible of this neglect, that he told the King, or said at least very openly, when this

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was reported to his Majesty, "that if his Majesty chose to employ him, he neither would nor could undertake to serve two masters." As to the Dauphin's favor to that Mareschal, there is no doubt of its being real; but in the present circumstance, I suppose that fact has no connexion with the support given him by the minister, who is guided on his part by his own reasons and motives.

I told you before I left England what has since been confirmed to me here, and is true beyond a doubt, viz. that the Duke's intimate union with Madlle. de Pompadour, and his first introduction to the ministry, (when he was joined to Cardinal de Bernis,) had arisen from his sacrificing to her another lady, who was in terms with the King of immediately supplying her place. I have heard, that there are moments in which his Majesty does not forgive the part he acted on this occasion; and that he has likewise been sometimes displeased at the familiarity with which the Duke treats him; but his Excellency has always had three circumstances greatly in his favor. In the first place, no man living wants amusement so much as the King of France; Mons. de Choiseul has the talent of entertaining him, being indeed a person of the most lively and chearful conversation that I have met with; secondly, he contrives to carry on all his affairs with the least personal trouble or fatigue imaginable to his Majesty; lastly, he has so decided a resolution in every thing which relates to his own power or influence, that he braves and subdues all those who would oppose another.

Matters are not yet ripe enough to give me sufficient foundation for any opinion upon the final issue of these affairs, whether this dispute will be reconciled? which of the parties concerned will prove superior? or whether a dismission of the one or the other will shortly take place?

It is my duty, however, to inform you how I conceive upon very solid reasons that these affairs will affect any future concerns of England with this court. I told you, Sir, in one of my first despatches, that the Duc de Choiseul had assured me the Austrian alliance had been concluded by Cardinal de Bernis, and had repeated to me that it was totally contrary to his opinion and inclination. In a cyphered paper of intelligence, coming to me from the highest authority and early transmitted to you, I likewise acquainted you, that this measure had been taken with the concurrence and under the direction of Madlle. de Pompadour.

The Empress-Queen writes private letters to this lady, in which she calls her *ma cousine*, (she being now a Dutchess.) When the Count de Caunitz proposed this stile of correspondence to her, he made some excuses

for requiring so great a condescension: the Queen replied, "*why should I make any scruple? have not I flattered Farinelli?*"

What I now communicate to you, confirms in me the opinion I have always entertained, that the Duc de Choiseul was most seriously desirous of concluding a treaty of peace with England, since nothing can be more evident than that the introduction of Austrian and Spanish influence in the councils here must be prejudicial to his power. This likewise throws a very full light upon the dislike which the Duc de Choiseul has always shewn to Messrs. de Staremberg and Grimaldi, as well as upon Madlle. de Grammont's aversion for those two persons and their politics; which she, who is still more open than her brother, cannot help declaring upon every occasion.

One day that Mons. de Choiseul was conversing with Madlle. de Pompadour upon my treaty, she said, "that she had made a promise with regard to a certain point to the Empress-Queen;" his Excellency replied, "*bon, promesses de femmes!*"

I remember when I first came here, a person who is in no very high station, but who enjoys a general access, told me, that the present juncture was the best he had seen for making the peace, and that it was advisable to accelerate as much as possible, since no preceding minister would have gone so far towards it as the present in his actual situation.

Since my despatch of the 6th instant, the Duc de Choiseul, in the warmth of conversation, said to me, "*that the treaty with England had hurt him.*" He is often unguarded in his expressions. On my endeavoring to sift him farther, he diverted any explanation by an answer which I am sure could not be a frank one; viz. that he looked upon the pacification as certain upon his offers, and had taken measures with regard to their armies and finances, which he had been obliged to alter at an expense. He has likewise told me very gravely, upon my representing to him those inconsistencies mentioned in my despatch of the 6th instant, "*that I should some day have the clearest conviction of his real desire for peace;*" he uses the same expression in a private letter to me which I shall shew you. I likewise recollect his dropping, that if the present treaty was broke off, he should not probably be the person who would negociate another with Great Britain. You will compare all this with what occurs from him and Madlle. de Grammont, with regard to his leaving the department of Foreign Affairs.

The state of the negociation has lately been certainly very disadvantageous to his Excellency in a private light, because it has given Messieurs de

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Staremberg and Grimaldi an appearance of superiority over him, and has confirmed what they have incessantly urged against his plan. It is not, therefore, very clear to me, that the introduction of the Spanish affairs was a voluntary act of the Duc de Choiseul. He may, very possibly, have been compelled by the exigencies of his actual situation to what I think he did not personally much desire, before your letter of June the 26th; when a reconciliation with England became more improbable, he may have found himself unable to act, except in this manner. Hence possibly also arose his great anxiety when he first entered with me into the business of the compensations, as well as the secrecy required towards the ministers of all allies, and even towards M. de Bussi himself, until such time as he thought that his first outline might lead to a peace.

I cannot help observing, that in my frequent intercourse with the brother and sister, neither of them has ever given me the least hint that it would be proper for me to see Madlle. de Pompadour, or has ever said any thing at all that shewed any respect or good-will towards her. I was, on the contrary, advised by the very best and most confidential hand against seeing her, still more against speaking of any business to her without the minister's previous direction, as against steps that would be highly resented, and would prove fatal to my success. I have therefore only called in a general way upon this lady, as all other foreign ministers do. She had once appointed me an hour, but afterwards sent me an excuse. I was the less solicitous for opportunities with her, because I am well persuaded that it was as little in her power as in her inclination to promote my affairs. I took the only opportunity I had to go to Versailles for two or three days, in some measure upon the Duc de Choiseul's invitation; but the necessity of sending a courier to you obliged me to leave that place in four-and-twenty hours. The state of the negociation has since been such, that my presence there would probably not have been very agreeable.

M. Grimaldi, being an ambassador *de famille*, (as it is here called,) has perpetual opportunities of following the Court; he acts on all occasions in concert with M. de Staremberg, who is extremely well with Madlle. de Pompadour, and I do not doubt that they are both deeply engaged on the other side of the question. I need not repeat what infinite advantages they have lately had. I have now a proof, amounting almost to demonstration, of the certainty of those offers of exchanges in the Netherlands of which I gave you early notice. I have mentioned, in my letter to Mr. Duval, the

proposal made by Spain to guard Martinico and the French West Indies by her fleets, while France pursues her operations on the Continent. What I imparted to you as coming from a *commis* of M. Berryer, has since been confirmed to me by another hand, who has assured me that the new taxes are resolved upon, though not declared, which indeed would be very unusual.

The probability of an immediate rupture with England has prevented my endeavoring to induce the Duc de Choiseul to open himself to me upon these affairs, which I should otherwise have attempted, conceiving it to be wise and necessary. I am convinced that, if he should be removed, his successor will be wholly Spanish and Austrian, as well as that peace, upon any terms, with England will be at a great distance.

35. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, August 26, 1761.

Towards the close of our conference he [b] informed me of a very important, and I think a very political step, which he has so suddenly taken that one of the persons concerned did not, I am from a collateral proof certain, know it when he mentioned it to me. This measure was executed yesterday: the Comte de Choiseul, ambassador at Augsburg, was declared of the cabinet and a minister of state: the Comte d'Aubeterre was named in his place at the Congress.

The Duc de Choiseul has many inaccuracies and inattentions in business, but no man sees his interest clearer or strikes at it in a bolder way. I am convinced that this promotion is a consequence of that state of affairs which I have communicated to you by my letters, and that he has chose a very wise expedient to preserve all his power with more liberty than he has lately enjoyed. I agree with the ablest man I have met with here in drawing the following inferences from this event.

The Duc de Choiseul intends to keep the administration as it now stands till a peace is made with England, or till the continuation of war is absolutely certain. He will, as soon as a good opportunity offers, consign the department of foreign affairs to the Comte, preserving to himself more safely the superior influence he has over his master, and laying upon his relation the

[b] The Duc de Choiseul.

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burden of those personal altercations which he cannot now avoid. He may likewise possibly decline some explications and conversations which upon a change of affairs might not be entirely agreeable. He is well known and liked in the army, and will retain to himself, not only in that department but every where else, all possible opportunities of serving his friends.

The new minister is, as I informed you in my first letter, very much esteemed here: he passes for a man of honor and probity; he is totally devoted and attached to his benefactor. My connection with the Duke, and his destination to Augsburg have given me frequent opportunities of seeing him familiarly, both at his own house during his illness, and since he has been able to be carried out. He has lately been of our suppers with Mad^e. de Grammont, and as we neither of us play much at cards, we have conversed a great deal together. As far as my poor judgment goes, I assent to the general opinion that he is a person of a very cool head, infinitely superior in experience to the Duke, and of a more solid understanding; though not endowed with the same fire and vivacity. As far as I have been able to discern, he has no Austrian or Spanish ingredients in his composition, but is soberly and pacifically inclined. I shall wait upon him this morning, and if any thing material either then or at any other time occurs, I shall inform you thereof.

The Comte d'Aubeterre is, I believe, the first man that occurred upon this sudden occasion. I have not heard his name till now since I came to Paris, and I know at present very little about him, except that he cannot, I conceive, be the person ultimately relied upon, because I have reason to be very sure that the Duc de Choiseul intends, if other affairs make this measure possible, to keep the Comte so far disengaged, as to be able to send him to Augsburg, in case any exigency should happen that requires the presence of an intimate confident.

I complied punctually with your instructions in not even hinting to the Duc de Choiseul that I had received the papers you enclosed to me in your last, nor did he ask me any question about them. I found he has the copy of your letter to M. de Bussi of the 15th instant, which he said was *très vive*, but he did not express any other anxiety or resentment upon the stile or matter thereof.

You will allow me, Sir, with exultation to feel and applaud the truly British spirit that reigns throughout your state papers. It would be very indecent in me to presume to offer you my advice, but it is my duty to

convey to you information of the impression which every step carries with it in this country. The French are to be treated with great firmness and dignity; but now that his Majesty's honor has been so nobly asserted, and that these most improper intrusions into his affairs are so fully repelled, I submit it to you whether it may not be expedient to soften that asperity which might before be necessary. My reason for this intimation is that I know that the King of France has been grieved, not to say personally offended, at some particular expressions; and has said with great warmth, "that he was ready to resign provinces for the peace, but that he would not be deprived of his honor, and of the character of a man of truth and probity." I beg leave to remind you that the main spring from whence a desirable conclusion can be expected, is his Majesty's private disposition and temper of mind. This particular circumstance may in some instances perhaps make it more prudent to defer general reflections upon the morality and punctilio of transactions till the issue is seen. As to the Duc de Choiseul, though they make him uneasy at the time, they have very little permanent effect upon his decisions.

Paris, August 28.

The measure of calling the Comte de Choiseul to a participation of the ministry is universally applauded as a masterpiece of policy. The plea for attacking the Duke would have been his insufficiency in point of time and strength to go through both departments. He might perhaps have had a displeasing association proposed to him, or an embarrassing choice to make. The Comte has several talents which he wants and will assist him in all affairs till his own province is assigned him: he continues ambassador plenipotentiary for the reason above mentioned. This proof of the Duc de Choiseul's superior ascendant in the present juncture has fully decided the dispute in his favor: you may depend on it that he has never been so strong or so safe.

I have mentioned the Dauphin and the Dauphiness's attachment to the Jesuits, the anonymous memorial presented against the Duc de Choiseul, and the way in which he received it. This affair may possibly make him stand well with the Parliament.

36. *Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley.*

Whitehall, August 27, 1761.

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I will first begin by acquainting you, that the extensive lights and very great ability with which your ample despatch is composed [c], and particularly that laudable zeal for the exact and full information of his Majesty, as well as that impartial love of truth and honorable sense of the high trust reposed in you, which sentiments reign through the whole of your letter, could not but appear equally striking to all those to whom the same was communicated. To this I am to add, that the strong and lively representations of the dispositions, characters, views, and resolutions of the French minister and nation, and of what you judged was to be expected from the combination of all these considerations in the present crisis, did not fail to make deep impressions at the meeting, and appeared to contribute not a little to shake the resolutions of many of their Lordships with regard to the liberty of fishing in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and to an *abri* there demanded by France.

After many and long deliberations, the advice most humbly offered to his Majesty has been, that it is more expedient not to break off at once the negociation with France on the foot of the *ultimatum* of England, without putting once more to the test the too justly suspected sincerity of France, by the great concession on the part of England of a liberty to fish in the said Gulph, and of an *abri* there for the French fishing vessels.

As you will see by the inclosed answer to the *ultimatum* of France, that the island of St. Peter's is offered for this purpose, not Canso, which had been mentioned here by M. de Bussi, I am to acquaint you that considerations of the greatest weight have determined against the cession of Canso, as that island and port, lying close on the British continent of America, and particularly on that long disputed and not yet well settled part thereof, Nova Scotia, seem in point of situation to be not less, but perhaps more dangerous in various respects to the British colonies, than even Cape Breton or St. John's.

The Duc de Choiseul has told you *that he asked for nothing but a rock that would afford shelter to the barks of their fishermen, which they were ready to receive on almost any terms that England would prescribe; that he continued ready to consent to every limitation which he had pro-*

[c] Dated 20th August.

posed, and particularly to the residence of an English commissary on the spot. In answer to this, England offers now an island of no large extent indeed but not incommodious, with a small but good harbour, more than adequate to every purpose pretended by France.

But before I go any farther into the instructions which I am ordered by his Majesty to send you for your conduct in the present critical point to which the negociation is reduced, it is judged necessary for me to make, among others, one most material observation on that passage in your letter of the 6th; where you say *that you are fully and clearly convinced that the sole cause of the failure of this treaty is the determined resistance of the French as to the entire concession of the fishery.* This and similar expressions, such as, *entire surrender of the fishery; total exclusion of France from any share whatever in that branch of commerce;* and these repeated three or four times in the same despatch, appear here difficult to reconcile with that degree of facility shewn on the part of England with regard to the privilege of fishing and drying within a certain district of Newfoundland, as granted by the treaty of Utrecht; a facility shewn conditionally indeed, to the just satisfaction demanded on our part concerning the state of Dunkirk. Admitted thus to so large and valuable a fishery at Newfoundland, how was France excluded from any share whatever in that branch of commerce? Does she not in reality, under color of resisting the surrender of the *whole* fishery, contend not to cede to us any part of it? Meaning perhaps to keep open a door to let in Spain at our expense, as the price and center of naval union against England, and the only effectual means of forming a common nursery of seamen for that purpose. You will perceive by the answer which the King has ordered me to give on this point, relating to the privilege of Newfoundland, that care is taken to state this matter exactly; and in such manner as I collect from your several letters, is conformable to what the Duc de Choiseul admits to be the case, and as M. de Bussi owns he has always clearly understood it here.

With regard to my communication of your conversation with the Duc de Choiseul, upon his first mention of the Spanish affair, I have only to assure you that, however M. de Bussi may have understood or represented this matter, nothing was farther from my thoughts than to qualify that most indecent and offensive measure by the soft and absurd name of an *offer of mediation,* so incompatible with the very idea of an hostile power. I could not possibly consider it otherwise than a menace, and treat it as such in what,

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ever terms it was couched by the Duc de Choiseul; of whose address I have too just an opinion, not to have concluded that he would endeavor to palliate in expression so absurd a proposition.

I cannot omit saying one word on those expressions *must* and *never*, which you mention to have caused such indignant sensations in the minister of France, and which his Excellency would endeavor invidiously to make pass for *un ton impératif, et peu fait pour la négociation.* How much more authoritative *must* is than *shall,* (one of which is unavoidable in any positive stipulation,) I leave to the Duc de Choiseul and the French academy to determine. In the mean time I desire to refer you to a memorial herein enclosed for your information on a *much more material subject,* signed by the Duc de Mirepoix, and delivered the 14th May, 1755, wherein you will find the following words used to the court of Great Britain by that ambassador here; "*il faut, (must,)* établir que le Fleuve St. Laurent est le centre du Canada;" and farther, "la cour de France a rejetté décisivement et *rejettera toujours, (ever,)* la proposition," &c. I am sensible this is too much on such a frivolous and ill-founded exceptiousness about *words,* and will now hasten to *things,* which demand my whole attention in a moment so highly interesting to the glory of his Majesty, and so decisive to the national honor and welfare of Great Britain.

You are to understand then that the inclosed answer to the *ultimatum* of France is the mature result of repeated and most serious deliberations; and contains the final resolutions of his Majesty on the sum of things as they now stand. It is therefore the King's pleasure that you should sign this answer as herein transmitted to you; and deliver it without delay to the Duc de Choiseul; accompanying this paper with a language conformable to the contents of the same, and, what is superfluous to add to you, with a deportment of perfect candor and politeness. It is the King's further pleasure that you should give the Duc de Choiseul clearly to know, that as there is a point in all negociations where concessions must stop, his Majesty has now carried his royal moderation and facility to the utmost extent, and that no considerations, but the pure love of peace, and a sincere desire of conciliation with the Most Christian King, could ever have carried his Majesty so far.

After a series of facts which have much shaken all confidence here in the sincerity of France, namely, the superadding of demands and retracting of offers ever since the little leaf; the tergiversation about restoring the King of Prussia's territories; the contesting his Majesty's right to fulfil, as an

auxiliary, his engagement to that Monarch, while France would amplify her own towards the Court of Vienna; the confounding of the negociation, and that with menaces, by blending with it the foreign matter of Spanish disputes; and, lastly, the claiming, as Louisiana, with an *effrontery unparalleled,* vast regions which the Marquis de Vaudreuil has surrendered to General Amherst as Canada, and defined himself, with his own hand, as comprehended in the government of that province where he commanded. And, as far as concerns the whole course of the Ohio and the countries in that part, you will see by the enclosed memorial transmitted to you for that purpose, that the Duc de Mirepoix did solemnly declare here, in the name of his Court, that France had constantly regarded the said River Ohio as a *dependance of Canada,* and, instead of making part of Louisiana, as being essential to the communication of Canada with that first-named province.

After such a series of facts, I say, I will not conceal from you that little more is expected here from the facility, great and essential as it is, with regard to the liberty of fishing in the Gulph, and the *abri* there offered to France, than to put that Court more in the wrong, in case it shall reject these so favorable conditions of peace. I use the word *reject,* because it will no longer be left in the power of France to *elude.* His Majesty has now taken his resolution, and in case the Court of France shall, after due consideration, not think fit to accept the terms offered in the enclosed answer, which you are to deliver to the Duc de Choiseul, that is to say, with regard to the main points; more particularly the fishery and *abri,* as offered; the entire cession of all Canada, and the islands in the Gulph and River St. Lawrence; the British limits, as asserted on the side of the Carolinas; all the restitutions as demanded in Germany; and the liberty to each crown, after the peace, to succor as an auxiliary their respective allies, according to the engagements they have taken; I am expressly to signify to you, that it is the King's pleasure that, in this case, you are not to wait for further orders, but are to return home without taking leave; and it will of course be expected that M. de Bussi should immediately leave England. You will break to the Duc de Choiseul something of this final order in your first conference, but so remotely and indirectly, as not to impede by the least air of menace the full effect of this last experiment. Whether the French ministry, now that this great concession of fishing in the Gulph with an *abri* is proposed, will think of making good their former offers with respect to the entire cession of all Canada with the islands, and with regard to the King of Prussia's

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territories; and whether they will drop the Spanish disputes, which, if insisted on, must unavoidably prevent the peace, and which, while in the hands of France, can never be accommodated. But whatever management it is proper to employ in the first insinuation of this provisional order to leave France, you will, at all events, clearly make known to the Duc de Choiseul, in due time, that, in case the terms offered shall not be accepted, you have the King's orders to come away; and as soon as you shall find, which cannot be long, that it is the resolution of France not to accept the same, it is the King's pleasure that you do put the above order in execution, and return to England.

Having mentioned in the answer to the French *ultimatum* the line traced by the hand of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, defining the limits of the government of Canada, to which I allude in this letter, I send you enclosed, for your information and use, an imperfect, but I trust intelligible, sketch of the same, copied from the original transmitted to me by General Amherst, together with an extract of the General's letter on that subject.

I have the most real pleasure in acquainting you that the King continues to rely, with entire satisfaction, on your vigilance, circumspection, and approved zeal for his Majesty's service.

37. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

September 1, 1761.

I must beg your indulgence in explaining two points mentioned in your last letter. The first of them relates to the mode in which the French minister presumed to interpose with regard to the Spanish disputes. I never imagined, Sir, that you thought of qualifying that most indecent and offensive measure by the soft name of an offer of mediation; nor did I mean to convey that you had ever used those words in conference with M. de Bussi. I thought the mediation of an enemy, far from conveying any conciliating idea, was of all other propositions the most offensive. I stated it as such, and my despatches of the 12th July will inform you that I expressed myself in every term that is short of the most absolute contempt; declaring that I would not, if I was minister, yield to France one blade of grass nor one grain of sand, either from the fear of this indecent menace, or from the foolish hope of her good offices; which sentiments, by mine of July the 14th, you will find I offered to repeat literally in the presence of the Spanish ambassador.

Therefore I doubt not that you will see two things; in the first place that the word *mediation* has never been attributed at all either to you, or to the Duc de Choiseul, and in the second place, that I have not used it as a soft name. APPX. No. V. 1761.

The second point relates to my use of the adjectives *entire* and *total* where I have mentioned the surrender of the fishery. Upon examining my papers, I see that I have not every where specified this fishery to be that inherent by right in the possession of the coasts and islands, streights and passages of and to the gulph and river of St. Lawrence; but I believe, upon a review, the subject matter very sufficiently shews that my words can refer to this entire fishery, and to no other. I conceived that the context made the sense thereof sufficiently plain for our correspondence. But though I may have to you omitted in some places the repetition of those advantages which France gains by our concession of the privilege of drying on the coast of Newfoundland, appendant to a separate distinct fishery, I have strenuously urged and zealously represented them in my conversations with the Duc de Choiseul. I have no reason to think that they have not had a share in his determinations; at least if they have not been fully weighed by him, it has not been my fault.

If the letter transmitted to you by M. de Bussi on the 10th appears so remarkable, what would you, Sir, not have thought had you seen the first edition of that paper. I apprehended nothing less than the absolute rupture of the treaty as soon as it should reach your hands; having studiously remarked that you avoided all disputes on words as well as on forms where his Majesty's dignity was not essentially concerned. I used my utmost endeavors, not without some success, to prevent so disagreeable an incident, but I at the same time avoided the least air of deprecation, contenting myself with representing calmly and firmly the consequences which would attend this rash step.

I ought to inform you of a circumstance which bears some connection to these points of stile. In the very short interview I have had with the Duc de Choiseul, I have shewn him the passage of M. de Mirepoix's letter, in which the words he had so much objected to are employed. He behaved with good humor and politeness upon the occasion, fairly confessing that, the matter of the ultimatum proving contrary to his expectations, he had seen the expressions above mentioned in a stronger light than they deserved. He assured me at the same time that there remained in his mind no degree whatever of resentment or ill will.

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I have received with the most devoted submission the fresh mark of his Majesty's royal moderation in the offer of the island of St. Peters. I have been so incessantly pressed upon the article of an *abri*, that it has been difficult for me to maintain that unshaken firmness from which I have never swerved, and to avoid at the same time some degree of asperity. The language I have constantly held has been, that in a treaty proposed by France upon the terms of the *uti possidetis* joined to compensations equal in value, England had already yielded very greatly, more than she demanded in exchange. I have never expressed the least wish that his Majesty's generosity and love of peace should carry him one iota farther than he had already gone; but on the other hand, finding myself in a situation, where it was my duty to render my offices acceptable, I have avoided in my conferences those denotations of aversion and indignation, which I have been obliged to employ with regard to Spain, and upon some other occasions where the honor of my royal master required a different temper. As you conceive, Sir, that this concession well guarded and duly qualified is not totally inconsistent, upon the general sum of things, with the interest of Great Britain, and that the very offer will put the court of France more in the wrong if it be rejected; I am far from regretting any little part that I may personally have had in this determination.

I was gone into the country for two days when I received your memorial: I immediately despatched it, then unsigned, to the Duc de Choiseul, conceiving that this speedy and confidential communication would have good effects. I accompanied it with the most proper letter that I could devise to promote and forward them. I was the more inclined to take this method, because I have always observed that his Excellency's second thoughts are better and more reasonable than his first impressions; which has induced me to recommend to him a cool and serious perusal of all papers previous to our conferences. I came the next day to Paris, where I supped with him at a third place, but as there was a great deal of company, I can say little that is positive upon this most interesting subject. He seemed in general pleased with the polite and amicable stile of the memorial, but declared himself totally unacquainted with the island of St. Peters, and the use which France could make thereof in affording shelter to the barks of their fishermen; upon which point he desired time to consult seamen and other persons better informed than himself. I assured him that the offer was made him *bonâ fide*, being such as my court imagined adequate to his demand. He did not

then appear to me to make any objections about Dunkirk as at present stated, but he said, "there was some ambiguity which he could not understand in that part of the memorial which contains what his Majesty is pleased to communicate with regard to the support he intends to give the King of Prussia." He urged "the necessity he was under of waiting for a despatch from M. de Bussi, before he gave his final answer;" he has, notwithstanding, appointed me an hour to-morrow. I have fully intimated to him that the concessions of Great Britain would not exceed the line now drawn; and have, though very obscurely, insinuated my return home; choosing not to unfold myself further till towards the close of our first conversation, in order the better to discern his views and intentions.

I am very highly honored by the great confidence his Majesty has reposed in me, by leaving me in some degree to judge of that state of affairs which may require my stay here or my departure hence; but I am deeply sensible how difficult that decision may possibly be, and how unequal my inability and inexperience may prove to so arduous a determination. As the Duc de Choiseul may possibly wish to prolong the present negociation, it would have been a satisfaction to me to have had some limited bounds indicated in this case; but as I myself see the difficulty of fixing such periods, and as his Majesty has not thought proper to prescribe them, I must content myself with acting as the immediate occasion requires, depending most fully on his gracious construction of my best endeavors.

If upon this ultimate trial I find here a real desire of an honorable peace, with a possibility of procuring it, I shall not proceed with precipitation; but on the other hand you may most firmly rely that his Majesty's honor shall not be trifled with in my hands, and that this court shall not see me long attend her inconsistencies and irresolutions.

I shall write to you most fully and amply with as much speed as is consistent with my due information. If future circumstances should require farther instructions, while I however neither can continue near the court with dignity, nor ought in prudence to decline all future hopes of a reconciliation, I shall quit Paris; but I shall not absolutely leave the kingdom till I receive your final commands.

September 2, 1761.

P.S.—My conference this day with the Duc de Choiseul was of six hours. I send you a rough minute copied from my notes taken in his closet.

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I shall write the whole very amply, and form my judgment upon the sum of it. The communication of papers reciprocally explaining engagements of the two crowns, if it be thought proper to be at all consented to, should speedily take place.

38. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, September 4.

His Excellency professed himself to be almost an entire stranger to the Island of St. Pierre, and to the use which France might make of it, as an *abri* for the barks of fishermen; he said that he had however heard this island was very small, and subject to fogs for a great part of the year. I replied that he had asked only for a rock; that it was not reasonable for him to claim another choice after having thus referred himself to that designation which was now marked out, that, according to his own confession, it did not appear but that this spot was large enough for health and exercise as well as for some necessary productions; that I conceived the only value of such establishments to be the ports which they furnished, and that his favorite demand of Cape Breton was not at all more recommendable on any other score, &c.

39. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, September 4, 1761.

I ought here to premise one observation, which I have always carried with me during my interview with the Duc de Choiseul, viz. that it is far from absolutely certain, that either those concessions to which he agrees, or those objections which he forms, constitute in the secret recesses of his own mind the sincere and real determination upon which he will either conclude or break off the treaty. On the contrary, it is very possible, in case he should dislike the total sum of the terms proposed, that he will choose to attribute the rupture of this negociation to those propositions on our part which affect the allies of France, shewing at the same time a facility perhaps not entirely sincere upon points where his resistance cannot contribute to conciliate to this crown the affections of other powers.

I shall proceed as we did in our conversation through each article in that order wherein the memorial places them.

40. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, September 6, 1761.

Upon the close of these discussions I could entertain no doubt of two points; first, that a reconciliation between the two crowns was impracticable; secondly, that the time was come when according to your instructions I was not to wait for farther orders, but to return home without taking leave. I accordingly acquainted the Duc de Choiseul, "that as the conferences between us at present stood, I should be obliged, almost incessantly, to demand a passport for that purpose; that, however, as the matters debated between us were of such extreme moment, and as my orders supposed that more than one deliberation might pass with regard to them, I would desire him with that spirit of moderation and that love of peace which they inculcated, to take some time for farther reflections, as well as for the suggestion of any new expedients which might prevent so great a calamity as the continuation of the war." He received what I had said to him politely. He proposed to me the perusal of the remaining articles of the treaty, that the answer returned by him to my Court might be complete in these respects, as well as in the preceding points, to which I consented.

ART. 10. France persisted in her declaration as in the first memorial.

ART. 11. France will give the solemn declaration required, by which she renounces all pretensions to Nieuport and Ostend, insisting however that this declaration shall be a separate instrument, not inserted in the present treaty.

ART. 12. France refers to her memorial presented by M. de Bussi, and desires fixed epochas, because the usage of nations may vary as to the suspension of hostilities, or be subject to inconveniences.

ART. 13. France accepts the negociation of the two East India Companies upon condition that this negociation shall be terminated at the same time with the war between the two crowns.

The Duc de Choiseul intimated to me "that the latter clause was inserted to prevent references to commissaries, which would be followed by disputes and uncertainties."

ART. 14. Agreed.

At the end of this perusal of the answer to the French *ultimatum* the Duc de Choiseul told me, "that he persisted in maintaining that France had

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a right to speak and interfere in disputes which might exist between our Court and Spain, according to his last letter delivered by M. de Bussi."

I replied, "that my Court maintained *that he had no such right whatever;* that any attempt of that sort would be construed as an offence and indignity offered to his Britannic Majesty; that I persisted in every sentiment set forth in your letter to M. de Bussi, and would immediately leave the kingdom on his actual assertion or exertion of that pretended right by any step whatever, such as the delivery of any memorial, or the making to me any overture in conference, directly or indirectly, relative to the disputes between England and Spain."

This conversation, which seemed to be introduced merely *pour prendre acte* that he had mentioned Spain, concluded by his Excellency's saying "that we had disputes enough of our own, without entering into those of a third party."

Our conversation took a more general turn: I could not avoid saying to the Duc de Choiseul "that I was extremely surprised at the very great stress which he thought proper to put upon the German affairs; that it seemed to me the most extraordinary determination I had ever read of or met with to yield up Canada and the other points of which we had discoursed; to have already made a war of five years, in alliance with the house of Austria, without any fruit or benefit; to know that every success or acquisition gained by that house was finally to the detriment of France; to see the Austrian territories untouched, while her own had suffered so many severe blows, yet still to persist in demanding for that power a security which the nature of human affairs would not admit, in order to support her in designs which led to conquest and superiority, while France herself was contented to retire a loser: all these events, I freely confessed to him, had deceived my expectation and now filled me with amazement." I added, "that I did not doubt they would have the same effect upon his own countrymen; that I hoped I was not a stranger either to national or private honor; that I conceived both to be consistent with justice and reason; that neither the one nor the other implied notions contrary to these first rules of all human actions; that if the war with Great Britain had proved such in its event that France, according to his own confession, was obliged to resign her own provinces to her enemies, neither the present age nor posterity could ever blame him for not continuing that war in order to acquire territories for an ally, since all treaties, however worded, supposed the possibility of their execution and the emolument of one party not to be procured and purchased by the calamities

of the other." He allowed "that the Austrian system was full of those inconveniences that I had mentioned;" but he asserted "that France would neither have any system nor any ally if she concluded a treaty by which the army under Prince Ferdinand was left at liberty to attack the Empress-Queen."

I then recapitulated with him that part of our conversation which referred to the restitution of Wesel, pressing him very seriously to make his coolest reflection upon that subject, during the short interval which remained before I should be obliged to take my final resolution. He replied, "that in order to shew how much he desired that the war might not continue if there was any possibility of extinguishing it, he would state his proposal in another light." He asked, "*that those troops which are actually in the pay of England should not serve under any pretence against the Empress-Queen and her allies, during that time for which they are hired; but as these troops may cease to be in the pay of England, and as this last can no longer in such case answer for the observation of the above mentioned condition, the King of France, though he will not depart from his engagements with his allies, will change that arrangement which he has proposed for the execution thereof, if any other arrangement can be found which affords his Most Christian Majesty the means of fulfilling those engagements;* meanwhile the Court of France refers herself to the tenth article of her first memorial until some other overture is made for that end."

I confess to you very fairly, Sir, that I do not see how the affair is really altered by this new proposal, because I think France will accept no other security for the compliance of this stipulation, than the continuation of an army in Lower Germany, nor did the Duc de Choiseul give me any reason to imagine the contrary. But as my poor judgment is not to decide on future and unknown expedients, which the great wisdom of his Majesty and his ministers may suggest, and as the restitution of Wesel is not refused in case such expedients can be found, I have been obliged to depart from that method of proceeding which I should have followed if the adherence of France had stood positively fixed to the tenth article of her first memorial, instead of being hypothetically stated as it now stands.

I am bound by your instructions of August 27th, with regard to five points.

Imprimis, the fishery and *abri*, as offered.

2d. The entire cession of Canada and the islands in the Gulph and River of St. Lawrence.

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3d. The British limits, as asserted on the side of the Carolinas.

4th. All the restitutions demanded in Germany.

5th. The liberty to each crown, after the peace, to succor as an auxiliary their respective allies, according to the engagement they have taken.

The state of the case between our Court and that of France is as follows:

As to the first condition, the French minister suspends his answer; if I receive it in the negative, I immediately depart.

The second condition is consented to.

The third condition will, I believe, most certainly be complied with.

The fourth condition is delayed by a new offer to Great Britain, to propose a plan different from that in the tenth article of the French memorial, but adequate to the same purpose of securing the Empress-Queen from the troops commanded by Prince Ferdinand.

The fifth condition is nearly connected with the fourth, and is certainly not refused, if the former can be agreed.

I am, in so essential a step, to be bound strictly and literally by my instructions, which relate to the form and method wherein the rupture of the negociation is to be made public to the world, as well as to the essential conclusion of the present affair. My proceedings upon these secondary points will be held to be those of my Court, and will become the matter of future gazettes and manifestoes; therefore, though it is my firm opinion that the peace will not be concluded in the present juncture, I hold myself plainly and manifestly not authorized to return to England, until you direct me in what manner I am to proceed upon the first point, which is not rejected, but suspended, and upon the fourth and fifth points, where an overture is made towards some new alternative to be proposed on the part of England. If any fresh accident occurs, I shall very exactly obey your orders of the 27th of August, for which reason, I desire your next courier may be addressed to me, according to the direction sent by Mr. Witton.

The prolixity of this narration can only be excused by recollecting that it contains all the material circumstances of a conversation which lasted five hours: nor must my just fear of tiring your patience prevent my adding a few observations on the general stile of both my last conferences.

Though I have heard that the Duc de Choiseul appeared to be under remarkable anxiety about the time when your last courier arrived, yet, as far as I can judge from very minute denotations, his manner and behaviour,

whether genuine or affected, expressed more indifference for peace than I had discerned in my preceding interview, communicated by my letter of August 26th. This appearance struck me more strongly in his second conference than in his first. I shall not presume to attribute these sentiments to any particular cause; not knowing whether they arise from any new resources he may have found for carrying on the war, or from any fresh ideas, which give him better hopes of success. They assert here very confidently, that great sums have been advanced by Spain, and that this power is immediately to declare war. I have, however, found some few persons who still doubt of this future event. I cannot answer whether the convention between these two crowns is actually authenticated; but I am assured, that at least it wants only the last hand and signature. It is likewise said here, that the money necessary for the expenses of the next year is ready, but this report is not very probable.

How far the various transactions in the interior of this court, first hinted in my short note by Mr. Duval, and further explained in my subsequent letters, which contained the most secret intelligence, may have contributed to the present issue, is submitted to your superior judgment, directed by ample informations from all other parts of Europe.

I know the Duc de Choiseul has said, that the island of St. Pierre is itself so inadequate to the purposes of France, and offered upon terms so humiliating, so inconvenient, and so precarious, that it is not worth accepting, much less at a price which must be attended with general odium and dishonor. I believe him to be very much embarrassed: many of those conditions, though strictly exacted, and though properly enforced by new precautions, being his own; and the island, though perhaps not very paradisaical, coming within his demand. If a rupture, founded on his apprehension for the security of the House of Austria, has a grand and noble air with foreigners, it will not, on the other hand, be very well received at home, where the power is detested, and where his concession of Canada, which begins already to be much canvassed, will be set up in comparison with it. What adds to his personal difficulties is that, according to the universal opinion of those I have conversed with, there cannot happen to him, in his particular situation at court, a greater or a worse evil than the prevalence of the Spanish and Austrian influence.

I am almost ashamed, at the close of so long a letter, to add any thing relative to myself.

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I know that unsuccessful negociations are usually blamed; I have fully and impartially represented whatever has passed in the various conferences I have managed, endeavoring, as far as possible, to place you here present on the spot. I have not given a single opinion, without submitting to your superior decision those facts and reasons on which it is founded, nor without consulting those persons who seemed to me of best and soundest sense and authority in ways and methods which they themselves could not discover too much from, or perhaps could hardly penetrate. I shall add, that, in communicating these ideas, I have never presumed to warp or incline the councils of my country, much less to ascend to the consideration of any ultimate resolution upon the sum of things: the only objects of my contemplation have been the probable effects which supposed decisions and events foreseen would have upon the councils of the enemy: to have exceeded these bounds would have been a very unwarrantable presumption. I shall be satisfied, if you remain persuaded of the honest affection which I have shewn towards the salutary work of peace, and of the true zeal with which I have obeyed and enforced your instructions.

41. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

Paris, Sept. 8, 1761.

I this day heard, from good authority, that fifteen Spanish ships of war are to sail speedily, in order to convey home the fleets which they expect.

I could not but observe, that the French minister's behaviour, though personally very polite to me, was extremely grave, and that he appeared full of anxiety in his conversation with all present. This was generally taken notice of.

He mentioned to me, that if affairs had gone differently upon some points, and if he had seen better hopes of a reconciliation, he would have proposed a meeting with you, and have desired you either to send him a yacht, in order to his coming to Dover, or to have given him that opportunity on ship-board, between that place and Calais; that both should have had the authority of their sovereigns, in order to regulate the remaining difficult parts of the negociation. I mention this more from its peculiarity, than from any consequence which I think it can now possibly have.

The affair of Denmark was yesterday long debated in council, but I have not yet heard the result. APPX. No. V. 1761.

An account of the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies was the same evening brought by an *estafette* to Monsieur de Staremberg.

42. *The last Memorial of France to England, delivered to Mr. Pitt by M. de Bussi on the 13th of September*, 1761.

The King accepts the declaration of the King of England contained in the preamble of the answer, and renews that which he before made to his Majesty on this head, in such manner that it is concluded between the two courts finally and without ambiguity, that if peace is not the result of the present negociation, all that has been said, written, and negociated between the two crowns, since the memorial of the 26th of March inclusive, to the moment of the rupture, shall be void and of no effect, and shall not be brought as an argument in favor of either of the parties, in any future negociation of peace.

ART. I. The King has declared in his first memorial, and in his *ultimatum*, that he will cede and guarantee to England the possession of Canada, in the most ample manner; his Majesty persists in that offer, and without discussing the line of its limits marked in a map presented by Mr. Stanley; as that line, on which England rests its demand, is without doubt the most extensive bound which can be given to the cession, the King is willing to grant it.

His Majesty had annexed four conditions to his guarantee; it seems that England agrees to them; the King only conceives that the term of one year for the sale of the French effects and for the emigration is too short, and his Majesty desires that it may be agreed to extend the term of one year to eighteen months at least.

As the court of England has added to the first article of their answer to the entire and total cession of Canada, as agreed between the two courts, the word *dependencies*, it is necessary to give a specific explanation of this word, that the cession might not in the end occasion difficulties between the two courts with regard to the meaning of the word dependencies.

ART. II. The first paragraph, with respect to the limits of Louisiana, contained in the second article of the answer from England, is agreed to by

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France. The second paragraph is neither just nor explicit, and it is finally proposed to express it in the following terms:

The intermediate savage nations between the lakes and the Mississippi, and within the line traced out, shall be neuter and independent, under the protection of the King; and those without the line, on the side of the English shall be likewise neuter and independent, under the protection of the King of England. The English traders also shall be prohibited from going among the savage nations beyond the line on either side; but the said nations shall not be restrained in their freedom of commerce with the French and English, as they have exercised it heretofore.

ART. III. Although France is sensible how opposite it is to principles of conciliation, that the party which cedes should propose to the party who has conquered, and would maintain the cession of possessions which are not perfectly known, though there is no doubt but that the manner which England requires is liable to innumerable difficulties, nevertheless, the King, to testify his acquiescence in every expedient which may conciliate the two crowns, is willing to declare to England, that he will guarantee the possession of Senegal and Goree to that crown, provided England, on her part, will guarantee the possession of the settlements of Anamaboo and Akra, on the coast of Africa.

ART. IV. The fourth article of the answer includes a variety of objects, each of which requires a particular explanation.

England always endeavors to connect the liberty of fishing and drying the fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland, granted by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, with the ninth article of the same treaty, which stipulates the demolition of Dunkirk: it is given in answer to England for the fourth and last time, that those two stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht have nothing in common between them, unless that they are both comprised in the said treaty; and that the concession expressed in favor of the French in the thirteenth article of that treaty, is a compensation for the cession of Newfoundland and Annapolis Royal, made on the part of France to England by the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the same treaty.

But to the end that the two courts may clearly understand each other on this head, and for the furtherance of peace, the King agrees to demolish the works which have been made for the defence of the port of Dunkirk since the beginning of this war, to fill up the basin which contains the ships of war, and to destroy the buildings belonging to the rope-yard: but at the same time, his Majesty will leave the trading port, which will not receive a

frigate, subsisting for the good of England, as well as for the benefit of France. She will also undertake not to suffer any maritime military establishment in that port: but the cunette shall be left standing round the place for the salubrity of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

As to the fishing and the drying of fish on the banks of Newfoundland, the King requires that the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht be confirmed by the present treaty.

Concerning the condition proposed by England, with respect to the liberty of fishing in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, France agrees, that beyond the Port of Newfoundland, specified by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the French, (unless in case of accidents,) cannot land on the coasts appertaining to the English in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, whether to dry their fish, or to spread their nets on the said coasts; but without these two exceptions, the French shall be at liberty to fish, without molestation, in all parts of the said Gulph of St. Lawrence.

With respect to the cession of the Island of St. Pierre, the smallness of that island, and its situation near Plaisance, make the King of opinion that such a shelter shall be illusory, and will rather serve to breed contests between the two nations, than to procure the accommodations for the fishery of the French subjects.

The King had required the Island of Cape Breton, or the Island of St. John; his Majesty had even restrained himself to the little Island of Conceau, and now makes the same proposition to his Britannic Majesty; or if the King of England, for reasons unknown to France, cannot agree to the cession of the Isle of Conceau, it is proposed to add to the cession of St. Pierre, the Islands of *Maquelon* or *Michelon*, two islands, of which, the Island of St. Pierre, is but three leagues wide, and Michelon but two. However inconsiderable these two settlements may be, which do not properly make one, the King will accept of them, and will even oblige himself, 1. That neither in one or the other island, or in that of Conceau, if England cedes the latter, there shall be any military establishment; France will only maintain a guard of fifty men to enforce the police, which it will be necessary to maintain in those islands.

2. As far as possible, considering the weak guard of the police, the King will prevent all foreign vessels, even English, from landing at those islands.

3. France does not pretend to fish and dry their fish on the coast of

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Newfoundland, but in pursuance of the stipulation of the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, provided it be understood that the French may fish and dry their fish on the coasts of St. Pierre and Michelon.

4. Lastly, the King allows, that an English commissary shall be resident in the said island, to be witness to the punctuality with which the stipulated condition of the treaty shall be observed.

ART. V. The partition of the four neutral islands must be specified between the two courts in the preliminaries; France accepts the partition of those islands proposed by England, provided that St. Lucia be declared to make part of the partition to be regulated in favor of France.

ART. VI. The King, without entering into any discussion of the sixth article, agrees to this article as well as to the seventh.

ART. VIII. The King, with regard to the eighth article, refers to the seventh article of his *ultimatum*. It is not in his Majesty's power to evacuate countries which appertain to his ally, the Empress-Queen.

ART. IX. The ninth article of the answer of England requires some explanation, for it is worded in such a manner as not to convey any precise meaning; it supposes respective engagements on the part of the King towards the Empress, and on the part of England towards the King of Prussia, to which the two courts are strangers. France does not suppose that the King of England can hinder the allies of his crown, such as the Sovereigns of Hanover, Cassel, and Brunswick, from joining their forces with those of the King of Prussia; but without entering into a needless discussion, the King is resolved, for the sake of peace, to make the most important sacrifices, and at the same time unalterably determined to grant nothing in the future treaty of peace, which may be contrary to the stipulations he has entered into with his allies. It is with their consent, and with mutual concert, that the King proposes to England, in relation to the war in Westphalia, the tenth article of the memorial of his Majesty's propositions, and the seventh and thirteenth articles of the French *ultimatum*. The King abides by these articles, in answer to the eighth and ninth articles of the answer of England; not refusing, nevertheless, to treat of any fresh propositions which England may make on these heads, which shall be communicated to his allies, and to which his Majesty will listen, with the consent of the Empress, if they are not contrary to his Majesty's engagements with that Princess.

ART. X. France is of opinion, that her proposition in relation to the captures in which the King's subjects are interested, are so just, that she

abides by them, and refers to the twelfth article of his propositions on that head.

ART. XI. The King, after signing of the treaty, even of the preliminaries, will give a declaration under his hand, to the King of England, by which his Majesty will declare, that his intention never was to bring the towns of Ostend and Nieuport under his dominion.

ART. XII. Provided that the terms of the cessation of hostilities may not be prejudicial to either crown, France will agree to them.

ART. XIII. France adopts the negociation between the India Companies of the two nations, on condition, that the negociation shall be concluded at the same time with that between the two crowns, and to that effect, each company shall enter upon their negociation without delay, and shall name commissaries for that purpose.

ART. XIV. This article will meet with no difficulty. The Court of England will do justice to the considerable accommodations which the Court of France has testified in this memorial, towards a reconciliation between the two crowns.

43. *Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt.*

L'Isle Adan, September 15, 1761.

It is my firm opinion, that the conclusion of a peace with England, or the continuation of the Austrian alliance, depend here upon the interior state of the French court; that the Duc de Choiseul, (notwithstanding all variable and even contrary appearances,) is disposed towards the first plan, as Made. de Pompadour is most zealous for the second. I know that there have lately been great disputes between them. When I have the honor of seeing you, I can prove all these matters to you in the clearest manner. The dispute between Messrs. De Soubise and De Broglio gave the lady the superiority over the minister, which occasioned that state of the negociation described in my letters of the 3d and 5th instant, as well as the anxiety so visible in the latter, and the quarrels I have mentioned. The Dauphiness gave her assistance, as I hinted to you in a very early letter would happen:—so far it is with me out of all doubt whatever. With less degree of certainty, but however sufficient to persuade me, I believe that the minister is at present regaining his ground, and will, if the disposition of the army under Prince Ferdinand can be settled upon terms, which he is strong enough to support

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in the cabinet, comply with the points demanded by England. I have had a contest in writing with him upon his last memorial, inconsistent in several respects with our conferences. I was on the point of returning to England immediately when he gave me the assurances mentioned in mine of the 14th. He has desired me not to transmit our letters, which he wishes to consider as a private correspondence. I have yielded to his request upon condition that I may, if it be necessary to justify the vigor of my own conduct, impart them to you for his Majesty alone.

I am at present under some difficulties, lest the order for my return should come before you are informed of this state of affairs; and lest the measures I may take thereupon should be disapproved; but as I have always thought very meanly of those who dare not incur censure as well as danger, where it is necessary, I shall in no degree consider myself. The honor of my royal master is much more my concern; therefore I will in no case trust to anything less than a memorial in form, if my certitude of circumstances unknown to you should induce me to deviate from those instructions which I daily expect.

44. *Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley.*

Whitehall, September 15, 1761.

The inclosed paper[d] delivered to me this morning by M. de Bussi having, by his Majesty's orders, been taken into consideration at a meeting of the cabinet this day, as well as your several despatches of the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, and 28th past, and 1st, 2nd, 5th, 4th, 6th, and 8th instant. I am commanded by the King not to lose a moment in acquainting you with the unanimous result of the said meeting, in consequence of which I now signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that as the Court of France, after so many variations and retractations on her part, during this long depending negociation, has finally thought fit not to accept the terms offered in the answer of the Court of Great Britain transmitted in my letter to you of the 27th past, and delivered by you to the Duc de Choiseul, you are forthwith to demand a passport, and return to England.

[d] The last memorial of France.

45. *Mr. Stanley to the Duc de Choiseul.*

September 20, 1761.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, pursuant to the orders I received yesterday from my court, that as the court of France has not agreed to accept the propositions contained in the last answer from the British court, the King my master has ordered me to request a passport of you, to return to England; my court expects also, that M. de Bussi will, on his part, receive the same orders. APPX. No. V. 1761.

As the state of war has no influence over the personal sentiments of the King of England, with regard to their Most Christian Majesties, he is persuaded that they will take part in the event of his marriage, and I have letters in my hands, by which he communicates that happy event to their Majesties. I have the honor to send your Excellency the copies, and I take the liberty, Sir, to consult your better intelligence, to inform myself of the most suitable manner of remitting these letters, in pursuance of my credentials, and according to the established custom of your court.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Signed, H. STANLEY.

46. *The Duc de Choiseul to Mr. Stanley.*

September 20, 1761.

SIR,

The King has ordered me, Sir, to expedite the passports which are necessary for your return to England: you will find them annexed. M. de Bussi had orders to demand an eclaircissement with respect to the last answer from England, and to return to France, if those eclaircissements were not favorable. They have certainly been otherwise, since your court has anticipated his return by your recal. However it be, Sir, his Majesty hopes that some more happy opportunity will produce more effectual inclinations to peace, and he has charged me to observe to you, that you may assure the King of England, that he will always find him disposed to renew the negociation, and to consent to equitable conditions, which may establish a firm union between the two crowns.

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The King most sincerely takes part in the marriage of the King of England; if you will send me the letters from his British Majesty, I will remit them to their Majesties.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Signed, LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

N°. VI.

RELATIVE TO THE YEAR 1766.

1. *Copy of Thanks to the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq. by the Speaker of the late House of Representatives at Boston in New England, in Pursuance of their Orders of the 20th of June,* 1766.

SIR,

YOUR noble and generous efforts in support of the common rights of mankind, and liberties of Great Britain, and her colonies, and more particularly in the late session of Parliament, have very justly ensured you the warmest affection and esteem of every honest and sensible British subject. APPX. No. VI. 1766.

The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's province, sensible of your distinguished merit, and the signal favors you have done to the colonies, by employing your great abilities and interest in their behalf, immediately after voting an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, have ordered, that their grateful acknowledgments should be made to their generous patron.

Sir, at the desire of the House of Representatives, I have the honor of transmitting to you their thanks; and in their name beg your acceptance of the inclosed vote.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your most obliged,

And most obedient, humble servant,

T. CUSHING, Speaker.

Boston, New England, June 21, 1766.
To the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq.

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Before Mr. Pitt received these Thanks he was created Earl of Chatham. His Lordship returned the following answer.

2.

SIR,

The honor of your letter, communicating to me a public testimony of so high a nature, found me in a severe fit of the gout, which long disabled me from using my hand. Give me leave, Sir, to offer my humblest acknowledgments, and to assure you, that, though late, they are not less warmly dictated by a true sense of respectful gratitude towards the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusett's Bay; they will allow me to add, that I shall always esteem myself particularly fortunate whenever the just discharge of my duty here meets with approbation in America.

I am,

With great truth, and distinguished regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

Bath, December 24, 1766.

To Thomas Cushing, Esq. Speaker to the Hon. House of Representatives of his Majesty's Province of Massachusett's Bay.

The following inscription is written on a pedestal, on which is erected a colossal statue of Lord Chatham, in the Ciceronian character and habiliment, at Charles-town, in South Carolina. The action is spirited, and the execution masterly, by Mr. Wilton, the statuary.

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
OF HIS SERVICES IN GENERAL,
AND TO AMERICA IN PARTICULAR,
THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED
THIS STATUE
OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT, ESQ.
WHO
GLORIOUSLY EXERTED HIMSELF

IN DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF AMERICANS,
THE TRUE SONS OF ENGLAND,
BY PROMOTING A REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT,
IN THE YEAR 1766.
TIME
SHALL SOONER DESTROY
THIS MARK OF THEIR ESTEEM,
THAN
ERASE FROM THEIR MINDS
THE JUST SENSE
OF HIS PATRIOTIC VIRTUE.

N°. VII.

CONTAINING A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETT'S-BAY, TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

A Letter to the Right Honorable the Earl of Chatham.

Province of Massachusett's Bay, Feb. 2, 1768.

MY LORD,

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THE particular attention you were pleased to give to the interest of the American subjects when their rights were in danger, and your noble and successful efforts in support of them have left in the breasts of all the indelible marks of gratitude. The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's Province, having reason to be assured, that in every instance of your public conduct you are influenced by the principles of virtue, and a disinterested public affection, beg leave to manifest to your Lordship a testimony of their full confidence in you, by imploring your repeated aid and patronage at this time, when the cloud again gathers thick over them.

It must afford the utmost satisfaction to the distressed colonist, to find your Lordship so explicitly declaring your sentiments in that grand principle in nature, "that what a man hath honestly acquired is absolutely and uncontrolably his own." This principle is established as a fundamental rule in the British Constitution, which eminently hath its foundation in the laws of nature; and consequently it is the indisputable right of all men, more especially of a British subject, to be present in person, or by representation, in the body where he is taxed.

But however fixed your Lordship and some others may be in this cardinal point, it is truly mortifying to many of his Majesty's free and loyal subjects,

that even in the British Parliament, that sanctuary of liberty and justice, a different sentiment seems of late to have prevailed.

Unwilling to intrude upon your attention to the great affairs of State, the House would only refer your Lordship to an act passed in the fourth year of the present reign, and another in the last Session of Parliament, both imposing duties on the Americans, who were not represented, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. What, my Lord, have the colonists done to forfeit the character and privilege of subjects, and to be reduced in effect to a tributary state? This House may appeal to the nation, that the utmost aid of the people has been cheerfully given when his Majesty required it: often, on their own motion, and when almost ready to sink under the expense of defending their own borders, their zeal has carried them abroad for the honor of their Sovereign, and the defence of his rights: of this, my Lord, not to mention any more, the reduction of Louisburg in the year 1745, and the defence of his Majesty's garrison at Annapolis, and of all Nova Scotia, will be standing monuments. Can there then be a necessity for so great a change, and in its nature so delicate and important, that instead of having the honor of his Majesty's requisitions laid before their representatives here, as has been invariably the usage, the Parliament should now tax them without their consent?

The enemies of the colonists, for such they unfortunately have, may have represented them to his Majesty's ministers, and the Parliament, as factious, undutiful, disloyal: they, my Lord, are equally the enemies of Britain: such is your extensive knowledge of mankind, and the sentiments and disposition of the colonies in general, that this House would freely venture to rest the characters of their constituents in your Lordship's judgment: surely it is no ill disposition in the loyal subjects of a patriot King, with a decency and firmness adapted to their character, to assert their freedom.

The colonies, as this House humbly conceive, cannot be represented in the British Parliament: their local circumstances, at the distance of a thousand leagues beyond the seas, forbid, and will for ever render it impracticable: this, they apprehend, was the reason that his Majesty's royal predecessors saw fit to erect subordinate legislative bodies in America as perfectly free as the nature of things would admit, that their remote subjects might enjoy that inestimable right, a representation. Such a legislative is constituted by the royal charter of this province. In this charter, the King, for himself, his

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heirs, and successors, grants to the inhabitants all the lands and territories therein described, in free and common soccage; as ample estate as the subjects can hold under the crown; together with all the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities of his natural subjects born within the realm; of which the most essential is a power invested in the General Assembly to levy proportionable and reasonable taxes on the estates and persons of the inhabitants, for the service of his Majesty, and the necessary defence and support of his government of the province, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants. But though they were originally, and always, since their settlement, have been considered as subjects remote, they have ever cherished a warm affection for the mother state, and a regard for the interest and happiness of their fellow-subjects in Britain. If then the colonies are charged with the most distant thought of an independency, your Lordship may be assured, that, with respect to the people of this province, and, it is presumed, of all the colonies, the charge is unjust.

Nothing could have prevailed upon the House to have given your Lordship this trouble, but the necessity of a powerful advocate, when their liberty is in danger: such they have more than once found you to be; and as they humbly hope they have never forfeited your patronage, they entreat that your great interest in the national council may still be employed in their behalf, that they may be restored to the standing of free subjects.

That your Lordship may enjoy a firm state of health, and long be continued a great blessing to the nation and her colonies, is the ardent wish of this House.

Signed by the SPEAKER.

N°. VIII.

CONTAINING THE CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THE EARLS OF CHATHAM AND BUTE IN THE YEAR 1778 [e].

An authentic Account of the part taken by the Earl of Chatham in a Transaction which passed in the beginning of the year 1778.

Various false reports having been industriously propagated concerning a negociation, (if it may be so called,) said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, it has been thought indispensably necessary to draw up a distinct and authentic account, from papers now in the possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, of what did pass relative to that affair, that it may appear, whether the transaction did, or did not originate from Lord Chatham; and that it may be clearly ascertained, what were his sentiments and disposition with regard to it.

It appears that various conversations had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, relative to Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, previous to the 3d of February, 1778, but that Lord Chatham was in nowise apprised of this, till the above-mentioned day, on which Dr. Addington went to Hayes, and read to Lord Chatham the following extract of a letter, which the Doctor informed him, he had that morning received from Sir James Wright:

1. *Extract of a Letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

As I immediately, on my return from Lord Bute's, took down in short-hand the principal heads of it, I think I shall not deviate materially from the

[e] The papers in this number were published in the year 1778.

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very words of the conversation, at least if the spirit of his Lordship's language is debilitated, the essential matter of it is the same.

I told Lord Bute, that a friend of mine, whose honor and sincerity I could rely upon, had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honor, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety [f]. He enquired who my friend was? I told him it was you. He replied, I know he is much Lord Chatham's friend; I know also, that he is an honest man, and a man of sense. I related to him the conversation that had passed between yourself and me at our last meeting. He said, Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a sincere conduct, and intention for the King's and the public welfare.

That as for himself, he said, he had no connection with any one in administration: that he had not the least distant friendship with Lord North, or he should certainly advise him, by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King's service and confidence; and, said he, you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, to assure Lord Chatham, that if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he shall have my most hearty concurrence, and sincere good wishes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my sentiments on this subject to your friend. He continued saying many very respectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, had we not unfortunately disagreed about the last peace, I am sure he and I should have continued such steady friends, that this country never would have experienced her present severe misfortunes. He also said, the prior part of Lord Chatham's last speech was manly and constitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wisher to his country, to wish to see him again take a part in the government of the King's affairs, which would have been a happiness for the whole empire. He continued saying, perhaps we have men of abilities in the House of Lords, but those in administration, (except Lord Suffolk, who is usually ill half the year,) are none of them sufficiently serious, or attentive enough to the business of the nation, which is now of so much consequence, as not to be neglected in the least degree. He therefore could not say he had a good opinion of their conduct. He also said, in the course of the conversation, that nothing but the most eminent danger to this country

[f] The truth of this part is denied by Dr. Addington, who in his Narrative expressly declares that, to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.

should induce him to take a part in the government of it, unless in conjunction with an upright and able administration.

Much more was said, but of less moment: however, all tended to convince me, that there are not two other men in the kingdom more faithfully inclined to the good and safety of our present distracted nation, than our two noble friends.

This letter was dated January 2nd; it should have been February *2nd having been received by Dr. Addington on February 3rd.*

Lord Chatham dictated the following message in answer, which was taken down in writing by Dr. Addington, a copy of which was delivered by him to Sir James Wright:

2. *Copy of a Note given by Dr. Addington to Sir James Wright.*

Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favorable sentiments on the subject of the noble Lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded; but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be *new counsels* and *counsellors*, without farther loss of time; a *real change* from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless.

On the 7th of February Dr. Addington sent the following letter to Hayes:

3. *Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington to the Earl of Chatham, dated Wigmore-street, Saturday, two o'clock.*

My good Lord,

Sir James Wright took a direct copy of the valuable writing entrusted to my care, between twelve and one yesterday. At one he waited on his friend, and I was to call in Brook-street for his answer at half-past two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home, but a few minutes before my arrival had been called back to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left a letter, requesting a line from Sir James, before he went out of town.—At five, I received a short note, saying that his stay in town could be of no service, and that he would give me an account by the post this day of his conversation with ———. Perhaps more persons than one were to be

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consulted before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleased with your Lordship and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than one of your Lordship's friends. Sir James Wright asked what was meant by the words "real change." I thought they wanted no explanation. He thought they included his friend, as well as the ministry, and wished that your Lordship and his friend could have an interview; but gave me no commission to mention his wishes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordship and his friend to save the nation; I only added, that I believed the King and your Lordship could save the nation, and that his friend might be instrumental to its salvation, by turning the royal mind from past errors. I hope your Lordship and Lady Chatham go on well, and that I shall have the happiness of paying my respects to you both in Harley-street on Monday. I most heartily congratulate my Lady and your Lordship on the safe arrival of Mr. James Pitt.

I am ever, my dear and good Lord,
Your most faithful and obliged humble servant,
A. ADDINGTON.

Wigmore-street, two o'clock, Saturday.

The same night Lord Chatham wrote, with his own hand, the following note, in answer to Dr. Addington, which was received by the Doctor the next morning:

4. *Copy of a Note from the Earl of Chatham to Dr. Addington.*

Hayes, February 7.

The conversations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you, are, on his part, of a nature too insidious, and to my feelings too offensive, to be continued, or *unrejected.* What can this officious emissary mean by all the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to surprize friendly integrity by courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this; one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin; the other would sincerely endeavor to save it [g].

[g] Sir James had told the Doctor, and the Doctor had told Lord Chatham, that Lord Chatham and Lord Bute did not differ in political sentiments, which the Doctor thinks might occasion the last sentence in Lord Chatham's note.

Dr. Addington, on the 8th of February, sent to Lord Chatham, at Hayes, the following letter, enclosing one which he had received that day from Sir James Wright, soon after the receipt of the above note from Lord Chatham:

5. *Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington to the Earl of Chatham.*

I am infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord, for your kind and friendly caution against surprise and insinuation. It shall never be forgotten; and when I see the gentleman next, (which perhaps may be to-morrow,) your Lordship's wise and noble commands shall be literally obeyed. The enclosed letter, which was promised to come yesterday by the post, arrived this morning by a special messenger. It needs no comment of mine; I am sure your Lordship will understand the language and drift of it much better than I can, or any body else. I am impatient to see your Lordship in town, and pray a few minutes with you to-morrow. The time is come for you, and you only, to save a king and kingdom. Your Lordship knows that I am ever

Your most faithful,
And most affectionate humble servant,
A. ADDINGTON.

February 8, 1778.

6. *Copy of a Letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

Ray-House, February 7, 1778.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

I communicated our conversation of yesterday to my friend, soon after I left you, and then shewed him a copy of the paper you allowed me to transcribe. You will easily recollect, on my first reading it over with you, the observation I made on the particular expression in it, "A *real* change, and not a mere palliation;" namely, that your noble friend still thought that Lord Bute had influence in the measures of administration. In the very same light he also construed this expression; he therefore desired me to inform you, for the instruction of your friend, that the ill health he had long been subject to, united with the distresses of his family, had accustomed him to a perfect retired life, which he hoped, as long as he lived, steadily to adhere to: he added, that his long absence from all sort of public business, and the many years which had intervened since he saw the King, precluded him from forming any idea of measures past or to come, but what he gathers

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from very general conversation, or the newspapers; and this total ignorance, he said, renders the opinion given of the present dangerous crisis more alarming to him than it would otherwise be, and much more painful, as, notwithstanding his zeal for the country, love for the King, and very high opinion of Lord Chatham, he has it not in his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; and that from his heart he wished Lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare.

I think, my dear Doctor, this was almost verbatim my friend's conversation; at least I am confident it is a *fac simile* of his real sentiments; and you see how very distant they are from the least inclination ever to interfere in the present or any future administration, which your friend seemed to apprehend. May he extend the powers of his own great and honest abilities, to heal the dreadful wounds which this poor country has received from what he very wisely calls *past errors*. Without his head, as well as his heart, I fear all is lost. I remember poor Lord Northington saying to me more than once, not long before his death, that, "as I was a young man, I should probably live to see, (if I survived Lord Chatham and a few other great men,) that this country would not only want abilities, but hearts, and that our state would then be really piteous, where both knowledge and integrity were wanting to protect us." Pray God your noble friend may step forth, before this sorrowful *epocha* arrives, and stem the dreadful tide of profligacy, inattention to business, and barefaced immorality, which daily increase in every department of life, and must bring down ruin and the dissolution of our country.

That first quality of *knowledge*, which Lord Northington lamented the extinction of in this country, I shall never presume to be entitled to; but that of integrity I dare assert my claim to; and in that particular I hold myself inferior to no man: I only wish it was in my power to give your great and invaluable friend the most convincing proofs of this assertion, as well as my profound veneration for him. You have known me long enough to be persuaded that nothing can divert me from the love of my country, and the path of an honest conduct; therefore ever command, with the utmost freedom, my dear Doctor,

Your most faithful and sincere friend,

JAMES WRIGHT.

P.S. I shall be in town on Tuesday, about three o'clock, and stay till the following day.

The next day the following answer, written by the Countess of Chatham, was sent to Dr. Addington: APPX. No. VIII. 1778.

7. *Copy of a Letter from Lady Chatham to Dr. Addington, dated February* 9.

I write, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bed-side, who has had much pain all last night from gout in his left hand and wrist: the pulse indicates more pain to come. He desires me to express for him the true sense he has of all your very friendly attention in this very delicate and critical situation. The gentleman's letter which you transmit is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit; at the same time, it is impossible not to remark how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much good sense and candor, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and kingdom. Those dangers are *indeed extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope.

Hayes, quarter before one, Feb. 9, 1778.

From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded upon indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established: viz.

That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.

8. *Dr. Addington's Narrative, containing his Account of what passed relative to this Transaction.*

The first time Sir James Wright talked with Dr. Addington respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, was about the beginning of January, 1778. Sir James began with lamenting the situation of this country, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method of saving it was for Lord Bute and Lord Chatham to unite firmly together, but remarked, that they were two of the men the King hated most. After various conversations on this matter, Sir James said Lord Bute thought Lord Chatham had a disrespect for him. Dr. Addington replied, that, to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had

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never once named Lord Bute to him, but that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute; adding, that though they might differ in politics, Lord Chatham was not the kind of man to have disrespect, or bear ill-will to any man. Sir James added, he was sure Lord Bute had the highest respect for Lord Chatham: that he had heard Lord Bute bestow great commendations on his whole speech at the beginning of the session, except that part which regarded the recall of the troops, and that the Doctor might tell Lord Chatham so, if he pleased; but he never mentioned it till the 3d of February.

Nothing more passed till the 2d of February, when Sir James asked the Doctor, whether he had mentioned their former conversation to Lord Chatham. He said he had not; Sir James then said, that since that conversation he had seen Lord Bute, and was certain he had the same earnest desire with Lord Chatham to save the country; and was also certain, that nobody could save it, but Lord Chatham, with the assistance of Lord Bute: that Lord Bute was ready to assist him, and would be Secretary of State in the room of Lord Weymouth: the Doctor understood that Lord Bute had told Sir James so; and he has asked Sir James once or twice since, whether Lord Bute would have been Secretary of State in Lord Weymouth's room? and he answered, Yes, he would, or would not, as Lord Chatham pleased. When Sir James had mentioned Lord Bute's readiness to assist Lord Chatham, and to be Secretary of State, he expressed a wish that the whole which had passed might be communicated to Lord Chatham. The Doctor on this resolved to go to Hayes the next morning for that purpose, looking upon it as a matter of very great moment. But he desired to have in writing, before he went, the substance of what had passed between Lord Bute and Sir James. Sir James said he had not time to write then, as he was in a hurry to go to Ray House, but would write in the evening, and send his letter to town by nine the next morning. The Doctor, notwithstanding, was permitted to acquaint Lord Chatham with Lord Bute's willingness to be Secretary of State, and, as he understood, with every thing else he has deposed, which is not expressed in the letter. *(Vide No. I. in the preceding account).* The letter is dated the 2d January, 1778: it should have been dated *February* 2nd, the Doctor received it February 3d, before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes. He read the letter to Lord Chatham, who was very attentive, and in a few minutes afterwards dictated this answer. *(Vide No. II. in the preceding account).* As soon as Dr.

Addington had writ and read to Lord Chatham the above answer, he communicated to Lord Chatham what Sir James Wright had told him of the readiness of Lord Bute to be Secretary of State in the place of Lord Weymouth. He seemed to think it strange. "Indeed," said he, "did Sir James Wright tell you so?" "He certainly told me so."—After this, he asked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming in with Lord Bute or Lord North? He lifted up his hands, and said, "It was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either of them; and if any one asks you about it, I desire you to bear witness that you heard me say so." He repeated the same words just as the Doctor was leaving him.

Sir James continued at Ray House till February 5th or 6th. He called on the Doctor in the morning of the 6th, and took a correct copy of Lord Chatham's answer, dated February 3d. Upon reading it, he asked what was meant by the words "real change." It looks, said he, as if they included Lord Bute as well as the ministry, and as if Lord Chatham thought Lord Bute was concerned in public affairs. I can assure you, he has nothing to do with them, and has not seen the King these two years. If Lord Chatham has a mind to undertake the direction of public affairs, there will be no objection to his having the assistance of Lord Camden; but there are some he might choose who could not be admitted. Sir James said, he was to wait on Lord Bute at one that day, and would send the Doctor an answer to Lord Chatham's paper between two and three, if Lord Bute should choose to give any. But a misfortune happening in Lord Bute's family, no answer was sent till February 8th in the morning. On the 7th February, a servant of Lord Chatham's came to town, by whom Doctor Addington sent a letter to Hayes at two o'clock, giving Lord Chatham an account of the above-mentioned conversation with Sir James Wright on the 6th. On the evening of the 7th, his Lordship wrote the following answer, which the Doctor received the next morning. *(Vide No. III. and No. IV. inserted in the preceding account).*

On the 8th February, soon after Lord Chatham's letter arrived, the Doctor received that letter from Sir James, which had been expected from February 6th. *(Vide No. VI. in the preceding account).* It is dated February 7th, and contains Lord Bute's answer to Lord Chatham's paper of February 3d. The Doctor sent it immediately to Hayes, and had the next morning the following answer written by Lady Chatham, dated February 9th. *(Vide No. VII. in the preceding account).* The Doctor communicated

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to Sir James Wright this letter from Lady Chatham, and also the latter part of that from Lord Chatham as soon as he could, and so the affair ended.

P.S. In Sir J. Wright's letter of February 9th, there are the following words: "I told Lord Bute that a friend of mine had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honor, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety." After reading these words to Lord Chatham, the Doctor could not but take notice that Sir James had mistaken him; for all he said was, that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute, &c.; as is stated above.

9. *Sir James Wright's Answer to Dr. Addington's Narrative.*

An account having been printed in several of the Newspapers of the 14th and 16th instant, concerning a negociation, (if it may be called so,) said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, which seems to convey an impression as if Sir James Wright had carried to Dr. Addington a proposition from Lord Bute, to take a share in administration with the late Earl of Chatham; Sir James Wright thinks himself obliged, in support of truth, and in vindication of his own honor, to declare thus publicly what he has long since and repeatedly given under his own hand, and asserted verbally on this subject.

He therefore now declares, in the most solemn manner, upon the word of a man of honor, "That he never received directly or indirectly, from the Earl of Bute, or delivered to Dr. Addington any proposition to that or the like effect; and that he never had the least authority from Lord Bute, to mention, hint, or suggest to Dr. Addington any terms whatever on which his Lordship wished Lord Chatham to come into administration, or made any offer on the part of Lord Bute, but of his hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes, if Lord Chatham thought fit to take a part in administration." Thus much Sir James Wright thinks proper to say at present, until he can properly digest what he shall have shortly to offer the public on the subject.

The two following Letters were written in consequence of the publication of the preceding authentic account. APPX. No. VIII. 1778.

Hill-Street, October 23, 1778.

The publication which appeared about the middle of this month, and said to be taken from a copy handed about by the friends of the late Earl of Chatham, makes it necessary for me to give an answer, signed with my name.

The first paragraph of that publication observes very truly, that various false reports had been industriously propagated concerning a negociation said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham. No less than three several reports of negociations between those two noble Lords reached me in the course of last spring, each differing from the other two in circumstances, and all from one another in the substitutes named, as having been employed in the transactions; and I took some pains to search into the origin of these stories; not to satisfy any doubt of mine as to their falsehood, (for I believed none of them,) but to convince some of my acquaintance who disagreed, and others who might disagree with me in opinion upon the subject.

In consequence of these enquiries, the persons mentioned as agents, or message-bearers, in two of the three reports, very readily disclaimed all share in, or knowledge of the transactions ascribed to them. With respect to the third, there was more pretence of foundation, since messages certainly passed, (as appears by your publication of the 15th of October,) between the late Earl of Chatham and my father, by means of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington.

The representation I had heard of some particulars in the subject matter of that intercourse surprized me so much, that I requested the favor of an explanation from Dr. Addington, who obligingly allowed me to write from his mouth such an account as he thought fit to give me, and approved my state of it when written. This was put into Sir James Wright's hands, who in a short time produced an answer contradicting it in all the material articles of their conversations, on which Dr. Addington's reports to Lord Chatham had been founded. I read over the answer to Dr. Addington, who persisted in maintaining the truth of his relation; but said, he would reconsider the matter at leisure, and put his thoughts into writing. Accordingly he after-

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wards sent me a paper, the same with that referred to in your publication, and since printed under the title of Dr. Addington's Narrative.

The relations given by these two gentlemen being thus inconsistent, it was thought proper that a full abstract should be prepared of their respective papers and others which my enquiries had produced, including my father's own account of his part in Sir James Wright's transaction, digested into some method; to be shewn to such as might desire to see it, but not allowed to be copied. This abstract, or digest, was executed by a friend, at my request, in a fair state of the allegations on both sides between Sir James and the Doctor; with a preliminary detail or introductory narrative of the several steps I had taken in the enquiries above mentioned; and my friend's compilation hath been read by a few people; but no copy, as I am informed, had been delivered out of my family, except one, which had been intended for a very near relation, and was sent to Lady Chatham, with copies of Sir James Wright's papers, at her Ladyship's own desire. To these communications, I understand, it is immediately owing, that the authentic account published was judged indispensably necessary to be drawn up and circulated; of which Lady Chatham was so good as to furnish my father with a copy thirteen or fourteen days before it appeared in print; so that I, who consider myself as being, in some degree, the cause of the publication, am, for this reason, called upon to take a public notice of it, if my connexion, and the nature of the occasion, did not afford me sufficient inducement and cause for so doing.

The account is avowed expressly to be drawn up from papers in possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, in order to shew whether the supposed negociation did or did not originate from his Lordship: so that the papers are confessedly furnished by the Earl's family for the purpose of composing this account, which therefore bears the stamp of that family's authority, whether printed by their direction or not.

The account closes with the following observation, viz. "*from this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established; viz. that the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.*"

The proposition here put, it must be observed, does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong impli-

cation, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with his Lordship. Now I do not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negociation with the Earl of Bute: but when I consider the expression in his Lordship's dictated answer to Sir James Wright's letter, that *he heard with particular satisfaction the favorable sentiments on this subject of the noble Lord,* (viz. Lord Bute,) *with whom Sir James Wright had talked,* and the following words of the sentence, that *zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope,* even under the impending ruin of the kingdom, it appears to me, that whatever ideas his Lordship might reject, he had not then resolved to reject all ideas of negociation with my father, conceiving, perhaps, from his assurance of hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes conveyed in Sir James Wright's letter, some expectation of having the door of the cabinet opened to him by that hand, which, according to his notions, had always kept the key. I may proceed a step further: it seems probable that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was looking out for a negociation with my father; for Mr. Dagge, who was said in one of the above-mentioned reports to be concerned in transacting a negociation between the two noble Lords and who is an acquaintance of Lord Bute, happening to say in common conversation with a friend of Lord Chatham that he had heard my father speak respectfully of Lord Chatham, and give his opinion, that Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis; and this being reported to Lord Chatham by his friend, who heard it from Mr. Dagge, his Lordship instantly concluded the words to be meant as a message to him from my father; but luckily his friend undeceived him in time; of which also I have my indisputable evidence from a paper of that friend, who obliged me with it at my own desire, but who cannot be suspected of wanting partiality for Lord Chatham.—It is said in the Authentic Account, from the evidence of Dr. Addington's Narrative, that Lord Chatham held a conversation with the Doctor at Hayes, in which the former *declared it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North:* but I believe nobody would discern, in this part of their conversation at Hayes, the shadow of a proof that my father offered to serve the public in a ministry with his Lordship, unless Dr. Addington had added this circumstance in his Narrative, as gathered from Sir James Wright's discourse with him: so that, at last, the indisputable evidence of this fact, so far as regards my father, rests wholly upon Dr. Addington's Narrative, which hath been flatly contradicted

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in that point, again and again, by Sir James Wright. Undoubtedly the Doctor and Sir James would have been sufficient witnesses of the message intended to be conveyed through them, if their accounts had agreed; but they differ so widely and essentially, that no evidence seems to have less claim to be called indisputable. What other evidence then can be resorted to in this case, but Lord Bute's relation of his own proceedings? This I am at liberty to give you in the following extract from his letter to Lady Chatham of the 16th of August last, dated from Luton Park.

MADAM,

I am happy in the opportunity your Ladyship gives me of relating to you all I know concerning a transaction, in which both Lord Chatham and I have been strangely misrepresented to each other, and concerning which so many falsehoods have been industriously propagated. When Sir James Wright communicated to me the very flattering language in which he declared Lord Chatham had expressed himself concerning me, I was naturally led to mention my regard for his Lordship, and the high opinion I entertained of his superior talents, hoping, from what was then publicly talked of, to see them once more employed in the ministerial line; and collecting from Sir James, that the knowledge of my sentiments would not, on this occasion, be displeasing, I did not hesitate to express my hearty wishes, that this important event might soon take place. Some time after this I was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to me; it was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming situation we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it. As such a communication to a person in my retired situation seemed only made on a supposition that I had still some share in public councils, it appeared necessary for me to dictate to Sir James my answer, in which, after lamenting the dangerous situation of affairs, unknown to me in such an extent, I added, this affected me the more, as my long illness, and total seclusion from all public business, put it out of my power to be of the least service.—This, Madam, is the whole I was privy to in this affair, and all that passed between Sir James and me upon it.

If any further explanation can be necessary from my father, respecting either the design or purport of his message, he allows me to say, in his name, that he did, (perhaps erroneously,) consider Dr. Addington's representations

of Lord Chatham's manner of speaking of him, as reported at the time by Sir James Wright, to be intimations thrown out by his Lordship, in order to know his, (my father's,) sentiments upon the subject of his then coming into administration; for which reason, my father did not scruple to send a message by the person from whom he derived his information, signifying, that if Lord Chatham was appointed to administration, the hearty concurrence of his judgment and sincere wishes of success would follow that appointment. He avers, at the same time, that he did not conceive a thought of proposing himself to his Lordship for any office, or of accepting any office with him, his own inclination having never prompted him, nor his state of health admitted him, to engage in public business, except on very few occasions in the House of Lords, from the time of his quitting the Treasury in 1763; neither did he entertain an idea of suggesting to Lord Chatham any arrangement of an administration, his wishes, and the communication of them through Sir James Wright, having solely regarded Lord Chatham. There is another passage in your publication which appears to me more material still, with respect to my father, than what I have already mentioned. This is the copy of a note from Lord Chatham, in his own hand-writing, to Dr. Addington, saying, *the next attempt he* (Sir James Wright) *makes to surprise friendly integrity with courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this: one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.*

Here is a letter, under the Earl of Chatham's hand, vouched to be such by the authority of his family, imputing to Lord Bute those counsels which Lord Chatham says, (whether justly or erroneously, is not the present question,) have ruined the King and kingdom. Every reader will at once have understood this imputation to be founded on Lord Chatham's opinion of Lord Bute's secret influence, (as it is called,) by which he has been imagined to dictate or control the measures of the cabinet ever since the Earl of Chatham left it. Lord Bute has not been ignorant of the long prevalence of that error, having seen himself most injuriously treated in consequence of it, for many years past, by writers of pamphlets, newspaper essays, and political paragraphs; all which he passed over in silent indignation and contempt: but when he sees the same cruel mistakes advanced and countenanced by such an authority as the Earl of Chatham, he thinks he should be wanting to himself if he did not encounter it with the best evidence that can be supposed to lie within his reach.

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There are but two persons in the kingdom who are capable of knowing the negative of that opinion with absolute certainty. One of them is of a rank too high to be appealed to, or even mentioned on this occasion; the other is himself. He does, therefore, authorize me to say, that he declares upon his solemn word of honor, that he has not had the honor of waiting on his Majesty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry in 1765, to the present hour.

Before I conclude, I must apprise your readers that I do not intend to set up for a newspaper author, or to answer questions, objections, or observations, or to engage in printed altercation with any body.

I am, &c.

MOUNTSTUART.

Harley-street, Thursday, Oct. 29, 1778.

A letter appeared in the papers of October 26, signed by Lord Mountstuart, of which I think it incumbent upon me to give public notice, and I should have done so sooner, if I had not been at that time at some distance from London. His Lordship's letter contains some passages which I think injurious to my father's memory, as well as observations on an *Authentic Account*, &c. (which lately appeared in print,) which seem to require an answer from Lord Chatham's family. I wish it had fallen to some other hand to discharge this debt to my father's memory: at the same time, my impatience to vindicate his conduct, and to free this subject from misconstruction, cannot, I am persuaded, stand in need of any excuse, either towards Lord Mountstuart or towards the public.

Lord Mountstuart, in the beginning of his letter, says, that no less than three reports of negociations between my father and Lord Bute reached him in the course of last spring. One of them appears to have arisen from the transaction between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, of which the public have heard so much already. Another, from that affair in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. And the third report, which Lord Mountstuart alludes to, I suppose to be the same with that mentioned in a paper drawn up at Lord Mountstuart's

request by Mr. Martyn. If it is, I can only say, that I have been assured by my brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, that my father himself told him, that Lord Bute's name was not mentioned in the affair which has occasioned that report. APPX. No. VIII. 1778.

Lord Mountstuart afterwards alludes to the abstract, or digest, drawn up by his friend, on the subject of the negociation between my father and Lord Bute. I think it right to declare, that that paper, which was sent to my mother, at her request, by Lord Bute, together with the declarations of Sir James Wright and other concurring reports, tended, in the opinion of the family, to bring imputations on my father's character, which they could not suffer to pass unnoticed. The persons, therefore, who compiled those papers sent to Lady Chatham, or who propagated such injurious reports, were, in fact, the causes of the "Authentic Account" being drawn up and circulated.

I shall now proceed to take notice of the remarks made by Lord Mountstuart on the concluding proposition of the "Authentic Account," which is, "*That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but, without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.*" His Lordship says, "that the proposition does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with him." To this I say, that the proposition, as quoted above, does not necessarily involve such an implication, nor is it any where asserted in the *Authentic Account*, that Lord Bute did make any such proposal. The proposition only implies, (what I think the *Authentic Account* fully proves,) that what was reported to Lord Chatham by Dr. Addington, was brought to him *as coming from Lord Bute.* Whether the idea thus conveyed to Lord Chatham originated entirely with Sir James Wright—whether they arose from misapprehensions of Dr. Addington, or whether they proceeded from Lord Bute himself, it is equally incontestible, in every one of these cases, that they came to Lord Chatham in the manner stated in the *Authentic Account.* Lord Chatham could consider those ideas only in the shape in which they came to him, and his messages in consequence are sufficient to shew his determination on this subject, without our inquiring how far the advances made to him were or were not authorized by Lord Bute. The sole motive of drawing up the *Authentic Account* was the desire of vindicating

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my father's memory, and not any wish to affect the character of Lord Bute. If any one, by reading the *Authentic Account*, is led to form any opinion relative to Lord Bute, it must be from the nature of the papers contained in it, (which were necessary to be produced for my father's justification,) and not from any assertion made or implied in any part of the account. Whoever has read it, must have observed that it consists of written and indisputable evidence, and does not contain a single word beyond that evidence, excepting only the few introductory lines—the allusion to various conversations which had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, previous to the 3d of February, which circumstance I am persuaded cannot be called in question,—the mention of Lord Chatham's conversations with Dr. Addington, and his declaration relative to Lord Bute and Lord North, which no one can pretend to controvert,—and, finally, the concluding proposition, of the truth of which the public must judge, by considering the facts from which it is deduced. With respect to Dr. Addington's narrative, it was, by his permission, added in the Appendix, in order to throw light on some part of the transactions. If Sir James Wright contests any thing advanced in the Doctor's narrative, the public judgment will finally rest on the comparative degree of credit due to those two gentlemen, and upon the probability or improbability of their respective assertions.

Lord Mountstuart also says, "that he does not at all enter into the question whether Lord Chatham did or did not enter into a negociation with the Earl of Bute." If his Lordship had strictly adhered to this intention through the remainder of his letter, these remarks would have been less necessary.

His Lordship then endeavours to prove, "that my father, at the time of dictating his answer to Sir James Wright's first letter, had not resolved to reject all ideas of negociation with Lord Bute." Now, if Lord Mountstuart means by this, that Lord Chatham would not, from any personal objection to Lord Bute, have refused to listen to such proposals as may be perfectly consistent with his honor and his principles, which he might have accepted with the prospect of being serviceable to his country, *merely because they came through his Lordship*, Lord Mountstuart can deduce from this nothing that in any way affects the present question. If, on the other hand, he means that Lord Chatham had not resolved to reject a negociation of any other description, or that there was any time when he would not have rejected every idea of acting with Lord Bute in administration, this

opinion is utterly without foundation, and no argument has been produced in support of it. APPX. No. VIII. 1778.

The expressions which Lord Mountstuart quotes from my father's note are these: that "*Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favorable sentiments on this subject of the noble Lord with whom Sir James Wright had talked,*" and that "*zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope,*" (even under the impending ruin of the kingdom.) Now what does the first of these expressions amount to, but that Lord Chatham heard, with much satisfaction, those high expressions of approbation and explicit *offers of concurrence,* from one who was generally thought, (no matter how truly,) to have so much influence in the government of this country, which were conveyed in Sir James Wright's first letter, with the express desire that they might be communicated through Dr. Addington to Lord Chatham? And what is the meaning of the second expression, but that Lord Chatham, however desperate he thought the situation of public affairs, would still perform the duties of a good subject, in endeavoring to prevent, if possible, the final ruin of the kingdom? It is impossible, therefore, to argue from either of these expressions, which were written in answer to Sir James Wright, that my father either courted a negociation with Lord Bute, or was willing to act with his Lordship in administration; unless it can be pretended that the profession of *zeal, duty,* and *obedience,* are to be referred to Lord Bute. Let it also be remembered, that the very message, from which Lord Mountstuart has quoted the expressions above recited, contains in it the declaration of Lord Chatham's opinion, "*that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without further loss of time, a* REAL CHANGE *from sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless;*" which words were considered by Sir James Wright, and, (as appears from Sir James's letter of February 7th,) were considered by Lord Bute himself, as including his Lordship as well as the ministry.

Lord Mountstuart next attempts to shew, "that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was *looking out* for a negociation with Lord Bute." It is not very clear what exactly is meant by that expression; I cannot imagine Lord Mountstuart to have intended to imply that Lord Chatham expected a negociation would be begun on the part of Lord Bute, because that would seem as if Lord Mountstuart admitted that there was ground for such an expectation. But, if he intended by this expression to

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convey, that Lord Chatham was disposed to court a negociation with the Earl of Bute, I must take the liberty to assert, that the circumstance he refers to is no proof of such a position. The affair mentioned by Lord Mountstuart, in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, was reported to Lord Chatham by his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, (who is at present out of England,) and it is from him that Lord Mountstuart must have received the account he alludes to. His Lordship has not thought proper to lay that paper before the public, and therefore I need not enlarge upon the subject; but I am confident Mr. Pitt cannot have asserted any thing which has the most remote tendency to prove that Lord Chatham was any time *looking out* for a negociation with Lord Bute. The only reason alleged by Lord Mountstuart for thinking that he was, amounts to no more than this: that Lord Bute did speak respectfully of Lord Chatham to Mr. Dagge, and did declare his opinion, that *Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis;* that Mr. Dagge did communicate this to Lord Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt; that he did go to Hayes, in order to report this to Lord Chatham; and that Lord Chatham did in consequence imagine, that it was meant by Lord Bute to be communicated to him. On this I do not think it necessary to make any observation. I must, however, add, that those who received an account of this affair from my father's own mouth, know that he was so far from welcoming these unauthorized advances, with the view of improving them into farther negociation, that he expressed, in the strongest terms, his dislike to such a mode of application.

Lord Mountstuart observes, that Lord Chatham's declaration to Dr. Addington, "*that it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North,*" is no proof that Lord Bute offered to serve the public in a ministry with Lord Chatham. It was never intended as a proof of that matter, but merely as an evidence of Lord Chatham's resolution not to act in administration with Lord Bute. To that point Dr. Addington's evidence is conclusive; for however other parts of his narrative may be contradicted by Sir James Wright, it is impossible for Sir James to dispute his account of the conversation between Lord Chatham and the Doctor, at Hayes. There are, however, other persons besides Dr. Addington to whom Lord Chatham has made the strongest declarations to the same purpose; and the more his conduct is canvassed, the more proofs will appear of this unalterable resolution.

I must now add a few words with regard to the extract of Lord Bute's

letter to my mother, which is quoted by Lord Mountstuart. Lord Bute mentions, "that Sir James Wright communicated to him the very flattering language in which Sir James declared Lord Chatham expressed himself concerning Lord Bute." I am very far from questioning, that Sir James Wright expressed himself in the manner stated by Lord Bute; but I must observe, that Sir James does not pretend to have heard that Lord Chatham held such language, from any other person than from Dr. Addington; and whoever will take the trouble to recur to the Doctor's narrative, will there find that the Doctor, in the beginning of this transaction, declared to Sir James Wright, that, to the best of his remembrance, *Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.*

Lord Bute, in another part of his letter, says, "that he was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to him. It was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it." Lord Bute cannot possibly here refer to any thing, except to the paper No. II. which is printed in the Authentic Account. The opinion contained in that paper of the *necessary measures* to be taken, is only in *general terms*, "that *if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors*," *&c.* and this communication did not proceed spontaneously from my father, but was an answer to Sir James Wright's letter, of February 2d, which was by his desire communicated to Lord Chatham.

The latter part of Lord Mountstuart's letter relates to Lord Chatham's expression, *That Lord Bute had brought the King and kingdom to ruin.* What reason Lord Chatham had at that time for thinking that Lord Bute influenced the measures of government, it would be presumption in me to examine; nor is it for me to enquire, whether he was or was not deceived in his opinion of the public ruin. But in this single instance, those who revere his memory the most will sincerely rejoice, (as he himself would were he living,) if they should find his opinion disproved by the event.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

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These Letters were followed by an answer from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington's Narrative, in which, after some apologies for engaging the attention of the public, the writer proceeds thus:

Dr. Addington, (says he,) has been long and intimately connected with Sir James Wright; Sir James had known him from his youth; considered him as the friend of his bosom, with whom he has ever, on all subjects, communicated as freely as with another self. Dr. Addington was *physician to Sir James;* and therefore saw him frequently in those moments in which a man is least upon his guard; under that character, in which a man is most apt to confide. Little credit, it is conceived, can be due to the narrative of such a man, so circumstanced; if, on examining that narrative, it shall appear that he has *divulged*—it is harsh, but it must be added—that he has *misrepresented* a confidential intercourse; which, if not private friendship, yet professional delicacy should have kept from the ear of babbling curiosity.

Before the reader turns to the narrative, yet another trait of the good Doctor's character must be pointed out to him. Dr. Addington's abilities as a physician are acknowledged: on the subject of his profession no man more learned or more pertinent. But that is rarely the subject of his choice. His darling theme is *politics*. Though the whole listening college should hang on what he spoke, it would give him little pleasure; his joy, his pride, are to dictate on the subjects of politics.

This remark is not made with a view of throwing any ridicule on the Doctor, but only with a view of setting him right in a little point of chronology: for, at the very outset of the narrative, his memory fails him. Long before the beginning of the year 1778 had the Doctor conversed with Sir James Wright of Lord Bute and Lord Chatham. He may remember that Sir James had a long fit illness, which commenced *more than a year* before the æra from which the Doctor sets out; that during that illness his visits to Sir James were frequent, almost daily; that in all these visits, equally attentive to the constitution of his country, as to the constitution of his patient, he recurred to his darling topic *politics;* that the hero of his theme was Lord Chatham; that the burthen of his song were the distresses of the nation. Let him recollect, and he will surely remember, that at this period, twelve months before the time which, for want of recollection, he so confidently fixes to be the "*first time Sir James Wright talked with him respecting*

Lord Bute and Lord Chatham," he frequently gave it as his own opinion, at least, that Lord Chatham had no unfavorable opinion of Lord Bute, but conceived him to be an honest man, to wish well to his country, to be a man endowed with many private virtues.

Was it then so very wonderful that, in the beginning of the year 1778, Sir James Wright should *" talk with Dr. Addington respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham,"* when Lord Bute and Lord Chatham had been the constant subject of the Doctor's conversations with Sir James Wright at visits so frequently repeated, continued to such a length during the course of the year 1777? Would it have been very wonderful, if, knowing how familiarly the Doctor was received by Lord Chatham; if, observing how frequently he introduced his opinion of the point of view in which Lord Bute was regarded by Lord Chatham; if, remarking the zeal with which he always entered on the subject, Sir James had been led to conclude, that the Doctor, under his own name, was delivering the opinion, was speaking from the instructions of his patron? That his patron was not averse to a negociation, but had sent forth his trusty Achates to sound the land, lest peradventure his pride, (the friends of Lord Chatham will allow that he possessed at least a decent pride,) might be hurt by a refusal? Would it have been very wonderful, if, under that idea, Sir James has communicated to Lord Bute—*not exposed to the public*—the purport of such conversation?

But the fact is, Sir James had no such idea. He considered the frequency of the Doctor's visits; he considered the [h] length of his visits as the pure effects of a warm and disinterested friendship; he considered the introduction of political subjects as kindly meant to beguile the *tædium* of a long and painful illness. He saw in the Doctor, or he thought he saw, a skilful physician and an affectionate friend. Wishing for nothing further, he looked for nothing further. It was a very worthy, a very respectable friend, who had been present at most of the conversations which preceded, and at all those which succeeded the æra from which the Doctor chooses to set out, who first suggested to Sir James, that the frequent enquiries of the Doctor about the return of Sir James to town in the beginning of 1778; that his frequent visits, when he was returned, indicated something more than the

[h] The Doctor's *political* visits—for such they were, as much as *medicinal* visits—frequently exceeded *two hours*. No doubt, his other patients may boast of the same attention. Sir James has not now the vanity to suppose *that he has been distinguished.*

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attention which an eminent physician has the leisure, or the most intimate friend has the inclination to shew. That friend it was, who, comparing this frequency of visits with the constant recourse to the same topic of conversation, first suggested, that it was meant, and wished, that the purport of these conversations should be communicated to Lord Bute.

Here then is the origin of the transaction, which the author of the *Authentic Account* is willing to call—and yet, it seems, ashamed to call "*a negociation;*" and which, whatever it may be called, began on the second, and terminated, (on the part of Sir James,) on the seventh of February.

True, indeed, it is, that Dr. Addington, in his very curious narrative[i], talks of various conversations which preceded the epoch of various conversations which passed in the month of January.

Of these various conversations one extract deserves the reader's particular attention.

The great object, which the Doctor attributes to Sir James, was to save this country from ruin. The only means which the Doctor supposes Sir James to have discovered of saving it was, that Lord Chatham should be brought into administration by Lord Bute. And the reason why he thought this to be the only means was, that he had "*remarked, they were the two men whom the King hated most.*"

It is with reluctance Sir James even quotes this passage. The name of his Sovereign is too dear, too sacred, to have been voluntarily introduced: he never so far forgot his duty as to speak so irreverently of his King. If he has quoted this passage, it is only to expose the palpable inconsistency of the narrative. Is it possible that Sir James could pretend to have been authorised by Lord Bute to commission Dr. Addington, or that Sir James could wish to engage Dr. Addington, to negociate with the Earl of Chatham about the terms of acting with the Earl of Bute in administration, at the very moment when he represented the Earl of Bute to be in the predicament in which he is here made to represent him?

What idea must the reader form of the understanding of Dr. Addington, if he could have accepted this commission; if he could even have listened

[i] Narrative; the compiler of the *Authentic Account* is the inventor of a new kind of arrangement: in his compilation, the *Narrative* forms the *Appendix;* and the vouchers introduced to support the Narrative, form the body of the work. There are occasions where obscurity is better than order. *Note by Sir J. Wright.*

another moment to a man, who, if his account were true, must have been the wildest of all possible visionaries?

But the conversations, whatever they were, which passed previously to the third of February, make no part of what is called the *negociation:* for the Doctor set out with the caution of a veteran member of the *corps diplomatique.* However he may now find it convenient to apply, or to misapply, these pretended conversations; he determined—prudentially, at the time, for himself, and in the event, happily for Sir James, he determined not to trust to mere conversation. "*He desired to have in writing the substance of what had passed between him and Sir James.*" He had it in writing. He received the writing "*on the third of February before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes.*"

To this written evidence then let the reader advert. It was on that which was *written,* and on that *alone,* the Doctor was to negociate. All that had passed, and which was not written, was, in that very paper, declared to be of *little concern.*

N°. IX.

CONTAINING THE EARL OF CHATHAM'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

The last Will and Testament of me, William, Earl of Chatham.

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Whereas previous to the marriage of my dear daughter with Lord Mahon, there was a sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, or thereabouts, vested in the public funds, and chargeable upon my estate at Hayes, in Kent, to which said sum I and my dear wife, Lady Chatham, had a power of disposition or appointment, that is to say, to the best of my recollection, in moieties of six thousand pounds, part thereof was settled on or disposed of by me to my said daughter, Lady Mahon, on her marriage aforesaid, wherefore there remains a sum of seven thousand pounds subject to my said disposition or appointment; now, therefore, I give and bequeath the same in manner following, that is to say, I give and bequeath the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds, part thereof, to my dear son, William Pitt, for his own use and benefit; I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, other part thereof, to my dear son, James Charles Pitt, for his own use and benefit, and I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, residue thereof, to my dear daughter, Lady Harriet Pitt, for her own proper use and benefit. The said three several sums above mentioned to be paid to my said three children, with all convenient speed after my decease, by my executors and trustees hereinafter named. And as to the other moiety of the above mentioned sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, which I apprehend to be within the disposition of my said dear wife, I do hereby earnestly desire and recommend to my said dear wife, that she will,

pursuant to our present wishes and intention, dispose of the same in manner following: And so far as by law I may, I will and direct accordingly, that is to say, that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son William, as will make what I have hereinbefore bequeathed to him a complete sum of ten thousand pounds; that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son James Charles, as will make what I have hereinbefore bequeathed to him a complete sum of five thousand pounds; and that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said daughter Lady Harriet, as will make what I have hereinbefore bequeathed to her a complete sum of five thousand pounds; and as to, for, and concerning all the rest and residue of my personal estate whatsoever, and all my real estates wheresoever the same may be situate, lying, and being, I give, devise, and bequeath the same, subject to my debts and legacies, to my dear wife Lady Chatham, Richard Earl Temple and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivors and survivor of them, their heirs and assigns, to, for, and upon the trusts following, that is to say, in the first place, by and out of the said residue of my personal estate, and so much out of my real estate, as they shall think proper to apply for that purpose, to pay off, satisfy, and discharge my just debts, and such legacies as I may hereafter give and bequeath by Codicil to this my Will, or otherwise, together with my funeral expenses and the charges of executing this my Will, and the trusts thereof, and in the next place, to permit and suffer my said dear wife to receive and take to her own proper use and benefit, for and during the term of her natural life, the rents, issues, profits, and produce of my said real and personal estates; and from and immediately after her decease I give and devise all my said real estates wheresoever situate, lying, or being, to my dear son Lord Viscount Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise the same to the said Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor in trust to preserve the contingent remains hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed, and from and after the death of my said son Lord Viscount Pitt, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of the said Lord Viscount Pitt, and the issue male of the respective body and bodies, the elder of such son or sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, William Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after his decease, I give and

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devise the same to my said trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, in trust to preserve the contingent remainders, hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son William, I give and devise the same to the first and other son or sons of the body of my said son William, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, James Charles Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after the determination of that estate, I give and devise the same to my said trustees and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, and in trust to preserve the contingent remainders, hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, James Charles, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of my said son, James Charles, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear daughters, Lady Mahon, and Lady Harriet Pitt, their heirs and assigns, for ever to hold the same, in equal moieties, as tenants in common, and not as joint-tenants. And I do hereby will and direct, that all persons who, by virtue of the limitations of this my will, shall come into the possession of my real estates hereby devised, shall have any power to lease the same, or any part thereof, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, so as the usual covenants be contained in such lease, and the full annual rent be received, and no fine taken on granting the same. And I do hereby authorize and empower my said trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, at any time or times, after my death, at their will and pleasure, to sell and dispose of all or any part of my real and personal estates before mentioned; and after paying my debts, legacies, and charges before mentioned, to invest and lay out the monies produced by such sales in the purchase of other lands and tenements; and till such purchases can be made, I will and direct that the monies arising by such sale and sales shall go and be considered as real estates, and be subject to the limitations herein-before directed concerning my said real estate. And I do appoint my said dear wife, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, joint executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former and

other Wills by me made. As witness my hand, this twenty-second day of April, 1775. APPX. No. IX. 1775.

CHATHAM, (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, and published, and declared, as and for the last Will and Testament of William, Earl of Chatham, before us, who, in his presence, and at his request, and in the presence of each other, set our names as witnesses thereto.

GILES HOMER,
FLACK BRADSHAW,
CHRISTIAN WILLBIER, } Esqrs.

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Yorke, the Hon. Joseph, third son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, (afterwards Lord Dover,) British Minister at the Hague, i. 376—Appointed to act as one of the plenipotentiaries at Augsburg, i. 505.

THE END.

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A

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

NOBLE FAMILY OF PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

Formed from a careful examination of Edmondson's Baronagium, Collins's and Debrett's Peerages, and from personal enquiry.

Nicholas Pitt.

Temp. Reg. Hen. vii. or, (according to Edmondson,) Hen. vi.

WILLIAM PITT, Temp. Hen. VIII.

ELEANOR, Daughter of ..... Navilend.

JOHN PITT, Clerk of the Exchequer, Temp. Eliz.

JOAN, daughter of John Swayne.

SIR WILLIAM PITT, seated at Stephens, com. Dorset, Comptroller of the Household, &c. &c. died, May 27, 1636.

EDITH, or (according to Edmondson,) Elizabeth, youngest daughter, and co-heir of Nicholas Cadbury, of Wrecham, Esq. died, December 4, 1633.

From this Sir William, in a direct line, the present Lord Rivers is descended.

JOHN PITT, settled in Ireland.

THOMAS PITT, seated at Blandford, com. Dorset, 1662.

PRISCILLA, daughter of ..... Searle, of Hayle, com. Devon, Esq.

AGNES, married Anthony Dennis.

ELIZABETH, married Jonadab Shirley.

ROBERT PITT, of Blandford.

MARGARET, daughter of John Gay, Esq.

JOHN PITT, Rector of Blandford, St. Mary, com. Dorset.

SARAH, daughter of John Jay, Esq.

WILLIAM PITT, died without issue, in 1687.

EDWARD PITT.

CHRISTOPHER PITT.

TEMPERANCE, married ..... Cockrane, Esq.

MARGARET, married Augustine Drake, Esq.

THOMAS PITT, seated at Swallowfield, com. Berks, and Beaumarck, com. Cornwall, Governor of Fort St. George, and afterwards of Jamaica. M.P. for Old Sarum, and afterwards for Thirsk; died, April 28, 1726; buried at Blandford.

JANE, daughter of James Innes, Esq. second son of Adam Innes, of Reidhall, in the County of Murray, in Scotland, grandson of Sir Robert Innes, of Innes, Bart. by the Lady Grizel Stewart, daughter of James, Lord Down, and Earl of Murray, natural son of James V., King of Scotland.

ROBERT PITT, M.P. for Old Sarum, and for Oakhampton; died, May 30, 1727; buried at Blandford, St. Mary's.

HARRIET, Third Sister of John Villiers, Earl of Grandison, in Ireland; died at Paris, Oct. 31, 1736; buried at Blandford, St. Mary's.

THOMAS PITT, Created Baron of Londonderry, 1716, and Viscount Galen-Ridgeway, and Earl of Londonderry, 1726; died, September 12, 1729.

FRANCES, daughter, and co-heir of Robert Ridgeway, Earl of Londonderry.

JOHN PITT, died, February 9, 1744. S. P.

MARY, sister of Thomas Bolneyes, Viscount Fauconberg.

LUCY, married James, Earl Stanhope.

ESSEX, married Charles Chelmondeley, of Vale Royal, com. Ceste, Esq.

THOMAS PITT, succeeded as Earl of Londonderry; died unmarried, Aug. 1734, by a fall from his horse.

RIDGEWAY PITT, succeeded as Earl of Londonderry; died unmarried, Jan. 1765, whereby the title became extinct.

LUCY, married Pierce Mayrick, of Bodorgan, in the County of Anglesea, Esq.

THOMAS PITT, seated at Beaumarck, com. Cornwall, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall. M.P. for Old Sarum, & Oakhampton; died, July 1760; buried at Blandford, St. Mary's.

CHRISTIAN, daughter of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, and Sister of George, first Lord Lyttleton, of Frankley, and Hagley Hall, com. Worcester; died, June 4, 1750; buried at Hagley.

HARRIET, or (according to Collins) Henrietta, married Sir William Corbett, of Stoke, com. Salop, Bart.

CATHERINE, married Robert Nonilson of Ireland, Esq. died, August 1, 1755.

ANNE, Maid of Honor to Queen Caroline, and Privy Purse to the Princess Dowager of Wales; died unmarried, 1789.

ELIZABETH, married John Hanson, Esq. died, February 14, 1770.

MARY, died unmarried, December 7, 1787.

William Pitt, born, November 15, 1708; married, November 6, 1734; died, May 11, 1787. *The Subject of this History.*

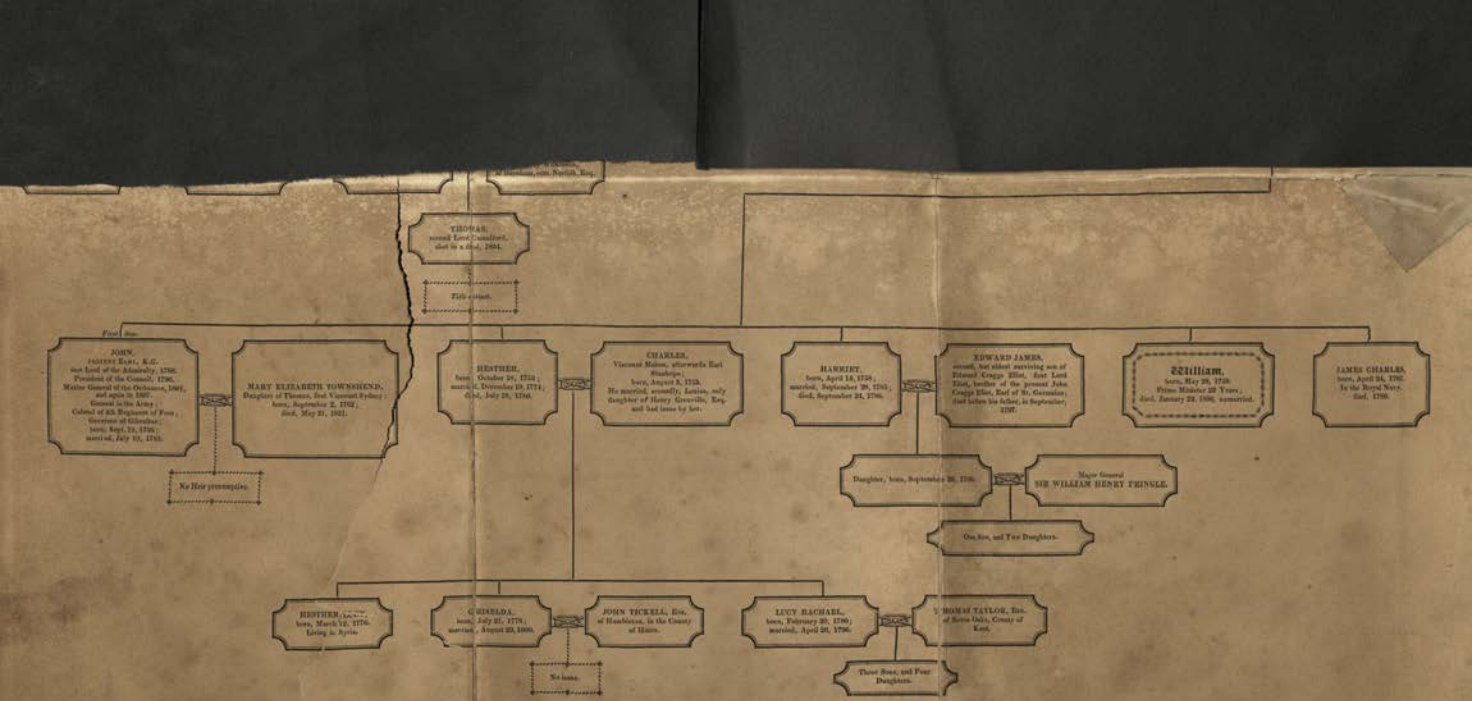
LADY HESTHER GRENVILLE, sister of Richard, Earl Temple, created Baroness of Chatham, December 4, 1761; died, April 3, 1803.

EMILIA, married William Spry, LL.D.

CHRISTIAN, married Thomas Saunders, Esq.

THOMAS, created Lord Camelford, 1793; married, July 29, 1771; died, January 30, 1804.

ANNE, daughter, and co-heir of Fadney Williamson, of Hoxham, com. Norfolk, Esq.



Armorial Ensigns of the Family.

Arms.

SABLE, A FESS CHEQUÉ, OR, AND AZURE, BETWEEN THREE BEZANTS.

Crest.

ON A WREATH, A CRANE CLOSE, PROPER, BEAKED AND MEMBERED, OR, HOLDING IN HIS DEXTER FOOT UPON AN ANCHOR, ERECT, OR.

Supporters.

ON THE DEXTER SIDE, A LION GUARDANT, CHARGED ON THE BREAST WITH AN ACORN, SLIPT AND LEAVED, PROPER; ON THE SINISTER SIDE, A BUCK, PORTER, ATTIRED, OR; PLAIN, COLLARED, AND CHAINED, SABLE.

Motto.

RESURGO NUNQUE.

TABLE.

EXHIBITING ALL THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS WHO HELD OFFICES UNDER GOVERNMENT

FROM THE YEAR 1735 TO JUNE 1757.

The Offices which are marked † have subsequently been abolished by Act of Parliament.

OFFICES.	SIR R. WALPOLE'S MINISTRY, 1735.		EARL OF BATH'S MINISTRY, 1742.	1743.	THE BROAD BOTTOM MINISTRY, 1744.		MR. PELHAM'S MINISTRY, 1746.		DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S MINISTRY, 1754.	1755.
(Officers of the Sovereign's Household.)										
† High Chancellor	Lord Talbot	Lord Hardwicke in 1736	Continued							
† Lord of the Treasury	Sir Robert Walpole, K.G.,	created Earl of Orford in 1742	Earl of Wilmington	Hon. Henry Pelham	Continued		Continued		Duke of Newcastle	
† President of the Council	Earl of Wilmington		Earl of Harrington		Continued		Continued		Continued	
† Privy Seal	Earl of Godolphin	Lord Hervey in 1740	Lord Gower	Earl of Cholmondeley	Lord Gower		Continued		Continued	Duke of Marlborough
† First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir Charles Wager		Earl of Winchelsea		Duke of Bedford		Continued	{ Earl of Sandwich in 1748 / Lord Anson in 1751 }	Lord Anson	
First Lord of Trade	Earl Fitzwalter	Lord Monson in 1737	Continued		Continued		Continued	Earl of Holdin in 1748	Continued	
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Robert Walpole		Samuel Sandys	Hon. H. Pelham	Continued		Continued		Hon. H. B. Legge	Sir George Lyttelton
Principal Secretaries of State for England	{ Duke of Newcastle / Lord Harrington }		Continued		Continued		Continued	{ Earl of Chesterfield, Nov. 1746 / Duke of Bedford in 1748 / Lord Holdernesse in 1751 }	Sir Thomas Robinson / Earl of Holdernesse	Henry Fox
Principal Secretary of State for Scotland	Earl of Sollkirk		Marquis of Tweedale.	He resigned in January, 1746, and the office has subsequently remained vacant.						
Master General of the Ordnance	Duke of Montagu		Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	Duke of Marlborough
Treasurer of the Navy	Arthur Onslow		{ Thos. Clutterbuck / Sir C. Wager }	{ Sir J. Rushout / Lord Edgcumbe }	Geo. B. Doddington		Continued	Hon. H. B. Legge in 1749	Hon. G. Grenville	G. B. Doddington
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Duke of Rutland	Earl of Cholmondeley in 1736	Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Grafton		Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	
Groom of the Stole	Earl of Pembroke		Continued		Continued		Continued	Earl of Albemarle in 1750	Continued	Earl of Rochford
Lord Steward	Duke of Devonshire	Duke of Dorset in 1737	Continued		Duke of Devonshire		Continued	Duke of Marlborough in 1749	Continued	Duke of Rutland
Treasurer	Lord Delaware	Earl Fitzwalter in 1737	Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	Lord Berkley of Stratton
Comptroller	Hon. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, K.B.		Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	Lord Hobart
† Comptroller	Horace Walpole	Sir William Yonge in 1741	Continued	Samuel Sandys	Edward Waller		Henry Clinton		Sir George Lyttelton	Duke of Leeds
Master	George Treby	J. Harris, in 1741	Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	
† Treasurer of the Chamber	Sir John Hobart		Continued		Sir John H. Cotton		Hon. R. Arundel		Continued	Earl of Hillsborough
† Master of the Horse	Duke of Richmond		Continued		Continued		Continued	Marquis of Hartington in 1751	Continued	Earl Gower
† Keeper of the Great Wardrobe	Duke of Montagu		Continued		Continued		Continued	Sir Thomas Robinson in 1750	Lord Burrington	Sir T. Robinson
Captain of Yeomen of the Guard	Earl of Tankerville	{ Duke of Manchester in 1737 / Earl of Essex in 1739 }	Continued	Lord Berkley of Stratton	Continued		Viscount Torrington	Viscount Falmouth in 1747	Continued	
† Captain of Band of Gentlemen Pensioners	Duke of Montagu	Duke of Bolton in 1740	Lord Bathurst		Lord Hobart		Continued		Continued	
Speaker of the House of Commons	Arthur Onslow		Continued		Continued		Continued		Continued	
Chief Justice in Eyre	{ Duke of Ancaster / Earl of Carlisle }	Earl of Jersey	Earl of Carlisle		Continued		Continued	Duke of Somerset in 1750	Continued	
Secretary at War	Sir William Yonge		Continued		Continued		Earl of Halifax / Henry Fox	Duke of Leeds in 1748	Continued	Lord Sandys
Paymaster General	Hon. Henry Pelham		Continued	T. Winnington	Continued	died in 1746	William Pitt		Continued	W. W. (afterwards Visc.) Barrington
Postmasters	{ Hon. E. Cleiveet / Earl of Leicester }	Earl of Leicester in 1739 / Sir John Eyles in 1739	Continued		Continued	Sir E. Fawkener in 1745	Continued		Continued	{ Earl of Darlington / Viscount Duppin }
Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance	Sir Charles Wills, K.B.		George Wade		Continued		Continued	{ Sir John (afterwards Earl) Ligonier in 1749 }	Continued	
Lords of the Treasury	Geo. Doddington	George Treby, in 1740	{ Samuel Sandys, Chan- / cellor of the Exchequer }		Earl of Middlesex		Continued	Hon. G. Grenville in 1747	Earl of Darlington	P. Wyndham O'Brien
	Sir George Oxenden	Giles Earle, in 1737	Hon. George Compton		Henry Fox		George Lyttelton		{ Hon. H. B. Legge, Chan- / cellor of the Exchequer }	Sir G. Lyttleton
	Lord Sundon		Sir John Rushout	Earl of Middlesex	Hon. Richard Arundel		Hon. H. B. Legge	Hon. H. Vane in 1749	Viscount Duppin	Henry Furnese
	Viscount Malpas	T. Winnington, in 1739	Philip Gybbon	Henry Fox	George Lyttleton		John Campbell		Robert Nugent	
	Sir Thomas Lyttleton		John Cotton		Earl of Sandwich		Continued	{ Hon. John Stanhope in 1748 / Hon. E. Boscawen in 1751 }	Viscount Dunceanon	
	Lord Arch. Hamilton	Lord Vere Beauclerk in 1738	Lord Archibald Hamilton		Continued		Lord Vere Beauclerk	Viscount Trentham in 1749	Welbore Ellis	Viscount Barrington
Lords of the Admiralty	Sir Thomas Frankland		Lord Baltimore		Lord Vere Beauclerk		{ George Anson, cre- / ated Lord Anson }	William Rowley, in 1751	Hon. T. Villiers	
	Thos. Winnington	John Campbell, in 1736	Philip Cavendish	Sir Charles Hardy	Lord Baltimore	Hon. H. B. Legge in 1745	George Grenville	Welbore Ellis, in 1747	Sir W. Rowley, K. B.	
	Thos. Clutterbuck	Viscount Glenorchy in 1741	George Lee, LL.D.		George Anson		Hon. H. B. Legge	Viscount Duncannon, June 1746	Hon. E. Boscawen	
	Lord Harry Powlett	Edward Thompson, in 1741	Hon. John Trevor	Thomas Philipson	George Grenville		Viscount Barrington		Hon. Charles Townshend	Hon. R. Edgcumbe
	Thomas Pelham		Edward Finch		Continued		Edward Ashe	{ Sir T. Robinson in 1748 / Andrew Stone in 1749 }	John Pitt	Hon. J. Talbot
	Martin Bladen		Edward Ashe		Continued		Hon. J. Brudenell	Viscount Duppin, Nov. 1746	Hon. J. Grenville	Soame Jenyns
Lords of Trade	Edward Ashe		Hon. J. Brudenell		Continued		Richard Plumer	Hon. C. Townshend in 1749	Francis Fane	
	Sir Orlando Bridgman		Richard Plumer		Continued		Hon. Robert Herbert	James Oswald in 1751	Andrew Stone	
	Hon. James Brudenell		Hon. Ric. Fitz Herbert		Continued		John Pitt	Francis Fane, Nov. 1746	James Oswald	
	Sir Archer Croft		Sir Charles Wager		Sir John Phillips	Hon. B. L. Gower in 1745	Hon. B. L. Gower		Hon. R. Edgcumbe	R. Rigby
	Richard Plumer		Benjamin Keene		John Fane		Hon. J. Grenville		Thomas Pelham	
Attorney General	Sir John Willes	Sir Dudley Ryder in 1736	Continued		Continued		Continued		Hon. William Murray	Sir R. Henley in 1756
Solicitor General	Dudley Ryder	John Strange, 1736	Hon. William Murray		Continued	Sir Richard Lloyd in 1745.	Continued		Continued	
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Duke of Dorset	{ Archbishop of Armagh, Lord / Wyndham, H. Boyle, L. J. 1736 }	{ Archbp. Armagh, Ri. / Jocelyn, H. Boyle, L.J. }	Duke of Devonshire, L. L.	Lords Justices	Earl of Chesterfield, L. L. 1745	Lords Justices	Earl of Harrington, L.L. in 1747	Lords Justices	Marquis of Hartington, L. L.

N. B. L. J. signifies Lords Justices, and L. L. Lord Lieutenant.

MINISTRY,	MR. PITT'S FIRST MINISTRY,	
1755.	1756.	1757.
	Sir J. Willes, L. C. J. of the Common Pleas; Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, one of the Barons of Exchequer; Sir J. E. Wilmot, one of C. J's. of King's B.; Commissioners of Great Seal, Nov. 1756.	
	Duke of Devonshire	Lord Mansfield, (also Chancellor of Exchequer).
	continued	
borough	Earl Gower	
	Earl Temple	Earl of Winchelsea, in April.
	continued	
ttleton	Hon. H. B. Legge	dismissed in April.
	William Pitt	dismissed in April.
	continued	
borough	continued	
gton	Hon. G. Grenville	G. B. Doddington.
	continued	
	continued	
ord	continued	
and	continued	
of Stratton	Lord Bateman	
	Hon. R. Edgecumbe	
s	continued	
	continued	
orough	Hon. C. Townshend	
	continued	
on	continued	
	continued	
	Lord Berkley of Stratton	
	continued	
	continued	
	Earl of Breadalbane	
vards Visc.) Barrington	continued	
lington }	continued	
upplin }		
	continued	
	continued	
	continued	
O'Brien	Hon. H. B. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer.	
on	Robert Nugent.	
e	Viscount Duncannon	Lord Mansfield, L. C. J. of King's Bench, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
	Hon. James Grenville	
	Hon. E. Boscawen	Sir W. Rowley, K.B.
man	Temple West	Hon. E. Boscawen.
	George Hay, LL.D.	G. Elliott.
	T. Orby Hunter	Lord Carysfort.
	Gilbert Elliott	Savage Mostyn.
cumbe	Hon. John Forbes	Hon. Edwin Sandys.
t	continued	
	continued	
	William G. Hamilton	
	continued	
	continued	
	continued	
	continued	
Sir R. Henley in 1756	continued	
	Hon. Charles Yorke.	
rtington, L. L.	Lords Justices.	

A

TABLE,

EXHIBITING ALL THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS WHO HELD OFFICES UNDER GOVERNMENT

FROM JUNE 1757 TO MAY 1778.

The Offices which are marked † have subsequently been abolished by Act of Parliament.

OFFICES.	MR. PITT'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1757.		EARL OF BUTE'S MINISTRY, 1762.		DUKE OF BEDFORD'S MINISTRY, 1763.	MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM'S MINISTRY, 1765.	EARL OF CHATHAM'S MI 1766.
Lord High Chancellor	Sir R. Henley, Lord Keeper, created Lord Henley in 1760		Lord Henley, Lord Keeper		{ Lord Henley, Keeper, made Chancellor, and } { Created Earl of Northington in 1764 }	Earl of Northington	Lord Camden
First Lord of the Treasury Lord President of the Council	Duke of Newcastle Earl Granville	resigned in 1762	Earl of Bute continued	resigned in 1763	Hon. George Grenville Duke of Bedford	Marquis of Rockingham Earl of Winchelsea	Duke of Grafton Earl of Northington Earl Gower i
Lord Privy Seal	Earl Temple	{ resigned in 1761 { Duke of Bedford	continued		Duke of Marlborough	Duke of Newcastle	Earl of Chatham
First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Anson		Earl of Halifax	Hon. G. Grenville, 1763	Earl of Sandwich . . Earl of Egmont, Sep. 10	Earl of Egmont	Sir C. Saunders, K.B. Sir E. Hawke
First Lord of Trade	Earl of Halifax	Lord Sandys in 1761	continued	Hon. C. Townshend, 1763	Earl of Shelburne . . E. of Hillsborough, Sep.	Earl of Dartmouth	Earl of Hillsborough . Robert Nugen
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Hon. H. B. Legge	{ dismissed in 1761 { Viscount Barrington	Sir Francis Dashwood		Hon. G. Grenville	William Dowdeswell	Hon. C. Townshend . Lord Mansfie
Principal Secretaries of State for England	{ William Pitt { Earl of Holdernesse	{ resigned in 1761 { Earl of Egremont Earl of Bute in 1761	continued continued	died in 1763 Hon. G. Grenville, May .	Earl of Sandwich Earl of Halifax	Hon. H. S. Conway Duke of Grafton . . D. of Richmond in 1766	continued Earl of Shelburne .
Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies							
Master General of the Ordnance	Earl Ligonier		continued		Marquis of Granby	continued	continued
Treasurer of the Navy	Hon. G. Grenville		Viscount Barrington		continued	Viscount Howe	continued
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Edgecumbe	Lord Dupplin in 1758	Lord Strange		continued	continued	continued
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Devonshire		Duke of Marlborough		Earl Gower	Duke of Portland	Earl of Hertford
Groom of the Stole	Earl of Rochford	{ Earl of Bute in 1760 { Earl of Huntingdon in 1761	continued		continued	continued	continued
Lord Steward	Duke of Rutland	Earl Talbot in 1761	continued		continued	continued	continued
Treasurer	Earl of Thomond	Earl of Powis in 1761	continued		continued	Lord Edgecumbe	John Shelley
Comptroller	Hon. R. Edgecumbe	{ Earl of Powis in 1761 { Lord G. Cavendish in 1761	Lord Charles Spencer		continued	Thomas Pelham	continued
† Cofferer	Duke of Leeds	{ Hon. J. Grenville in 1761 { Earl of Thomond	continued		continued	Earl of Scarborough	Hans Stanley
Master	J. Harris		continued		continued	continued	continued
† Treasurer of the Chamber	Hon. C. Townshend	Sir F. Dashwood in 1761	Sir Gilbert Elliot		continued	continued	continued
Master of the Horse	Earl Gower	{ Earl of Huntingdon in 1760 { Duke of Rutland in 1761	continued		continued	continued	Earl of Hertford . Duke of Au
† Keeper of the Great Wardrobe	Sir T. Robinson	Earl Gower in 1760	continued	{ Sir F. Dashwood (Lord } { Le Despencer,) 1763 }	continued	Earl of Ashburnham	continued
Captain of Yeomen of the Guard	Viscount Falmouth		continued		continued	continued	continued
Captain of Band of Gentlemen Pensioners	Lord Berkley of Stratton		Earl of Lichfield		continued	continued	continued
Speaker of the House of Commons	Arthur Onslow	Sir John Cust in 1761	continued		continued	continued	continued
Chief Justice in Eyre	{ Duke of Somerset { Earl of Broadalbane	{ Lord Edgecumbe in 1758 { Lord Sandys in 1759 { Duke of Leeds in 1761	continued continued		continued continued	Lord Monson continued	Earl Cornwallis continued
Secretary at War	Viscount Barrington	Hon. C. Townshend in 1761	continued		Welbore Ellis, (afterwards Lord Mendip)	Viscount Barrington	{ Lord North { George Coo
Paymaster General	Henry Fox		continued		continued	Hon. C. Townshend	{ George Cooke Thomas To
Postmasters	{ Earl of Leicester { Sir R. Fenkenet	Earl of Besborough Hon. Robert Hampden	Hon. Robert Hampden Earl of Egmont		continued Lord Hyde	Earl of Besborough Lord Grantham	Earl of Hillsborough Lord Le Despencer
Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance	Lord George Sackville	Marquis of Granby in 1759	continued		Hon. George Townshend	continued	continued Hon. H. S.
Lords of the Treasury	{ H. B. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer { Robert Nugent { Viscount Duncannon { Hon. J. Grenville	{ dismissed in 1761 { Viscount Barrington James Oswald in 1759 Lord North in 1759 Gilbert Elliot in 1761	Sir Francis Dashwood Lord North James Oswald Sir John Turner		Lord North Sir John Turner T. Orby Hunter J. Harris	William Dowdeswell Lord John Cavendish Thomas Townshend George Onslow	Hon. C. Townshend Thomas Townshend George Onslow Pryse Campbell
Lords of the Admiralty	{ Hon. E. Boscawen { Temple West { George Hay, LL.D. { T. O. Hunter { G. Elliot { Hon. J. Forbes	 Hans Stanley, Sep. 13, 1757 Viscount Villiers in 1761	George Hay, LL.D. T. O. Hunter Hon. J. Forbes Hans Stanley Viscount Villiers Thomas Pelham		continued continued . . Viscount Howe, April . continued . . Lord Digby, April . continued Lord Carysfort James Harris . . Thomas Pitt, April .	Thomas Pitt . . Hon. John Yorke, Dec. Sir C. Saunders Hon. A. Keppel Charles Townshend Sir William Meredith John Buller	Hon. A. Keppel Sir C. Townshend Sir William Meredith John Buller Viscount Palmerston Sir George Yonge
Lords of Trade	{ Andrew Stone { James West { Thomas Pelham { Soame Jenyns { Richard Rigby { W. Gerard Hamilton { William Sloper	John Roberts in 1761 Edward Bacon in 1759 Hon. John Yorke in 1761 Edward Elliot in 1760 Sir Edmund Thomas in 1761 George Rice in 1761	Soame Jenyns Edward Elliot Edward Bacon Hon. J. Yorke Sir Edmund Thomas George Rice Lord Orwell		continued continued continued Jeremiah Dyson Bamber Gascoyne continued continued	continued continued William Fitzherbert continued John Roberts continued Hon. John Yorke . Vice. Palmerston, Dec.	continued continued continued continued continued continued continued Hon. ? Ro
Attorney General	Sir Charles Pratt		Hon. Charles Yorke		Sir Fletcher Norton	Hon. Charles Yorke	William De Grey
Solicitor General	Hon. Charles Yorke	Fletcher Norton in 1761	continued		William De Grey	continued	Edward Willes . J. Dunning
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Duke of Bedford, L. L.	{ Lords Justices in 1758 { Earl of Halifax, L. L. 1761	Lords Justices		Earl of Northumberland, L. L.	Lords Justices	Earl of Hertford, L.L. Vis. T

N.B. [illegible] signifies Lord Lieutenant.

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CHATHAM'S MINISTRY, 1766.		DUKE OF GRAFTON'S MINISTRY, 1768.		LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY, 1770.	
		continued	Hon. C. Yorke, Jan. 17, 1770, died Jan. 18.	Seal in Commission	Ld. Apsley, (afterwards Earl Bathu Jan. 1771, continued until Jun 1778. Succeeded by Lord Thu
n .	Earl Gower in 1767	continued	resigned, Jan. 1770.	Lord North.	
		continued		continued.	
		Earl of Bristol		Earl of Halifax.	
.B.	Sir E. Hawke, Dec.	continued		continued	Earl of Sandwich in 1771.
h .	Robert Nugent, Dec.	Earl of Hillsborough		continued	Earl of Dartmouth in 1772. Lord George Germaine in 1776.
d .	Lord Mansfield, Sep. 12, 1767	Lord North		continued.	
		Viscount Weymouth		Earl of Sandwich	Earl of Halifax in 1771. Earl of Suffolk, June 12, 1771.
		Earl of Rochford		continued	Earl of Weymouth in 1775.
		Earl of Hillsborough		continued	Earl of Dartmouth, August 1772. Lord George Germaine in 1775.
		continued		continued	Viscount Townshend in 1772.
		continued		Sir Gilbert Elliot	Welbore Ellis in 1777.
		continued		continued	Lord Hyde in 1771.
		continued		continued.	
		continued		Earl of Bristol	Viscount Weymouth, March 1775. Earl of Ashburnham, Nov. 1775.
		continued		continued.	
		continued		continued	Earl of Carlisle in 1777.
		continued		continued	Sir William Meredith in 1774.
		continued		continued	Jeremiah Dyson in 1774. Hans Stanley in 1776.
		Hon. H. F. Thynne		Sir Francis Drake.	
		continued		George Rice.	
	Duke of Ancaster, Dec.	continued		continued.	
		continued		continued	Lord Pelham in 1775.
		continued		continued.	
		continued		continued	Lord Edgecumbe in 1773.
		continued		Sir Fletcher Norton.	
		continued		continued	Lord Pelham in 1774. Lord Lyttleton in 1775.
		continued	Sir Fletcher Norton in 1769	continued.	
		continued		continued	Charles Jenkinson in 1778.
	George Cooke in 1767 Thomas Townshend in 1767	Richard Rigby		continued.	
		Lord Le Despencer		continued.	
		Earl of Sandwich		Hon. H. F. Thynne.	
	Hon. H. S. Conway in 1767.	continued		continued	Sir Jeffrey Amherst in 1772.
		Lord North		George Onslow.	
	Lord Mansfield in 1767.	George Onslow		Charles Jenkinson	Hon. C. J. Fox in 1773. Charles W. Cornwall in 1774.
		Pryse Campbell . Charles Jenkinson	Jeremiah Dyson, Dec. 31	Jeremiah Dyson . Charles Townshend	Viscount Beauchamp in 1774. Lord Westcote in 1778.
	Charles Townshend, Dec.	continued		John Buller.	
	John Buller, Dec.	continued		Viscount Palmerston.	
	Viscount Palmerston, Dec.	continued		Lord C. Spencer.	
	Sir G. Yonge, Dec.	continued		Viscount Lisburne.	
	Sir Piercy Brett, Dec.	continued		Francis Holburne	Hon. Augustus Hervey in 1771. Sir Hugh Palliser in 1775.
	Charles Jenkinson, Dec.	Lord C. Spencer		Hon. C. J. Fox	Thomas Bradshaw in 1772. Henry Penton in 1774.
		continued		continued.	
		continued		continued	William Eden in 1776.
		continued		continued	William Jolliffe in 1772.
		Viscount Lisburne		Wm. Northey	Thomas Whateley in 1771.
		continued		continued	Lord Robert Spencer in 1772.
		continued		Bamber Gascoyne.	
	Hon. T. Robinson, Oct.	Lord Greville		continued	Hon. Charles Greville in 1774.
		continued		continued	Edward Thurlow in 1771. Alexander Wedderburne in 1778.
	J. Dunning in 1767	continued		Edward Thurlow	Alexander Wedderburne in 1771. James Wallace in 1778.
	Visc. Townshend, L. L. 1767	continued		continued	Earl of Harcourt in 1772. Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1777.

...rst . .	Lord Berkley of Stratton	
. . . .	continued	
...rdigan .	continued	
. . . .	Earl of Breadalbane	
. . . .	continued	
. . . .	continued	
. . . .	continued	
. . . .	continued	
...de . .	continued	
...andys, Char... the Exchequ...	Hon. H. B. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer.	
...ge Compton	Robert Nugent.	
...ushout .	Viscount Duncannon . .	Lord Mansfield, L. C. J. of King's Bench, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
...ons . .	Hon. James Grenville	
...burne .	Hon. E. Boscawen . . .	Sir W. Rowley, K.B.
...bald Hamilt...	Temple West	Hon. E. Boscawen.
...nore . .	George Hay, LL.D. . .	G. Elliott.
...endish .	T. Orby Hunter	Lord Carysfort.
..., LL.D. .	Gilbert Elliott	Savage Mostyn.
... Trevor .	Hon. John Forbes . . .	Hon. Edwin Sandys.
LA, ...den . .	continued	
Sea... von, ...e . .	continued	
...denell .	William G. Hamilton	
...umer . .	continued	
...rt Herbert .	continued	
... Gilmour .	continued	
... Keene . .	continued	
. . . .	continued	
...am Murray .	Hon. Charles Yorke.	
... Armagh, R... H. Boyle, L.	Lords Justices.	

Hon. Ge...
Duke of ...
Duke of ...
Earl of S...
Earl of S... 1776.
Hon. G. ...
Earl of S... 1771.
Earl of H... 1772.
. . . 1775.
Marquis ...
continued
continued
Earl Gow... h 1775.
continued 1775.
continued
continued
continued 4.
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
continued
Welbore ...
continued
continued
Lord Hy...
Hon. Ge...
Lord Nor...
Sir John ...4.
T. Orby ...
J. Harris
continued
continued
continued
continued 771.
Lord Car...
James Ha...
continued
continued
continued
Jeremiah ...
Bamber ...
continued 4.
continued
Sir Fletch... 1778.
1771.
William ...
Earl of N... 1777.

CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.—Page 23, line 2, *for* oppear, *read* appear.
32, note, *for* qui dépensoient, *read* qu'ils dépensoient.
36, line 2, *for* because though not perhaps, *read* because though perhaps.
117, note, *for* drank *read* drunk.
135, line 23, *for* were undoubtedly earnest, *read* were undoubtedly in earnest.
157, — 18, *for* was able, *read* were able.
183, — 8, *for* brother's, *read* brother.
196, — 6, *for* externally, *read* eternally.
203, at bottom, *after* public good, *insert* a comma.
209, line 3, *for* I dread, *read* I dreaded.
229, — 9, *after* united, *insert* a comma.
246, — 29, the note of interrogation to be erased.
255, note, *for* il y ont, *read* il y avoit.
259, line 28, a note of interjection instead of a note of interrogation.
267, — 1, *for* peculiar *read* peculiarly.
290, — 26, *for* councillor's, *read* counsellors.
296, and page 321, note, *for* number XI. *read* number II.
443, line 3 from the bottom, *insert* a grave accent over où.
—, last line, *insert* an acute accent over écraser.
448, line 9 of note, *for* poit, *read* point.
465, — 18, *after* last, *dele* comma.
492, — 11, *for* redound *read* redounds.
VOL. II.—Page 112, — 11, *after* family, *insert* to whom he was known.
116, — 5, *for* regiments, *read* regiment.
125, — 2, *for* from, *read* for.
232, — 5, *after* given, *insert* a comma.
236, — 19, *for* was, *read* were.
243, — 5, *for* House, *read* House of Commons.

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